THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CIVIL WARS

OF

FRANCE.

IN WHICH ARE RELATED,

The most remarkable TRANSACTIONS that happened during the REIGNS of

FRANCIS the Second,
CHARLES the Ninth,
HENRY the Third,
And,
HENRY the Fourth, surnamed the GREAT.

A NEW TRANSLATION from the ITALIAN of

HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

By ELLIS FARNEWORTH, M. A.

VOLUME II.

Bellorum civilium hi semper exitus sunt, ut non ea solum fiant quæ velit victor, sed etiam ut iis mos gerendus sit quibus adjutoribus sit parta victoria.——CICERO Epist. ad familiares, Lib. xii. 18.

LONDON,

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MDCCLVIII.

T O

George Venables Vernon, Efq.

Of SUDBURY in DERBYSHIRE.

S I R,

A Long feries of favours has always determined me to take the firft proper occafion of expreffing the grateful fenfe that I have of them. And it gives me a very great degree of pleafure, I can affure you, Sir, that, whilft I beg leave to addrefs this Volume of *Davila* to you, I have likewife an opportunity of publickly acknowledging myfelf,

S I R,

Your very much obliged,

and moft obedient,

humble Servant,

ELLIS FARNEWORTH.



THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CIVIL WARS

OF

FRANCE.

BOOK X.

ARGUMENT.

The insurrections occasioned by the death of the Cardinal and Duke of Guise. The union is renewed in Paris and many other cities of the kingdom. The command of the army, with the title of Lieutenant-General of the Crown, is given to the Duke of Mayenne. The King commands a process to be formed upon the actions of the deceased Princes. He continues the Assembly for some time, but at last dissolves it. The different views and inclinations of the Deputies. The King endeavours to appease the Pope, who is highly offended at the Cardinal of Guise's death. He sends the Bishop of Mans to Rome for that purpose: but the Pope is inflexible, and makes bitter complaints in the consistory. The King endeavours to make peace with the Duke of Mayenne, but fails in that design also. The Duke goes to

 Paris,

Paris, and makes preparations for taking up arms: he establishes the general Council of the League, and the particular one of The sixteen *at Paris: he dispatches Ministers to Rome to confirm the Pope in his inclination, who, upon that, publishes a monitory against the King of France, and gives great encouragement to the League. The King, being necessitated to begin the war, comes to an agreement with the King of Navarre, and makes a truce with him. The Spanish Ambassador leaves the court, and goes to reside with the heads of the League at Paris. The Pope's Legate departs also, and not having been able to persuade the Duke of Mayenne to consent to a peace, goes out of the kingdom. The war is begun with great fury in every part. The Duke of Montpensier defeats the Gautiers in Normandy. The Kings of France and Navarre meet at Tours. The Duke of Mayenne takes Vendosme, and makes the Count De Brienne prisoner. He attacks the King's infantry in the suburbs of Tours, and makes himself master of many posts. The King of Navarre comes up with his army, upon which the Duke retires, and takes many places in his march to Normandy. The Duke of Aumale besieges Senlis, has an engagement with the Duke of Longueville and Sieur De la Noüe, and loses the day. To repair this loss, the Duke of Mayenne marches towards Paris. The King with his army takes the same rout and follows him; makes himself master of Gergeau, Pluviers, Chartres, Estampes, Montereau, Poissy, and other places: he joins the Duke of Montpensier. The Swiss and Germans raised for his assistance arrive. He takes the adjacent towns and lays siege to Paris, where the Duke of Mayenne and the people, having but little hopes of defending themselves, yet resolve to hold it out to the last man. James Clement, a Dominican Friar, goes out of the city, is introduced into the King's chamber, and stabs him in the belly with a knife. The King dying, declares the King of Navarre his lawful successor, and persuades him to turn Catholick. The army, and particularly the Nobility, waver in their resolutions: at last they resolve to acknowledge the King of Navarre, provided the Catholick religion might be secured. He makes them a promise, in writing, to embrace the Roman Catholick faith. His army is so much diminished, that he is obliged to raise the siege of Paris: he makes a feint of besieging Roüen, and goes to Dieppe. The Duke of Mayenne, whose army is much increased, follows him thither. They come to several engagements, at Pollet, at Arques, and under the walls of Dieppe. Supplies come to the King from various parts. The Duke of Mayenne marches off and goes into Picardy. The King extends his army towards the isle of France: takes and sacks the suburbs of Paris: goes directly to Tours, and takes many places by the way. He enters that city, is received with great pomp: sits in the Parliament; excuses his delay of changing his religion to the Parliament: marches into lower Normandy, and reduces all that province into his power.*

AFTER the bloody tragedy, which concluded the year 1588, there ensued a dreadful alteration of the scene. For the news of the death of the Lords of *Guise* being come the same day to *Orleans*, the next to *Paris*, and from town to town into all parts of the kingdom, it is not possible to conceive how much, not only the common people, who are naturally inclined to take all occasions of change, but all sorts and degrees of persons, and, which seemed very strange, many who in times past had been esteemed prudent and moderate men, were exceedingly enflamed by it. So violent a perturbation of men's minds could not fail of producing very sudden and extraordinary effects in the first sallies of their fury. For the citizens of *Orleans*, who had long adhered to the League, and during the whole course of the civil wars, always used to be the first in arms, having heard of the Duke of *Guise's* death, and the imprisonment of the rest, by those who had fled with the utmost expedition from *Blois*, and never stopped till they got thither, and particularly by the Sieur *De Rossieux*, one of the Counsellors of the League, openly took arms the very same night, without any determinate resolution, or staying for a head to conduct them; and having either driven out, or overpowered the King's magistrates, who endeavoured to suppress the insurrection, they all ran in a confused manner to attack the castle, in which Monsieur *D'Entragues*, the King's Lieutenant, was at that time, but with a very few soldiers, and, as it usually happens upon sudden emergencies, entirely unprovided with such things as are necessary to defend any place. The people of *Chartres* did the same, though in all the late commotions it had been of the King's party, and having run tumultuously to arms, drove out all those that favoured the King's name, or endeavoured to oppose the revolt, and took the government upon themselves without the concurrence of the magistrates.

1589.

But when the news was brought to *Paris* upon *Christmas* eve, about sun-set, first by an express dispatched by Don *Bernardino Mendozza*, and afterwards by *Hippolito Zenzala*, a *Ferrarese*, and one of the Duke of *Guise's* captains, the shops were instantly shut up, and the multitude, with their usual precipitation, ran, some to the *Hôtel de Guise*, where the Duchesses of *Guise* and *Montpensier*, the Duke's wife and sister, then resided, and some to the city gates, to hear more certain tidings and farther particulars of the affair; which when they had learnt, by the arrival of those who fled from *Blois*, and came running directly to *Paris* without making any stop, the people began to set up dismal cries and grievous lamentations, and could not come to any resolution, as there was no one there of sufficient authority to moderate the violence, and regulate the proceedings, of so furious and confused a multitude. For the Duchess of

1589. *Guise*, who was of a soft and tender disposition, was all in tears: and the Duchess of *Montpensier*, a Lady of high spirit, and of a bold and masculine resolution (who had wounded the King's reputation, and done him more prejudice with her tongue, than all the brothers had done with their swords and machinations joined together) being lame of one foot from her birth, and subject to frequent infirmities, had been ill many days, and was then confined to her bed. Wherefore, the Council of the League, being assembled in the midst of the tumult, resolved to send for *Charles* of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Aumale*, who having declined going to the Assembly at *Blois*, out of a certain pre-apprehension of the event, had staid at *Paris*, and that very day was retired to his devotions, in a convent of the *Carthusians*, near the city: at whose arrival, though very late, the whole multitude ran to his house, but spent the night only in condolence and lamentations.

The next day the whole city was in mourning; and after divine service, which was dispatched in great haste, and without the usual solemnity of organs and singing, they went from the churches to the common hall, where the same Council assembled again, together with the most eminent citizens and several of the magistrates; some of whom came out of anxious curiosity, some for fear of being torn to pieces by the fury of their fellow citizens, and others with a desire to provide some remedy against the unbridled rage and madness of the populace. But it was to no manner of purpose; for instead of deliberations, there was nothing to be heard but bitter invectives, and abusive menaces against the King: and it was only resolved in general, that till further consideration, the Duke of *Aumale* should be declared Governor of the city, and that under his command they should wait till further intelligence and fresh matter might give them occasion to take other measures; though at the same time he was not to do or determine upon any thing without the consent of *The council of sixteen*. But as they cried out in a tumultuous manner to have the city put in a proper posture of defence, against the machinations of the *Hugonots*, who, they apprehended, might be encouraged by the event at *Blois*, to attempt something against the peace and security of the publick; the Duke, having taken upon him the name and authority of Governor, immediately furnished the people with arms, and posted them, under the command of their several officers, to guard the principal places, and to take care that the houses of the citizens were not plundered or molested by seditious people.

The same evening and the next day, the preachers thundered out the praises of the Duke of *Guise*, as a martyr to his religion, and expressed their detestation of a murder so cruelly perpetrated by the King, with such energy from their pulpits, that not only the passions of the common

people,

people, but alſo of the principal citizens, were vehemently excited by their oratory, and enflamed with an eager deſire of revenge; which was redoubled both in the preachers and the people, at the news of the Cardinal's death alſo, and increaſed to ſuch a degree of rage and madneſs, that on *Innocents* day, the 28th of *December*, *The council of ſixteen* cauſed an inſtrument to be preſented to the college of divines, called the *Sorbonne*, in the names of the *Prevôt* and *Eſchevins* of the city: in which, after they had ſet forth, how much the Lords of *Guiſe* had deſerved of the Catholick church, and in how barbarous a manner they had been murdered by the King, for profeſſing themſelves protectors of the faith, they deſired to know, whether he might not be lawfully deemed to have forfeited his Crown, and whether his ſubjects (notwithſtanding their oath of allegiance) were not at liberty to withdraw their obedience from him, as a hypocrite, an open favourer of hereſy, a perſecutor of the holy church, and one who had imbrued his hands in the blood of a perſon that was of the eminent and ſacred order of a Cardinal.

1589.

The college of *Sorbonne* being aſſembled, there was no great debate amongſt them. For though *John Fabry*, Dean of the college, a man of deep learning, together with *Robert Vauvarin* and *Dennis Sorbin*, two of the ſenior Doctors, argued, that if what was ſet forth in the inſtrument could be proved (which however was very doubtful) the King could not even then be ſaid to have forfeited his kingdom, nor was it lawful for his ſubjects to withdraw their allegiance from him: Yet ſo great was the ardour of the younger divines, who had been ſpurred up by the ſermons of *William Rozè* Biſhop of *Senlis*, the Rectors of St. *Paul* and St. *Euſtache*, of *John Vinceſtre*, *John Hamilton*, Father *James Commolet*, a Jeſuit, Father *Bernard*, a *Feuillant*, and of Father *Francis Feu-ardent*, a *Franciſcan*, that they unanimouſly concurred in the determination of both points, and declared that the King had forfeited his right to the Crown, and that his ſubjects not only might, but ought to throw off their obedience, and, for the ſervice of the State, had a legal right to enter into confederacies, to impoſe ſubſidies, to raiſe forces, to diſpoſe of the revenues of the Crown, and to do all other things which were neceſſary and convenient for the ſupport of the Catholick religion and their own ſecurity. They added, with the ſame unanimity, that this decree ought to be ſent to the Pope, to be confirmed and authenticated by him in ſuch a manner, that the validity of it might not, in any wiſe, be called in queſtion for the time to come: after which declaration, the people, having broke looſe from all bonds of obedience, and entirely thrown off the reins of modeſty, ran furiouſly to break down the King's arms and ſtatues wherever they found them, and began to hunt about with great eagerneſs for all ſuch as were dependent upon him, whom they called *Navarriſts*

and

1589. and *Politicks*. This insolent and tumultuous search forced many peaceable men, and such as were averse to these turbulent methods, to leave their houses, in order to save their lives: many others were obliged to pay a pecuniary composition; and some (though the Duke of *Aumale* took great pains to prevent it) unfortunately lost their lives. Whilst things were proceeding in this manner with infinite disorder, all the *streets were full of arms, uproar, and confusion, the very meanest of the people trampling upon the ensigns of royalty, and treating them with the most scandalous and intolerable insolence. All the churches echoed* with the harangues of the preachers, in aggravation of the parricide committed by *Henry* of *Valois*, whom they no longer styled King of *France*, but heretick, tyrant, and persecutor of the holy church: and every place was full of libels both in prose and verse, which amplified and exaggerated the same things in different manners.

But *The council of sixteen*, being desirous to reduce the city wholly into their own hands, and seeing the Parliament divided, one part of which was inclined to side with the people, and the other to persevere in their obedience to the King, resolved that the Presidents and Counsellors that declared for the King's party, should not only be deprived of their offices, as enemies to the publick good, but committed close prisoners to the *Bastile*; plainly foreseeing, that if they continued at liberty, and had power to act as they pleased, they would oppose many of their measures, and interrupt the union amongst the other citizens, which would be attended with very great and manifest danger. Having determined therefore, in the first place, amongst themselves what was to be done, after they had brought all the heads of the people over to their opinion, on the 16th of *January* they beset the palace-hall with a great number of armed men, where, according to custom, the Counsellors of the Parliament were met together, and having secured all the passages, and placed guards at every door, they called out *Achille de Harlay*, first President of the Parliament, and all the rest by name that they had determined to seize upon, who being come, without any hesitation, to the door, to know what they wanted with them, and pretty well guessing what would be the event, the Sieur *De Bussy*, who was deputed to execute that commission, gave them orders to follow him; which command, as it was founded upon force, they obeyed without resistance, and were led, through the insults and reproaches of the people, to the *Bastile*: *Pierre Seguier* and *James Augustus de Thou* only had the good fortune to make their escape in a private manner, who adhering to the King's side, had laboured earnestly to dissuade the Parliament from taking part in the insurrection.

The favourers of the League being encouraged, and the opposers of it terrified, by this violent manner of proceeding, the rest of the Presidents

and Counſellors choſe *Barnaby Briſſon*, a man of profound learning and ſingular eloquence, but of a hot and changeable temper, and conſequently very apt to alter his opinion upon any ſlight occaſion, to be the firſt Preſident and head of the Parliament; which being afterwards ſolemnly aſſembled, to the number of an hundred and ſixty, a publick declaration was made by them, in which they aſſented to the depoſing of the King, and to the freeing the city of thoſe perſons that had been turned out and committed to priſon; in whoſe places others were immediately ſubſtituted. Nor were they ſatisfied with this: but, to give form to their proceedings, the Parliament being aſſembled again upon the 30th of *January*, they made an ample decree, to unite and combine themſelves for the defence of the Catholick religion, the preſervation of *Paris*, and ſuch other cities as ſhould enter into that League, to oppoſe the power of thoſe that, in violation of the publick faith, had taken away the lives of the Catholick Princes and defenders of the holy church, in the face of the States-General aſſembled, to take due revenge for their murder, and do juſtice to thoſe that were injured; and finally, to defend the liberty and dignity of the States of *France* againſt all perſons whatſoever, without exception. Which decree was ſubſcribed and ſworn to by the Preſidents and Counſellors of the Parliament, by the Duke of *Aumale*, Governor, the *Prevôt de Marchands*, the *Eſchevins* of the city, and afterwards not only by a great number of the Clergy and Nobleſſe, but of the common people alſo: and this confederacy, beſides the uſual name and title of the League, was more particularly called *The holy union*. After this decree, Madam *De Guiſe*, the late Duke's wife, came to the Parliament; where having made her complaint in the uſual form, and demanded juſtice for the murder committed upon her huſband, and the Cardinal her brother-in-law, recounting all the ſervices which the houſe of *Guiſe* had done to the Catholick religion and to the Crown; and exaggerating the barbarity of that ſlaughter, under the ſanction of the publick faith, and in the preſence of the States-General of the kingdom: the Parliament, in which all the ſeveral *chambers* were ſolemnly aſſembled, decreed that juſtice ſhould be done her; and choſe two Counſellors to inſtitute a formal proceſs, with the uſual ceremonies, forbidding all others to interfere, or to take any information in that affair; which they added, becauſe they knew there was a ſtrict inquiſition making, by the King's order, into the things that had been done by the Princes of *Lorrain* in their life-time.

At the inſurrection of the Parliament and city of *Paris*, as at a beacon or ſignal for war, the chief cities and moſt warlike people in *France* took arms likewiſe, which cauſed a general riſing. For as the news of the death of the Lords of *Guiſe*, and of the reſolution of the *Pariſians*, was

1589. carried from one town to another, this popular fury also successively spread itself, like a raging flame, in such a manner, that not only *Orleans* and *Chartres*, which had taken arms at the very first, but *Meaux*, *Crespy*, *Chasteau-Pierre-font*, *Corbeil*, *Melun*, *St. Dennis*, *Pontoise*, *Senlis*, *Creil*, *Clermont*, and all the towns round the isle of *France*, joined in the union of the *Parisians*. The city of *Roüen* likewise revolted, together with the greater part of the Parliament of *Normandy*, *Louviers*, *Mante*, *Vernon*, *Lisieux*, *Ponteau de Mer*, *Havre de Grace*, *Honfleur*, *Eureux*, *Fougeres*, *Falaise*, *Argentan*, *Montvilliers*, *Dreux*, and, except *Caën* and the country of *Coûtance*, all the cities and strong places of that rich and extensive province. The same example was followed by *Picardy*, where *Amiens*, *Cambray*, *Abbeville*, *Soissons*, *Laon*, and many other places, took part with the union. *Champagne*, a province governed by the Duke of *Guise*, did the like; for *Rheims*, *Troyes*, *Vitry*, *Chasteau-Thierry*, and all the other towns, except *Châlons*, declared for the League without any demur. Nor were the people any quieter or more moderate in *Burgundy*; for *Dijon*, with the Parliament of that province, *Mascon*, *Luz*, and several other towns, threw themselves into the arms of the same party: As did the Parliament of *Aix*, the capital of *Provence*, *Marseilles*, *Carcassonne*, and *Narbonne*, the city of *Bourges* (where the law is chiefly studied) *Mans* in the county of *Mayne*, and other towns of less note. In upper *Languedoc*, the Parliament and city of *Thoulouse* took arms in a furious manner, and drew many others after them. In *Auvergne*, the Count *De Randan*, with *Clermont*, *Montferrant*, *St. Porcin*, *Issoire*, and divers other towns and fortresses likewise associated with *the union*. In *Bretagne*, the Duke *De Mercœur*, forgetting that he was brother-in-law to the King, and had been enriched and preferred by him to that government, was determined, by the interests of his family, and the pretensions that he himself had to that province, in right of his wife, to side with the League. *Nantes*, a city of great consequence, together with *Vannes*, *Quimperlay*, and almost all that province, so full of riches and Nobility, followed his example. In *Guyenne*, the tumult ran exceeding high; at *Bourdeaux*, a very large city, where the Governor of the province resides, and which is the seat of the Parliament. But the Marshal *De Matignon*, who held that government in the King's name, with his usual courage and readiness opposed them so effectually, that after he had driven the rebels out of the city, and got the better of them with very little bloodshed, he happily retained it in its obedience to the King; yet *Agen*, *Periguеux*, and many other towns in that province, went over to the League. The city of *Lions* was the last that rose, as it had been prevented by the opposition of Colonel *Alphonso Corso*, and of the *Swiss* and *Italian* merchants. But the great numbers of the common people got the upper

 hand

hand at laſt: ſo that the majority reſolved to turn to the League, and to invite the Duke of *Nemours* to come to them, who had had that government conferred upon him by the King, to gratify the Duke of *Guiſe* not long before his death, and had made his eſcape out of priſon at *Blois*.

1589.

The example of the cities and common people, was imitated by no ſmall number of the Nobility in the ſeveral provinces, who not only drew after them a large train of tenants and peaſants, but alſo brought over many caſtles and ſtrong-holds, in which Noblemen commonly reſide in all parts of *France*, both for greater dignity and ſecurity. So that the party of the League was not only grown very numerous by the junction of ſo many principal cities, but alſo was much ſtrengthened by the concurrence of the Nobility, of whom the forces of that Crown chiefly conſiſt. By the courſe of this almoſt univerſal inſurrection (which was foreſeen and prophetically foretold by the Queen Mother, upon her death-bed) all the provinces of the kingdom were ſo divided and diſmembered, that not only cities declared againſt cities, and caſtles againſt caſtles, but the Nobility, Gentlemen, and meaner perſons, were ſo imbittered againſt other, and proceeded in ſo furious and hoſtile a manner, that they trampled upon the laws, broke all bonds of charity, drove the magiſtrates out of every place, and of their own accord, without waiting for orders from their ſuperiors, began a moſt tragical and dreadful civil war, with fire, ſlaughter, rapine, and devaſtation of every kind. For as neither the deſigns of any city, nor the inclinations of this or that particular man, were yet thoroughly known, every one gratified his private intereſts and reſentments in the publick diſturbances, ſortifying places that were abandoned, in ſuch a manner as they thought proper, ſeizing upon thoſe already fortified, lying in wait to kill their adverſaries, making rich men priſoners, pillaging the country people, robbing upon the highways, committing the moſt horrible and unheard of outrages, and without the leaſt apprehenſions of juſtice, or any form of government amongſt them, filled every place with terror, lamentation, and confuſion. So that all commerce being of neceſſity interrupted, the roads infeſted, both the Gentry and the common people in arms, and even the very Clergy ſurrounded with guards and armed for their own ſecurity: ſometimes under the names of *Hugonots* and *Catholicks*, ſometimes of Royaliſts and Leaguers, ſometimes of the Holy Union and *White forces*, they ſeemed to be poſſeſſed with a fatal and general frenzy, and bent upon the deſtruction of their common country.

But the King, to whom the news of theſe inſurrections was brought every hour from all parts, was exceeding ſollicitous to appeaſe the Deputies, and to convince them of the neceſſity he had lain under of ſeeing

1589. himſelf from the Lords of the houſe of *Lorrain*. For he thought, if they returned into their reſpective countries with the impreſſion of his arguments upon their minds, it might very much conduce to allay the fury of the people, who were now in ſo violent a ferment, and reduce the cities to their wonted obedience. For which reaſons, he cauſed a very ſtrict inquiſition to be made into the correſpondencies that had been held by the Lords of *Guiſe*, both within and without the kingdom, the penſions they had received from *Spain*, and particularly into the proofs of their having been privy to the conſpiracy of the Duke of *Savoy*, by which he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, a very valuable appendage of the Crown, though beyond the *Alps*. And in this they proceeded by the lights which they had from the writings, letters, and accounts that had been found amongſt the Duke of *Guiſe's* papers, and by the depoſitions of priſoners: Monſieur *De Montholon*, Keeper of the Seals, and two Maſters of the Requeſts, aſſiſting to form the proceſs, and to examine witneſſes.

But the ſecret reſolutions of the States were various, though they all tended to the ſame purpoſe. For thoſe who had before adhered to the King, being confirmed and encouraged by what had happened, contended more boldly and ſtrenuouſly for the royal authority, and endeavoured to have every thing concluded according to his deſires. But the partiſans of the League, and thoſe that depended upon the houſe of *Guiſe*, being afraid of their own perſons, uſed all means to get the Aſſembly diſſolved in any manner whatſoever, that they might freely depart; with a reſolution to diſpoſe of themſelves afterwards, according to their own inclinations, notwithſtanding any thing that ſhould be determined in the Aſſembly, which they conſidered as extorted by fear and compulſion: and though the King was convinced of this by more proofs than one, and very well knew that every one put on a ſmooth countenance, in order to get liberty to withdraw himſelf: Yet as he was deſirous to juſtify his actions, he again confirmed the edict of union in the States, hoping thereby to extinguiſh all ſuſpicion in the Legate (who earneſtly preſſed for that declaration) and in his Catholick ſubjects, of his adhering to the *Hugonots*, or of labouring to promote the King of *Navarre's* ſucceſſion, whilſt that Prince continued in diſobedience to the Catholick church. After this, he confirmed the edicts that had been made for the moderation of taxes, and leſſening the number of offices, and proceeded in the ſame manner in all other things, taking much pains to ſhew that he had done all this of his own accord, without being compelled to it by the Duke of *Guiſe*. Many other decrees were alſo made concerning the forms of judicature, and matters relating to the eaſe and relief of the people. And in this manner the States broke up; the moſt ſuſpected

of

of the Deputies ſtriving to outdo each other in diſſimulation, and pretended zeal for his Majeſty's perſon and ſervice. Amongſt whom were the Count *De Briſac*, the Sieur *De Bois-dauphin*, *Bernard* the Advocate, and others, who as ſoon as they were got away from *Blois*, immediately joined the party of the League again. 1589.

Amidſt the daily accounts of ſo many inſurrections, the King was particularly concerned at the loſs of *Orleans*, for it had coſt him much pains, and he had taken all poſſible methods to ſecure it, as a city that lay near him, ſituated upon the great road to *Paris*, and very convenient to make his head quarters in time of war. And though, immediately after the death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, he had firſt ſent thither the Sieur *De Dunis*, brother to Monſieur *D'Entragues*, and then the Marſhal *D'Aumont*, with a party of his own guards, yet *Claude de Lorrain*, Knight of *Jeruſalem*, and brother to the Duke of *Aumale*, coming to the aſſiſtance of the people, with ſupplies ſent by the *Pariſians*, they aſſaulted it with ſo much reſolution and obſtinacy, that for want of ammunition and other things neceſſary to deſend it, the Marſhal *D'Aumont* marched out of it with four hundred men at the end of *January*, and thoſe few that he left were obliged to ſurrender to the people, ſo that the city came wholly into the power of the League.

But above all things, the means of appeaſing the Pope kept the King in the greateſt perplexity. For though the Legate, who was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of *France*, had ſhewn himſelf very inclinable to favour his party from the beginning, and ready to repreſent what had been done, in the moſt advantageous manner for him at *Rome*, yet he was not certain in what light the Pope would look upon it, as he was at ſo great a diſtance, and perhaps might have received ill impreſſions, both from the reports of the League and the officiouſneſs of the *Spaniards*. For which reaſon, he, preſently after the Duke of *Guiſe's* death, ſent a full and circumſtantial account of all that had paſſed to *John Vivonne*, Marquis of *Piſani*, his Ambaſſador at *Rome*, that he might be furniſhed with anſwers to ſuch things as ſhould be objected, and enabled to excuſe his proceedings in a proper manner. And as he was juſt going before to diſpatch *Girolamo Gondi*, a *Florentine*, to the Pope, to intreat him to make the Cardinal of *Guiſe* his Legate at *Avignon*, he now altered his commiſſion, giving him orders to take poſt and make all poſſible haſte to *Rome*, in order to excuſe the death of the ſame Cardinal to his Holineſs, and, if there ſhould be occaſion, to ſollicit abſolution for it.

But the Pope having received the news of the Duke's death firſt, did not ſeem to give himſelf much trouble about it, and turning to the Cardinal of *Joyeuſe*, who was preſent, ſaid, " So it generally happens to " men that run ſuch lengths, and then have not ſenſe enough to take

1589. "care of themſelves." But four days after, when the news arrived of the Cardinal's death alſo, and the impriſonment of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, as he was a man of a moſt furious and precipitate temper, he fell into ſuch a rage, that he ſtormed like a madman, and ordering the Ambaſſadors to be called into his preſence, acquainted them with the news he had received, in very rough and ſevere terms, complaining, in the bittereſt manner, that the King had dared, in contempt of the eccleſiaſtical immunities, the privileges and dignity of the purple, and of all laws both human and divine, to put a Cardinal to death, and to commit two other moſt eminent Prelates to cloſe priſon; threatning at the ſame time to proceed againſt the Cardinal Legate in the ſevereſt manner, who, though he reſided at the King's court, had not taken care to prevent him from committing ſo atrocious a crime.

Upon this, the Marquis of *Piſani* and *Girolamo Gondi* (who was then arrived) in a modeſt and dutiful manner, though with great firmneſs and ſpirit, ſet forth the reaſons of the King's proceedings, the crime of high treaſon, of which the Cardinals of *Guiſe* and *Bourbon*, and the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, had all been guilty; the vaſtneſs of their power and authority, by which they had not only diſabled him from puniſhing them according to the uſual forms of juſtice, but a few months before had audaciouſly forced him out of his own palace, and obliged him to fly from *Paris* in diſguiſe to ſave his life. The ſtate of his affairs, they ſaid, was reduced to ſuch a paſs, by the practices and machinations carried on and fomented by the brothers of *Lorrain*, in the Aſſembly of the States, that except the King would ſubmit to live in the condition of a pupil, or to give up his Crown, he was neceſſitated to puniſh them, though without the uſual ceremonies of juſtice, yet not without moſt apparent reaſon; as their crimes were ſo heinous and manifeſt, that he, as King and ſupreme magiſtrate, had a right to judge and puniſh them in any manner whatſoever. That if nothing elſe, ſurely the contempt they had ſhewn of religion, in making uſe of ſo many ſolemn oaths and ſacraments of the holy church, only as means to deceive him, had rendered them unworthy of his Holineſs's protection, who might eaſily inform and certify himſelf by many proofs, that it was not to protect and defend the Catholick faith (which no man could hold in greater veneration than his Majeſty) but to indulge their own ambition, and to uſurp the Crown from the lawful heirs, that they had ſo often, and with the loſs of ſo many ſouls, diſturbed and diſtracted the whole kingdom. Finally, that the King was an obedient ſon of the church, deſirous to ſatisfy the Pope in all things poſſible, and for that reaſon had ſent *Girolamo Gondi* to intreat and beſeech his Holineſs to give him his bleſſing, that he might be aſſured he was not diſſatisfied nor offended. But the Pope, very far from being appeaſed or prevailed

vailed upon to do that, replied, " That *Gondi* had been diſpatched about 1589.
" a different affair, and that he knew it very well: that the King was
" ſo far from being an obedient ſon, and ſuing for abſolution, that he
" perſevered in his ſin, and kept the two chief Prelates of *France*, who
" were under the immediate juriſdiction of the Apoſtolick See, ſtill in
" priſon: and that if the Cardinal of *Guiſe* and the reſt had ſo highly
" offended, as the Ambaſſadors reported, the King ought to have de-
" manded juſtice from him, to whom it belonged to judge them, and
" that he ſhould have known very well how to adminiſter it." And be-
cauſe they anſwered, " That as Ambaſſadors and perſons in a publick
" character, they ought to be credited in what they had repreſented con-
" cerning the King's deſire, and the bleſſing which they demanded in
" his name;" the Pope replied, " That they were Ambaſſadors ſent
" only to treat of temporal matters relating to the kingdom of *France*;
" but that contrition and confeſſion were to precede abſolution *in foro*
" *conſcientiæ*: and therefore it was neceſſary to ſend an extraordinary
" embaſſy and a perſon expreſsly for that purpoſe: and to convince him
" of the ſincerity of his repentance, he ought to ſet the Prelates at liberty
" that were in priſon. That the King and the Ambaſſadors thought to
" impoſe upon him, but they ſhould find they had not to do with a no-
" vice, but one that was determined to ſupport the dignity of the Holy
" See to the laſt drop of his blood;" and having diſmiſſed them with
many harſh expreſſions, and a countenance full of paſſion, he cauſed the
Conſiſtory to be called together the next morning, and there made a fu-
rious ſpeech: in which he accuſed the King, in the preſence of the Car-
dinals, reprehending thoſe that excuſed or defended him, and threatening
to puniſh Cardinal *Moreſini* in the ſevereſt manner, who, forgetting the
perſon he repreſented, had ſuffered the privileges and dignity of the holy
church to be trampled under foot, without any ſenſe of the affront. Af-
ter this, he appointed a certain number of Cardinals to conſult of ſuch
things as concerned the kingdom of *France*; the chief of whom were
Serbelloni, *Fachinetti*, *Lancellotto*, *Caſtagni*, and *Di Santa Severina*,
which raiſed the attention of every one, and filled the world with ex-
ceeding great expectation.

In the mean time the affairs of the League began to gather ſtrength
and take form in *France*. For the Duke of *Mayenne*, having privately
departed from *Lions* the ſame night that he heard the news of his bro-
ther's death, apprehending, as it happened, that the King would uſe his
endeavours to get him into his hands, came in great perplexity and un-
certainty into the province of *Burgundy*, of which he was Governor, and
retired to *Maſcon*: from whence he began to tamper with the other towns
of that province, particularly with the city and caſtle of *Dijon*, com-
manded

1589. manded by the Baron *De Luz*, nephew to the Archbishop of *Lions*; and finding the city, Parliament, and Governor of the castle all ready to receive him and to follow his fortune, he took fresh courage and went thither: from whence he immediately sent the Commendatory *Francis Diu*, Knight of *Jerusalem*, to the Pope, a man well acquainted at the court of *Rome*, and one of the chief and ancient abettors of the League, that he might complain of his brother's death to his Holiness, and beseech him to take the remains of the League, now extremely depressed and afflicted, into his protection. Whilst the Duke staid there, not very well determined what course to take, he received letters from his sister Madam *De Montpensier*, which acquainted him with the revolt of the *Parisians*, and of all the neighbouring towns, exhorting him to behave like a man, and take the command of the League upon him, as his brothers had done; as there was great probability not only of revenging their deaths, but of bringing the first design of the League to a happy conclusion. This exhortation, and these good tidings, added to the news of the revolt of *Orleans* and *Chartres*, gave the Duke such courage, that the letters which the King wrote to him, though conceived in very obliging terms, and which came to his hands soon after, could not prevail upon him to listen to a peace, which at first, perhaps, he would have been very ready to embrace. The purport of his Majesty's letters was, "That he had been forced by necessity to depart from his own natural disposition, to preserve himself against the conspiracies which the Duke and Cardinal his brothers had plotted, and in a manner brought to the point of execution. That nevertheless he had not proceeded with so much severity as any other person would have done, but satisfied himself with taking off the principals, and leaving all the rest alive, who, he hoped, would acknowledge and amend their former errors. That he had not been moved to act as he had done by hatred or passion of any kind, but had always not only loved, but favoured and exalted their family, as he was desirous to do again for the time to come. That therefore he prayed him not to let himself be transported by too immoderate an affection for his brothers, but to remember that he had been absolutely compelled to act in that manner, by those attempts which he was very well assured had ever been disapproved by him, who was so far from encouraging their ambition and evil designs: for which reason he had always been ready to advance him, and often conferred the command of his armies upon him, as he knew him to be a man utterly averse to those wicked schemes, which others had intended to put in execution. He exhorted him to persevere in that good and laudable resolution, not to make himself an instrument to divide the Catholick party, and to tear out the bowels of their common country, nor to associate with factious

and

and ambitious men, from which, even in the fervour of his youth, he had ever refrained: but to ſhew that he was governed by a regard for the publick good, and his duty towards his Prince, and not by thoſe private paſſions which uſually prevail in mean and vulgar minds: and that he would ſincerely unite with him, to preſerve the peace of the Catholicks, and to make war upon the *Hugonots*; which if he would conſent to, he offered to give him all manner of ſecurity, and any reaſonable ſatisfaction that he could deſire.

But the Duke had now turned his attention upon other objects, and could not be induced to believe that he could ever be ſecure, much leſs favoured by the King, who, he thought, gave him thoſe fair words, only becauſe he had eſcaped the net: and conſidering the great commotions in the kingdom, he was not without hopes of attaining to a ſtill higher degree of power and authority, than ever his brothers had poſſeſſed. So that both his hopes and deſires tending to the ſame end, and thinking himſelf bound in honour ſo to do, he determined to ſeek revenge, and to try if he could obtain the command of the Catholick faction. In which reſolution he was abſolutely confirmed, upon the arrival of Madam *De Montpenſier*, who, without any regard to her own health or the rigour of the ſeaſon, had come to him with great expedition at *Dijon*. By her earneſt exhortations, and the inſtigations of the Duke of *Aumale*, and many others of the faction, who wrote to him for that purpoſe, he at laſt conſented to take up arms and to proſecute the deſigns of the League, declaring himſelf head of the Holy Union.

After he had taken this reſolution, he immediately gave orders to the Sieurs *De Rhoſne*, *De St. Paul*, *Chamois*, and *D'Eſclavoles*, to recruit their regiments of *French* infantry, and began to ſummon the Nobility and Gentry, his dependents, to come in to him, and to endeavour to gain the affections of the people in every place. And as his principal dependence was upon the city of *Paris*, he determined to return thither with Madam *De Montpenſier*, as the road was now ſecure by the taking of the caſtle of *Orleans*, and by the revolt of *Bourges*, *Troyes*, and *Chartres*. The Duke paſſed through all thoſe cities, raiſing forces, and drawing them together, ſome paid with his own money, ſome brought in by his friends and adherents, and others furniſhed by the people. And having already aſſembled the number of four thouſand private men and five hundred Gentlemen, he came, on the 15th of *February*, to the city of *Paris*. There the Duke and Chevalier *D'Aumale*, putting themſelves willingly under his command, and *The council of ſixteen*, with the unanimous conſent of the citizens, acknowledging him for their head; the Parliament, having aſſembled all the chambers or ſeveral courts, at the propoſal of *Barnaby Briſſon*, who had been made firſt Preſident by the League,

1589. League, declared him Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France*, with the same power and authority, except the name, that their Kings had usually enjoyed: which yet was to continue no longer than till the States should otherwise determine, as they were to meet at *Paris* in the month of *July* following. Thus the Duke of *Guise's* death was the occasion of his brother's advancement, who with great ease and the general concurrence of the faction, arrived at that degree of power, which he, whilst alive, had in vain taken so much pains, and laid so many deep schemes to obtain for himself. On the 22d of *February*, the Duke took possession of this extraordinary dignity, having first taken a solemn oath, to protect and defend the *Roman* Catholick Apostolick religion against all manner of persons whatsoever: to preserve the dominions belonging to the Crown of *France* entire: to support the privileges of the three orders, the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons; to cause the laws and constitutions of the kingdom to be observed, and due deference to be paid to the power and authority of Parliaments. After this oath, and many processions and calling upon the name of God, he chose and appointed the council of the Union, consisting of forty of the most able and eminent persons of the League, which, with his assistance, was to deliberate upon and determine the most weighty affairs; whilst *The council of sixteen*, which still was to subsist, had the particular care of the government of *Paris*.

Having thus taken the command of the League upon him, the Duke not only began to augment his troops, and to form his army, that he might march with it whithersoever occasion should require; but allotted forces and appointed commanders to conduct the affairs of the League in every province, and to make war upon all those that were yet of the King's party. The Duke of *Mercœur*, Governor of *Bretagne*, neither regarding the exhortations of the King, nor the intreaties of his sister, to unite with them, had, by his example and authority, excited all that province to revolt, except the Parliament of *Rennes* and some few towns and little castles; so that he was grown very strong and powerful there. But the case was different in *Normandy*: for though the greatest part of the towns had declared for the League, yet the Nobility adhered to the King's party; so that their chiefs there were but few and separated: the Sieur *De la Londe* was at *Roüen*, *Andrew de Brancas* Sieur *De Villars* at *Havre de Grace*, *Longchamp* at *Lisieux*, and the Baron *D'Echaufour* in the country of *Perche*: wherefore, the Duke sent the Count *De Brisac* thither with command over them all. The Duke of *Aumale* went into *Picardy*, of which he was Governor, a divided province, but of great importance to the League, as it bordered upon the territories of his Catholick Majesty. The Count *De Chaligni* and Colonel *St. Paul*, an old servant bred up in the house of *Guise*, went into *Champagne*, in the government of

which, the young Duke, who was yet in priſon, was deſtined to ſucceed 1589. his father. The Count *De Tavannes*, an old and experienced ſoldier, had orders to command in *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Mayenne's* own government. The care of *Lionnois* was committed to the Duke of *Nemours*, and in his abſence to his brother the Marquis *St. Sorlin*. The command of *Berry* was continued to the Sieur *De la Chaſtre*, who being Field-Marſhal in the Duke of *Nevers's* army, as ſoon as he could get quit of that commiſſion, followed the party of the League, as he formerly had done. The Count *De Randan* had the chief command in *Auvergne*, and in *Provence* the Marquis *De Villars* and the Sieur *De Vins*, an old adherent of the houſe of *Guiſe*. The Dukes of *Joyeuſe*, one father, and the other brother to him that was killed in the engagement at *Coutras* with the King of *Navarre*, had the government of *Gaſcony*, in which province the party of the confederates was not very ſtrong. And in *Dauphiné*, *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*, they had but few friends, except the city and Parliament of *Tholouſe*.

But before all theſe preparations, the Duke had diſpatched *Lazarus de Coqüeille*, Counſellor of the *Pariſian* Parliament, to *Rome*, with two Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, to get the decree of their college confirmed, by which they had determined that the King had forfeited his Crown, and that his ſubjects might lawfully withdraw their obedience from him: as the Duke plainly foreſaw, that a popular cauſe, wholly founded upon the pretext of religion, muſt, in a great meaſure, depend, for ſupport and encouragement, upon the approbation of the Holy See.

But the King, who laboured under his uſual melancholy, though he diſſembled it, and ſince the death of his mother, had been many days troubled with the bloody flux, was no leſs ſollicitous about the event of his application at *Rome*, than the Duke of *Mayenne*; not only on account of the uneaſineſs it gave him to live at variance with the Holy See, as he had a very great veneration for religion, but becauſe, in this caſe, he was of the ſame opinion with thoſe of the League, and ſaw that the foundation of all the adverſe party's hopes conſiſted in approbation and encouragement from the court of *Rome*. Upon which account, though he had abſolution given him for the death of the Cardinal, by virtue of a brief that he obtained a few months before from the preſent Pope, by which he might cauſe himſelf to be abſolved, even in all reſerved caſes, by his ordinary Confeſſor; yet, as he thought this was not ſufficient, he ſent *Claude D'Angennes*, of his favourite family of *Rambouillet*, and Biſhop of *Mans*, a Prelate of deep learning and ſingular eloquence, who, being thoroughly acquainted with all his reaſons, might ſollicit his abſolution from the Pope, and endeavour to make his peace with the Holy

1589. See, to which he was ready to give all manner of ſatisfaction that his own ſecurity would admit of.

As ſoon as the Biſhop of *Mans* arrived at *Rome*, and had conferred with the other Ambaſſadors, they went all together to demand an audience of the Pope. At which, after the uſual compliments, and profeſſions of the moſt profound ſubmiſſion, they ſaid in the firſt place, "That they "conceived the King had not incurred any cenſure, as he had not "violated the eccleſiaſtical liberties and immunities: for that the Car-"dinal was guilty of the crime of rebellion; in which caſe, the Prelates "of *France*, notwithſtanding any dignity they may be in poſſeſſion of, are "always underſtood to be ſubject to the ſecular juriſdiction: and ſo much "the more, becauſe, he having been a Peer of *France*, his cauſe naturally "ought to have been tried in the court of Peers, which is no other than "the High Court of Parliament, with the aſſiſtance of the Princes and "great Officers of the Crown. So that if the King had infringed any juriſ-"diction, it was that of the Parliament, and not the eccleſiaſtical one, "which had nothing to do with the Peers of *France*." But as the Pope was ſo far from being ſatisfied with this argument, that he ſeemed ſtill more provoked and offended at it, alledging the privileges and dignity of Cardi-nals, who, he ſaid, were immediately ſubject to the Pope, and no other; the Ambaſſadors in the next place inſiſted, "That the Kings of "*France* could not incur cenſure for any ſentence they ſhould paſs; and "urged the privileges of the Moſt Chriſtian Kings, and the jurriſdiction "of the *Gallican* church." But this incenſed the Pope to ſuch a degree, that he bid them, "take heed how they advanced any thing that favoured "of hereſy, as this did, for in ſuch caſe he ſhould make them feel the "weight of his diſpleaſure." To which the Marquis replied, "That as "Ambaſſadors, their perſons could not be injured nor touched, and that "no fear of any kind ſhould ever deter them from aſſerting his Majeſty's "rights." Yet as the deſign of their embaſſy was to appeaſe and not exaſperate the Pope, they alledged, in the third place, "That the King, "by virtue of the Apoſtolick brief granted to him by his Holineſs, had "cauſed himſelf to be abſolved, and therefore they only deſired, as his "Holineſs very well knew he had granted him ſuch a brief, that he "would either be pleaſed to confirm it, or not offended, if the King, ſet-"ting a due value upon it, had availed himſelf of it in time of need: "for as he had not leiſure to conſider the matter very maturely in a con-"juncture of ſo great danger, and never had any intention to offend the "juriſdiction of the Holy See, ſo, after he had been made ſenſible of it, he "had been touched with a ſcruple of conſcience, and had proſtrated him-"ſelf at the feet of his Confeſſor, and both deſired and obtained abſolu-"tion, as far as the occaſion required, though he could not think he had

"been

" been guilty of any real transgression." To this the Pope answered, " That the brief was granted for things past, but could not extend to " future sins, the absolution of which could not be anticipated. That " such a case as this, in which the honour of the Apostolick See was im- " mediately wounded, and all Christendom scandalized, was not com- " prehended in that brief: And that the purport of it was only to be ex- " plained by him that granted it. which he now declared, affirming, " that it had never been his intention that the King should receive abso- " lution for his future transgressions, and for so evident a violation of the " dignity of the Cardinalate."

After this sollicitation had been often renewed, and the reciprocal allegations of right and authority frequently discussed, the Ambassadors at last condescended to petition the Pope, in writing, for absolution, as he had expressed a desire of having them do so, and said it would be a means of appeasing and satisfying him. So that, after the good offices of the *Venetian* and *Florentine* Ambassadors, who had received orders from their respective states to exert their utmost endeavours in the King's favour, the Bishop, in a very submissive petition, desired absolution from the Pope: who answered, in a gracious manner, " That he should grant it with plea- " sure, as soon as ever he was assured of the King's contrition, which he " could wish he would convince him of, by setting the Cardinal of *Bour-* " *bon* and the Archbishop of *Lions* at liberty, as he could not prevail upon " himself to grant him absolution for one crime, whilst he was in the " actual commission of another, that was of no less prejudice to the Apo- " stolick See, and which he could not put up." At this the Ambassadors, and those that seconded their application, were exceedingly perplexed, as they thought themselves deceitfully used, and that other sort of treatment was due to the King of *France*: so that, after a recapitulation of the arguments that had been urged at former conferences, they added, " That " by setting those Prelates at liberty, his Majesty would but increase the " flame in his kingdom, to the evident danger of his life and crown, and " therefore, that it was not adviseable to release them." To which the Pope replied, " That they ought to be sent prisoners to him: for if he " found them guilty, he knew which way to punish them." But the Ambassadors answered, in the first place, " That the cognizance of things " in his own state properly belonged to the King: and in the next, that " the whole kingdom (thanks to their conspiracies) was in such a fer- " ment, that they could not be sent; for all the country near the *Alps*, " and round about the place where they were, being up in arms, it was " not possible to remove them, nor to conduct them securely: and there- " fore the King was not obliged to impossibilities." But the Pope obstinately persisting in his demand, the Ambassadors at last agreed to write

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1589. about it to their court, and insisted, that in the mean time, as the King had humbled himself, and submitted to the Apostolick See, the decree of the *Sorbonne* ought to be revoked and nullified, not only as irregular and unjust, but insolent and prejudicial to the rights of the Holy See, of which those divines made so little account, that they had dared to determine a point of so great consequence, as the deposing of a King; a power which, though it should be granted to belong to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, could yet only be lodged in the highest, which is in the Vicar of *Christ*, and not in that of a petulant college, consisting of a few passionate and corrupted persons. But even this was also refused. For though the Pope confessed, that the decree was presumptuous and worthy of censure, yet he said he would defer that, till the King had given him full satisfaction.

This seeming very strange to the Ambassadors, as they had proposed all those spiritual satisfactions, which they could offer, even to the prejudice of the Crown, and with so much humility, that more could not be desired from a King, they resolved to try another way: and the Marquis, who had married a *Roman* Lady, began, by means of her relations, to treat with Donna *Camilla* the Pope's sister, offering, amongst other presents that should be made to the Pope's family, if absolution was obtained by their good offices, to give the Marquisate of *Saluzzo* in fee-farm to his nephew Don *Michael*, which the King engaged to recover at his own expence from the Duke of *Savoy*, as soon as he had made peace with the Catholicks in his own kingdom. But neither could this prevail upon the obduracy of the Pope: partly, because the Marquisate was now in such hands, that it could not be obtained without a tedious war: partly, because he saw the kingdom of *France* involved in such distractions, and the Catholick party so strong, that he was in doubt whether his absolution would be sufficient to compose them and restore peace. Besides, at this very time, the Abbé *D'Orbais* arrived at *Rome*, who had been sent by the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Duchess of *Nemours*, Madam *De Montpensier*, and other heads of the League, in the first place, to magnify the strength of the union, into which, he said, almost all the principal cities of *France* had entered, with an infinite number of the Nobility and Commons; so that now the King was deposed and deprived of his Crown, not only in writing, but fact: And in the next, to complain of the inclination which the Pope shewed to absolve *Henry of Valois*, as they called him; by which he, who was head of the Catholick church, and whom it concerned more than any other person to promote the holy union, which had been contracted for the defence of religion, and the privileges and dignity of the Holy See, shewed, that he made but small account of it: that the imputations of treason and rebellion, which were cast upon the memory of the Duke and Cardinal of *Guise*, were false and groundless; for they had never taken up

 arms

arms againſt the King, nor ever conſpired againſt him; but had always 1589. ſhewn due obedience and veneration to the royal name, and ſupported and defended the Catholick religion againſt all the forces and machinations of the *Hugonots*. That it was well known to every one, how *Francis* the Duke their father, had loſt his life in the ſervice of the Crown and the church of God, as alſo the Duke of *Aumale* their uncle, ſlain fighting under the walls of *Rochelle* for the Catholick faith. That it was likewiſe manifeſt, how much the late Duke of *Guiſe* had laboured, and what he had undergone, whilſt he bore arms in the cauſe of his Prince and his religion. That he had carried the ſcars of thoſe wounds in his face as long as he lived, which he had received whilſt he was valiantly fighting againſt the army of the Reiters, for the defence of the provinces and confines of the kingdom. That he had defended the city of *Poictiers*, when it was ſo long and obſtinately beſieged by the *Hugonots*, and bravely led up the firſt ſquadrons againſt them at the victories of *Jarnac* and *Moncontour*. That, laſt of all, he had not only expoſed himſelf, and all his friends, with a handful men, to the fury of that formidable army of *German* Proteſtants, but abſolutely conquered and diſperſed it, to the preſervation of the kingdom and all good Chriſtians. That in all theſe toils and dangers, he had never pretended to any thing elſe but to ſerve the King, and defend the Catholicks from the imminent oppreſſion of the *Hugonots*. That if the King had been obliged to retire from *Paris* upon the inſurrection of the people, it was entirely owing to himſelf, for having put a garriſon into a city where there never had been one before, and for endeavouring to take away the lives of the chief citizens; but no conſpiracy of the Duke of *Guiſe's*, who, on the contrary, had appeaſed the multitude and quieted the tumult. That ſince that time the King had been reconciled to them, and agreed to the pacification, in which the Lords of *Lorrain* had neither demanded nor obtained any thing elſe, but that the publick exerciſe of the *Hugonot* religion might be prohibited, and that a war might be commenced againſt them. That even if ſome little ſhadow of ſuſpicion had remained, the King ought to have forgotten it, after taking ſo many oaths and in ſo ſolemn a manner; and not to cauſe two moſt innocent Princes to be murdered, under the protection of the publick faith, for no other reaſon but to encourage the *Hugonots*, and to ſuppreſs the Catholick party, and the true religion. But ſuppoſing that the Duke and Cardinal had actually been guilty of ſome errors, what could be laid to the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* charge, a very peaceable and innocent old man, who was moſt cruelly kept priſoner. That this was making uſe both of force and artifice to deprive the Catholick party of that ſupport, and to cauſe the ſucceſſion to devolve upon relapſed and excommunicated *Hugonot* Princes. That the Pope ought to oppoſe his authority to this ſo evident a deſign, puniſh what

1589. what was past, and provide against the future; and not to be backward in protecting so many people, who had unanimously engaged themselves to lay down their lives, if there should be occasion, for the defence of their religion, and to repair and restore the honour of the holy church, now pulled down and vilely trampled upon. That it became him, as the shepherd, to put himself at the head of his flock, and encourage them all in so good and pious an undertaking. But that it would be very unseemly, if, whilst others bravely took up arms for that purpose, he, who was so far removed out of all danger, should be the only one whose courage failed him. With these remonstrances, the Princes of the League endeavoured to whet up the Pope: and he daily receiving fresh accounts, from different places, of the tumults and insurrections in *France*, as a man of little experience in government, and not knowing how easily popular commotions are extinguished, already gave the King up for lost, and determined not to side with the weaker party, lest he should disgrace himself and the Apostolick See, as the *Spanish* Ambassador and those of the League were perpetually suggesting to him.

In the mean time the King, being very anxious and sollicitous about the determination at *Rome*, suspended his resolution, and seemed to have dropped the courage of a lion again, which he had resumed after the death of the Duke of *Guise*. For the Duke of *Nevers*, who carried the war on against the *Hugonots* in *Poictou*, having taken *Ganache* in this interval, could not keep his army together (which was chiefly composed of persons that depended upon the League) after they heard of the death of the Lords of *Lorrain*. So that he was obliged to return to court; and the King, who was distressed for money, and inclined to an agreement, no longer thought of keeping an army on foot, but laboured wholly to bring about a peace, having desired the Cardinal Legate to interpose his good offices for that purpose, and promising to refer all differences to the Pope's arbitrement. But when the Legate had acquainted the Duke of *Mayenne* with this offer, and advised him to consent to a truce, that the accommodation might be negociated at *Rome*, he refused to comply; alledging, that he could no longer trust a man, who, notwithstanding so many solemn oaths, had violated the publick faith, and the law of nations in the face of the States-General of *France* assembled. That this was only another device of the King's, to gain time, by means of a truce, to arm and provide himself. That the Legate ought not to suffer himself to be made the tool of that deceitful policy, as it tended only to the prejudice of the Catholick religion, and the privileges of the church, now contemptuously violated and trampled under foot: but that it was more proper to wait for the determination of the court of *Rome*, as he had fully acquainted his Holiness with the present situation of affairs. But when the King was informed

informed that the Duke of *Mayenne* refused to listen to a truce, and at the 1589. same time received letters from his Ambassadors at *Rome*, which gave him an account, that the Pope still obstinately persisted in demanding the prisoners; as he knew not how to release them without increasing the present distractions, since it was certain that the followers of the union, who had already declared him to have forfeited his Crown, would not fail to elect the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, it gave a new turn to the course of affairs: for as he conceived that he had used all possible means to appease the Pope, even to the prejudice of his own honour, he began to change his resolution, that he might not give his enemies an opportunity of suppressing him without making any resistance. This necessity was so apparent, that even the Duke of *Nevers*, who had ever advised his Majesty to give the Pope satisfaction, lest he should divide the Catholick party, had no objection to urge against it; as the exigency of affairs absolutely obliged him to come to some resolution. Wherefore the Count *De Soissons*, who a few days before had defeated some troops of the League, and was come, with what forces he had, to *Blois*, began to set on foot a treaty of accommodation with the King of *Navarre*, and applied himself, with much assiduity, to bring it about. The King, however, was very averse to such an agreement, as indeed he always had been, out of a natural dislike to any connexion with the *Hugonots*. But necessity convinced him, that there was no other expedient left; and all his Counsellors unanimously agreed, " That it highly concerned him to take some speedy resolution, unless he had a mind to be left destitute and abandoned betwixt two potent enemies, one of whom was in possession of every place on this side the *Loire*, and the other had taken all the towns beyond it. Besides, where was the money? What forces had he of his own to depend upon, or what allies to enable him to contend, at the same time, with both factions? That he was sure, which way soever he turned himself, to have one enemy before him and another upon his back; and that whilst his own kingdom was divided betwixt the two religions, and all the foreign Princes took either one side or the other, he with a new and unexampled kind of policy would make them both his enemies. That in such a division, whilst sometimes one party, and perhaps sometimes the other, usurped the royal authority, he would find himself without forces, without funds, without ready money, and, according to the proverb, *Left dry betwixt two rivers*, as he had always apprehended he should be, and was indeed in a great measure at present. That he had already done as much as man could do to appease the Pope. That he had so far descended from his dignity, as to propose an accommodation with those that were actually up in arms against him, and to give such satisfaction to rebels and despisers of his authority, as they did not by

1589. by any means deserve. That he had, with unparalleled patience, submitted to bear the insolence of the common people, the invectives of the preachers, the outrageous abuse of both the factions, the presumptuous decrees of the *Sorbonne*, and in a great measure left royal Majesty to be disposed of according to the caprice of the remnants of the house of *Guise*. That at *Rome* he had condescended to do that which none of his predecessors would ever bear to hear of before, and not only petitioned for absolution in writing, for doing a thing that was highly reasonable, just, and necessary, but had offered likewise to refer all differences to the decision of the Pope. What was there more to be done, but (considering the temper of the *Spaniards*, who had the absolute direction of every thing at the court of *Rome*, and of the fiery and inflexible disposition of the Pope) to wait patiently till he was torn to pieces by his enemies, and to have the same outrages committed upon his own person, that had been offered to his statues at *Paris* and *Tholouse*? That now, indeed, it was high time to exert the heart of a lion, and, by the King of *Navarre's* assistance, *to avenge his enemies upon his enemies*. That this was neither a new nor an unheard-of example: for both King *Charles* his brother, and even he himself, had granted peace to the *Hugonots*, in times of less necessity than the present; and that the last breach was not occasioned by any voluntary failure on his side, but by the conspiracies and violent proceedings of the League. That he had taken away the lives of the late brothers of the house of *Guise* in vain, if he still stood in the same awe of them when they were dead, and, now that impediment was removed, did not endeavour to curb all seditions, to recover his own power, and, finally, to restore peace and tranquillity to his kingdom.

Such, in substance, was the advice of his Counsellors. And the King of *Navarre*, being sufficiently apprised that downright necessity must at last oblige the King to take that course, endeavoured to pave a way for it, by many favourable declarations and writings, which he caused to be drawn up and dispersed for that purpose. And many towns in *Poictou* and *Xaintoigne* having surrendered to him after the departure of the Duke of *Nevers*, he had strictly enjoined them all to do no manner of injury to the Catholicks; and wherever he had any command, he suffered them to enjoy liberty of conscience, treating the Clergy with great honour and respect, and giving them leave to celebrate mass publickly in all places, without any impediment or molestation. Besides all this, when he came to *Chastelraut*, which place he had taken together with *Niort*, he published a manifesto, wherein he expressed not only his detestation of the insurrections and rebellion of the people against their natural Prince, but his own readiness to shew all due obedience to his Majesty, and to take up arms against them: and at the same time exhorted all those of

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his party to aſſiſt him in ſo laudable an undertaking, to convince all the world what their intentions had ever been, and that they had taken arms, not for the ſake of any private intereſts, but merely for liberty of conſcience. The King likewiſe had juſtified his actions in writing, and ſet forth his reaſons for putting the Lords of *Guiſe* to death: and the Duke of *Mayenne* had done the ſame on his ſide, endeavouring to put a good face upon their taking up arms, and upon the proceedings of the League. After which proteſts and declarations, a treaty was ſet on foot to bring about a truce with the King of *Navarre*, by means of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who, after the death of the *Guiſes*, was reſtored to his former authority and favour with the King, and after having ſupplied him with twelve hundred *Gaſcon* Harquebuſiers, under the command of Colonel *Moncaſſin*, had ſent the Abbé *del Bene* to negociate this treaty with him. But as many difficulties aroſe in the courſe of it, and the King ſeemed to conſent to theſe meaſures, as it were by force, Madam *Diana D'Angouleſme*, his natural ſiſter, a Lady of great prudence and long experience in State affairs, was employed to treat with him concerning the accommodation. But when the Cardinal Legate heard of it, he made heavy complaints to the King; repreſenting to his Majeſty, that it was acting quite contrary to the aſſurances which he had often given him, that, notwithſtanding the death of the Lords of *Guiſe*, he would certainly make war upon the *Hugonots*. Upon which conſideration, he had endeavoured to promote his intereſts with the Pope, by making favourable reports and repreſentations of his actions to the court of *Rome*; which now would not only prove fruitleſs and inſignificant, but ſerve to leſſen both their reputations, nay, to bring a great deal of blame and infamy upon them, if he ſo readily entered into an agreement with the *Hugonots*, and turned the arms that were deſtined againſt them, to the deſtruction of the Catholick party, and of thoſe that depended upon the Apoſtolick See and the Pope's authority. But the King, not being willing to let him into the bottom of the affair, denied that he had concluded any ſuch treaty with the *Hugonots*; but ſaid, that even if he ſhould do ſo, the fault was not to be imputed to him, who was the ſame man that he ever had been, and always deſirous to extirpate hereſy, but to the obduracy of the Pope, who ſo obſtinately denied to give him abſolution, and at the ſame time fomented the inſurrections of his rebellious ſubjects: and to the ſtubbornneſs of the Duke of *Mayenne* and the reſt of the League, who abhorred the name of peace, and had refuſed to refer their differences to the arbitrement of the Pope. That he deſired no better, nor more competent witneſs, than the Legate himſelf, to whom he had always communicated his thoughts without reſerve, and whom alone he had employed to negociate that affair. That he ought to conſider the extremities he was

1589. reduced to by the malice and perverſeneſs of others, and not to impute that to inclination which was extorted from him by mere force and neceſſity.

But as ſoon as it began to be talked of, that an accommodation was treating with the *Hugonots*, Don *Bernardino Mendozza*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, immediately left the Court, without taking any leave, and coming to *Paris*, reſided there as Ambaſſador to the Lords of the League. Upon which, the Legate was in doubt how to act, as he thought it would be imprudent to leave the King, and put an end to all hopes of keeping him with the Catholick party: and, on the other hand, he was afraid he ſhould be cenſured, if he ſhewed leſs zeal for religion than the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador had done. Yet when he conſidered, that the aſſiſtance of a phyſician was moſt neceſſary, where the danger was the greateſt, he reſolved to ſtay till he ſaw what courſe things were like take, and in the mean time to acquaint the court of *Rome* with the preſent ſituation of affairs, and his opinion of it. But as the Pope now looked upon him rather as an accomplice in the King's crime, than one that had diſcharged the duty of a Legate, or an Ambaſſador, as he ought to have done, he could not help entertaining a violent ſuſpicion of him, and paid but little regard to his letters. There were frequent conſultations betwixt him and the Cardinal of *Vendoſme*, who, though the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, his uncle and benefactor, was ſtill kept in priſon, yet, in regard to the intereſts of his family, had never left the King. And ſometimes the Duke of *Nevers* was at theſe conferences, together with *René de Beaune*, Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, a Prelate of great wiſdom and eloquence, who being driven out of his dioceſe for endeavouring to prevent the people from riſing there, had taken ſhelter at Court. They all could have wiſhed, that the King would not have concluded any agreement with the *Hugonots*: but the Pope was ſo obſtinate, the Duke of *Mayenne* ſo refractory, and the inſurrections ſo general through the kingdom, that though they abhorred the thoughts of it, yet not one of them could tell with what face to find fault with ſuch an accommodation. Madam *D'Angouleſme*, therefore, having treated perſonally with the King of *Navarre*, and then coming to confer with the King at *Blois*, their differences were in a great meaſure compoſed. For the King of *Navarre*, attentively conſidering the fair opportunity of raiſing himſelf and his party again, and reſolving to fight under the royal banners and authority againſt enemies, that had been ſo many years endeavouring to ſuppreſs him, willingly accepted all the conditions that were offered him by the King, and only objected to one article. For as ſome town upon the *Loire* was to be put into his hands, that he might paſs and repaſs that river with his forces, as occaſion required, the King would have given him *Gergeau* or *Pont de Sè*, weak towns, and hardly defenſible;

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and he demanded *Saumur*, a city conveniently situated for that purpose near *Tours*, and which might easily be fortified and maintained: yet he insisted upon this with great modesty, and rather proposed it by way of request, than as an article or condition of agreement.

1589.

Two events of great moment obliged and finally determined the King to conclude this treaty. One, that Captain *Du Gast*, Governor of *Amboise* (into whose custody the other prisoners had been delivered, after he had killed the Cardinal of *Guise*) having been tempted with infinite promises by the followers of the League, who, at the same time, had artfully raised doubts and suspicions in his mind, began to lend an ear to them. For the Archbishop of *Lions* had made him believe, that the King, to clear himself of the Cardinal of *Guise's* death, had represented to the court of *Rome*, that *Du Gast*, on account of some private resentment, had caused him to be put to death, of his own accord, and without any order from his Majesty; and that he now likewise kept the other Prelates in prison merely to gratify his avarice, with no better authority. And as he was a weak and credulous man, he was easily prevailed upon to believe this story, and began to think of making terms for himself by setting his prisoners at liberty: the apprehension of which occasioned so much anxiety and disquietude in the King's breast, that he was forced to give him thirty thousand crowns, out of the little money that he had, to recover them out of his hands, and to prevent him from releasing them, and going over himself to the party of the League; which he could hardly prevail upon him not to do, even by so large a sum. So that it now became necessary to distribute the prisoners into different places, under separate guards, and at a much heavier expence. The Cardinal of *Bourbon* therefore was sent to *Chinon*, the Duke of *Guise* to *Tours*, the Duke of *Elbeuf* to *Loches*, and the Archbishop, whom *Du Gast* could not be persuaded to part with, continued alone in the castle of *Amboise*.

The other accident, which so much alarmed the King, was an insurrection at *Tours*, the principal city in *Touraine*, situated upon the *Loire*, and which he had designed to make the chief seat and resort of his party. For the inhabitants, at the instigation of many that inclined to the League, and of certain Ecclesiasticks, began to grow tumultuous, and rose upon their magistrates; the common people having been persuaded, that the town was to be assigned to the King of *Navarre* for his residence. The King, therefore, with the Marshal *D'Aumont*, the Count *De Soissons*, and what few guards he had with him, was obliged to fly to the danger; which being over, and the city composed again, he began to see plainly, that it was necessary to take such a resolution, and that the delays at the court of *Rome* were of so much prejudice to his affairs, that he was reduced into extreme danger of being totally ruined. So that without further delay, the

1589. truce was concluded for a year, betwixt his most Christian Majesty and the King of *Navarre*, upon the following conditions: "That the publick exercise of the Catholick religion should be restored in all places that were held by the *Hugonots*, without any exception. That the goods of the Clergy should be returned to them, in what hands soever they were, and that all prisoners that were in their power should be set at liberty. That the King of *Navarre* should be obliged to serve the King in person, with four thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, wheresoever he should be commanded, and that all the cities, towns, and places of his party, should observe the laws and constitutions of the kingdom, obey the Parliaments and King's magistrates, and receive all those ordinances which his present Majesty had made, or should hereafter make. On the other hand, that the King of *Navarre* should be admitted into *Saumur*, and keep it in his power, that so he might at any time command a free passage over the *Loire*: which, nevertheless, he should be obliged to restore at the King's pleasure, without any demur or opposition." These articles being agreed upon and ratified, *Beaulieu*, the Secretary of State, delivered up *Saumur* to the King of *Navarre*, who gave the government of it to the Sieur *Du Plessis Mornay*, his old and faithful friend.

The same truce was made in *Dauphiné*, betwixt Colonel *Alphonso Corso*, on the King's part, and Monsieur *Les Diguiers*, for the King of *Navarre*: upon which, they immediately united their forces for their common defence. The *Hugonots* rejoiced exceedingly at this reconciliation, magnifying their fidelity and obedience to his royal Majesty, to the confusion of those, who till that time had publickly defamed them, as contumacious and incorrigible rebels.

And indeed, it was a thing worthy of very great admiration, and one of the secret mysteries of Divine Wisdom, that when the King of *Navarre* was reduced to so low a condition, and abandoned almost by every body, confined to a little corner of the kingdom, and often in such want, even of things necessary for his own maintenance, that he was obliged to live more like a free-booter, and a soldier of fortune, than a Prince as he was, his enemies, out of too much eagerness in persecuting him, and too ardent a desire to see him utterly suppressed, should endeavour it by so many different ways, by raising so many wars, by entering into so many combinations, by fomenting so many conspiracies, by practising so many artifices, and that they should all redound to his advantage, and serve, in a manner almost miraculous, only to promote his greatness and exaltation. For there was no cool and disinterested man, that was acquainted with the affairs of *France*, who did not plainly see, that, if the King had been suffered to live and govern as peaceably as he was inclined, the King of *Navarre's* forces must have been absolutely destroyed and reduced to nothing: as peace and length

length of time would naturally have diſſolved that little union which ſtill ſubſiſted amongſt the *Hugonots*, and afforded ſufficient means and opportunities of breaking and ſubduing the reſolution of the *Rochellers*, on which he wholly depended: and the King, out of his eſtabliſhed averſion to hereſy, would have totally extinguiſhed and rooted it out by various means and artifices, and in an inſenſible manner. Whereas, on the contrary, the courſe of ſo many wars and factions did not only confirm the *Hugonots* in their obſtinacy, who were ſo much the more determined to reſiſt, as they thought themſelves unjuſtly perſecuted, but alſo at laſt, gave the King of *Navarre* an opportunity of reconciling himſelf to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the *French* Nobility, furniſhed him with arms and power, and ultimately, though contrary to his own expectation, and the natural courſe of things, opened him a way to the poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*.

As ſoon as the truce was verbally concluded, for it was not publiſhed in form till many days after, the King being reſolved to alter his manner of proceeding, to put on the lion's face now in good earneſt, and to front his enemies in the field, diſpatched the Sieur *De la Clielle* to the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, to ſollicit the loan of two hundred thouſand ducats, to raiſe a body of *Swiſs* infantry, and another of *German* cavalry: with which, out of regard to the alliance lately contracted with his Majeſty, as the Lady *Chriſtina* his Ducheſs was then upon her paſſage into *Italy*, to conſummate her marriage, the Grand Duke readily conſented to furniſh him, and immediately ſent one hundred thouſand to *Auſbourg* by the Chevalier *Guicciardini*, with a promiſe to advance the other moiety as ſoon as the levy was begun. Upon which, the King diſpatched Monſieur *De Sancy* to *Switzerland*, as he had been many years Ambaſſador in that country, with a commiſſion, if he could not have the ten thouſand foot that he requeſted from the Catholick Cantons, on account of the oppoſition which it was apprehended he would meet with there from the *Spaniards*, to raiſe them in the Proteſtant Cantons: and at the ſame time ſent *Gaſpar* Count of *Schomberg* to hire a body of *German* horſe, who, for fear of falling into the enemies hands, took a round about, and, as it proved, a fruitleſs journey. He alſo ſent *James Auguſtus de Thou* to the Emperor, under a pretence of notifying the death of the Queen his mother: and *Pierre Forget*, Sieur *De Freſnè*, lately made Secretary of State, under the ſame pretence, to the court of *Spain*. But his real deſign was, that one might diſpoſe *Rodolphus* not to interfere in thoſe levies that were be made for his ſervice in *Germany*, and the other, to try, if it was poſſible, to prevail upon his Catholick Majeſty not to lend that open aſſiſtance, which he plainly did to the heads of the Union, with whom *Mendozza* actually reſided in the character of Ambaſſador to them.

Having thus provided, in the beſt manner he could, for things without

the kingdom, he began to attend to those within it: and having called together all the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Roüen*, and *Dijon*, who had fled from the fury of the people, he determined that the Parliament of *Paris* should reside in the city of *Tours*, that of *Roüen*, in the city of *Caen*, in the same province of *Normandy*, and that of *Dijon*, at *Chalons*, another city in the duchy of *Burgundy*; and then, by a most severe edict, declared all such persons rebels, as had been chosen into any office belonging to the Parliaments, and should continue to reside in those cities and towns that had withdrawn themselves from their obedience, forbidding every one to have recourse to them for justice, and declaring all sentences void which they should pronounce, under the name and title of Parliaments. He likewise published a declaration against the Duke of *Mayenne*, against the Duke and Chevalier *D'Aumale*, and others, who had caused cities to revolt and taken up arms against him; threatning, that if they did not lay down their arms, and desist from disturbing and molesting the Kingdom, and return to their duty within the space of fifteen days, they should be deemed guilty of rebellion, and be so declared, with the confiscation of all their goods and estates. After these proclamations, he proceeded to action: and having appointed Governors in all the provinces, gave orders to raise forces, to draw them together, and to begin the war in every place. The Count *De Soissons* was made Governor in *Bretagne*: the Duke of *Montpensier* in *Normandy*: the Marshal *De Matignon*, Lieutenant to the King of *Navarre*, in *Guyenne*: the Marshal *De Montmorancy* in *Languedoc*: Monsieur *De la Valette*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Espernon*, in *Provence*: *Alphonso Corso* in *Dauphiné*: the Count *De Tavannes* Lieutenant in *Burgundy*: the Duke of *Longueville* Governor of *Picardy*: the Marshal *D'Aumont* of *Champagne*, and Monsieur *De Tenteville*, his Lieutenant: *Philibert* Sieur *de la Guiche* of *Lionnois*: Monsieur *De Montigny* of *Berry*: Monsieur *De Sourdis* in *Beausse*: the Sieur *D'Entragues* in the duchy of *Orleans*: and with himself he kept the Marshal *D'Aumont* to command the army, and gave orders, that the Duke of *Espernon* and the King of *Navarre* should come to him; the agreement with whom, after some delay, was accepted, and published on the 28th of *April*.

But after it was concluded, and before the publication of it, the Cardinal Legate, who thought he could not decently stay any longer near the King's person, and yet was unwilling to countenance the League in taking up arms by his presence and residence with them, at last resolved, after much perplexity, to go towards *Moulins*, and from thence out of the kingdom, as soon as he should receive orders from the court of *Rome*, where he knew he was exceedingly ill thought of by the Pope, and his reputation blasted by those that favoured the League, and endeavoured

to discredit his representations and advice. And yet the King, after he had tried all means to prevail upon him to reside in some place that adhered to his party, and excused his agreement with the King of *Navarre*, by the urgent necessity of his affairs; and after he had promised that he would still constantly persevere in the Catholick religion, which was rather benefited than in any wise hurt by the accommodation with the *Hugonots*, entreated the Legate to go to the Duke of *Mayenne* once more in person, and endeavour to bring him to an agreement, as he himself had not been able to make him vouchsafe to lend an ear to any treaty, either by means of the Duke of *Lorrain*, to whom he had written with his own hand, or by the mediation of Madam *De Nemours*, with whom he had caused the Queen to treat about it. And that all the world might be convinced of his desire to avoid coming to an agreement with the *Hugonots*, and in order to prevent others from joining the forces of the League, he gave the Cardinal a paper, subscribed by himself, which contained such concessions as he was willing to make to the Lords of the Union.

He offered the cities of *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun* to the Duke of *Lorrain*, with the title of Governor, and promised to use his endeavours to to get the heiress of *Boüillon* in marriage for the Count *De Vaudemont*, by which he would come into possession of *Jamets* and *Sedan*, places of great consequence, and much coveted by those Lords. He consented to leave the Duke of *Mayenne* in the possession of his government of *Burgundy*: to confer the governments of all the cities and fortresses in that province upon such persons as he should nominate: to permit that it should descend, in the same manner, to his eldest son: to give him an hundred thousand crowns in ready money, to discharge the debts that he had been obliged to contract upon the present occasions, with an annual pension of forty thousand crowns. To the Duke of *Guise*, he promised the government of *Champagne*, *St. Desier*, and *Roucroix*, for the security of his person, a pension of twenty thousand crowns, and ecclesiastical benefices to the yearly value of thirty thousand for one of his brothers, whom he would endeavour to get promoted to the dignity of a Cardinal. To the Duke of *Nemours*, he offered the government of *Lions*, and a pension of ten thousand crowns. To the Duke of *Aumale*, *St. Esprit de Rüe* for his security, and a pension likewise of ten thousand crowns. To the Chevalier his brother, the command of the infantry, and twenty thousand franks *per annum*. To the Duke of *Elbeuf*, the goverment of *Poictiers*, and ten thousand crowns in pension. He left it to the Pope to expound and adjust the edicts and agreements made in times past, and was desirous that he would take upon him the office of a friendly mediator, to compose all differences, with a power, if he pleased, to join the *Venetian* Senate, or the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* with him: and consented, if he

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1589. chose the *Venetian* Senate, that the Duke of *Ferrara*, uncle to the Lords of *Guise*, should be added on the part of the League: or, if he fixed upon the Grand Duke, that he should call in the Duke of *Lorrain* for the other side, as he was the head of their family.

But even these promises and concessions produced no effect: for the Duke of *Mayenne*, having had an interview with the Legate at *Chasteau-dune*, absolutely refused to listen to a peace, and excused himself by saying, He could not accept of any conditions, without assembling the States of the League, and all the Princes of his family, to have their consent to it; adding, that he could not with security have any further commerce with one that had already violated his faith. But the true reason was, that he thought himself now much superior to the King in strength, and because his Catholick Majesty and the Duke of *Savoy* had promised him supplies both of men and money, and his affairs at the court of *Rome* began to take a favourable turn.

When the news of the truce with the King of *Navarre*, and then of the Legate's departure, came to *Paris*, it is impossible to conceive the hatred that it excited against the King, and all those that followed him, and the extravagant effects that it produced, even to the prohibiting, by publick decrees, that they should pray for him any longer in the canon of the mass, as it is the custom to do for all the Kings of *France*, and as the Catholick church does often very charitably, especially in the solemnity of *Good Friday*, even for Hereticks, Pagans, and Idolators. And it is no easy matter to imagine, what a prodigious number of libels and declarations was printed and published against him, without any regard either to reason or modesty. But the noise of arms, which were now clashing in every place, quickly drowned that of libels and sermons.

The first action of the war happened in the province of *Normandy*. The Duke of *Montpensier*, Governor for the King, was gone to the city of *Caën*, whither the Counsellors and Presidents had fled from *Rouen*, together with *Pierre Seguier*, one of the *Parisian* Presidents, and where, by virtue of the King's edict, they had fixed the seat of the Parliament. At the Duke's arrival, all the Lords and Gentlemen that adhered to the King's party resorted thither: and by his order, the Sieurs *De Colombieres*, *De Lorges*, *De St. Dennis*, and the Baron *D'Ally* had raised four regiments of foot, so that he had three thousand foot and eight hundred horse under his command. With this army, which daily increased, the Duke resolved to lay siege to *Falaise*, a considerable town, and defended by a fortress, or great tower, called the *Dongeon*, being assured, that when once that place was taken, *Argentan*, *Vire*, and the other towns about *Caën*, would presently surrender of themselves: by which that city, now grown very populous, by the great number of clients that re-

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ſorted thither upon law affairs, and of thoſe that had fled thither for refuge, might be the more commodiouſly furniſhed with proviſions. But the ſecond day after their departure from *Caën*, a tumult had like to have happened amongſt his own men, which would certainly have overſet the whole enterpriſe. *John D'Hemery* Sieur *De Villers*, had the office of Marſhal of the field in this army, the ſame perſon that had ſtormed *Danfront* in the former war, and taken the Count *De Montgomery* priſoner there, who afterwards was executed at *Paris* by the order of *Charles* the ninth. The vanguard was led by the Count *De Torigny*, ſon to the Marſhal *De Matignon*: the Sieur *De Baqueville* commanded the light horſe, and the rear was conducted by the Count of *Montgomery*, ſon to the aforementioned Count: ſo that there was but a bad underſtanding betwixt him and the Marſhal, which was ſtill fomented by the Catholick party on one ſide, and the *Hugonot* on the other. It happened, as they were to march through the enemy's country, that it was neceſſary to quarter cloſe together, leſt the country people, who were up in arms, ſhould take an opportunity of falling upon ſuch as they found ſtraggling from the main body: upon which account, *Villers* was obliged to confine the Count and the *Hugonots* to ſtraiter quarters than they liked, as they had been but little accuſtomed to military diſcipline, and always indulged in the liberty of plundering, or *la picorée*, as they called it. But the Count, having torn the billet that was brought him by his Quarter-maſter, detached himſelf to the diſtance of above three miles from the army, with an intention to lodge in certain villages thereabout, for the greater convenience of provender for his light horſe: which being reported to *Villers*, he ſent to command him to return to his quarters, as both the rules of diſcipline, and the Duke of *Montpenſier's* orders, abſolutely required him to do. To which the Count, having ſent back a very arrogant anſwer, *Villers* ordered his Quarter-maſter to be ſeized and immediately hanged up, for having dared to aſſign him different quarters from thoſe that had been appointed by the Marſhal of the field: and having informed the Duke of the affair, he cauſed the Count *De Torigny* to draw up the vanguard, with a reſolution to force the Count to return to his proper quarters. And there would infallibly have been great miſchief done (as *Villers* was determined to make himſelf obeyed, whatever was the event; and the *Hugonots*, on the other ſide, were fully bent to defend their proceedings) if the Duke himſelf had not mounted his horſe to put an end to the mutiny by his preſence, and reſolutely commanded the Count of *Montgomery* to ſubmit; which he did, but the next day, under a pretence of going into the confines of the country of *Coûtance*, where his eſtate lay, to defend it from the incurſions of the Duke of *Mercœur*, he left the army, and the command of the rear guard was

1589.

1589. given to Monsieur *Du Hallot* and the Sieur *De Crevecœur* his brother. So that, after this tumult was appeased, they proceeded in good order, and under strict discipline, the Duke not suffering the least injury to be offered to the country people, nor any thing to be taken away from them, except victuals: for as his soldiers had received no pay, he could not avoid granting them free quarter.

Siege was now therefore laid to *Falaise*, and they began to batter it with one culverine and two other pieces of artillery, in full expectation of making themselves masters of it, if it was not speedily relieved. But the Count *De Brisac*, who could not get admission into his government of *Angiers*, and had been sent by the Duke of *Mayenne* to command in that province, being attended by some Gentlemen, and others of his dependents, to the number of three hundred horse, went to assist the *Gautiers*, that he might be able to relieve that place in time. The *Gautiers* were country people, who at first had taken up arms against all soldiers that passed through their territories, to prevent the losses and outrages which they might suffer by them: and afterwards, having been made to believe that the King was the cause of all those miseries, and that it was entirely owing to him that so many heavy impositions were added to the calamities of war, they had taken part with the League, and having broken up the highways, blocked up the passes, and fortified their towns and villages, were up in arms, to the number of sixteen thousand, and called themselves *Gautiers*, because they had first begun their insurrections in a town called *La Chapelle Gautier*, to which *Vimotier*, *Bernay*, and many other towns of less note had afterwards joined themselves. They had chosen three commanders, the Barons *De Maillot* and *D'Eschaufour*, and the Sieur *De Longchamp*, Governor of *Lisieux*, and appointed Captain *Vaumartel* their Serjeant-major; by whom they were instructed in the exercise of their arms, and in the order and discipline of the military profession. And as the Count *De Brisac* had obtained a promise that four thousand of these men, thus disciplined and appointed, should go with him to the relief of *Falaise*, and thought such a number sufficient for that purpose, with the assistance of those horse that he had with him, and an hundred Harquebusiers on horseback, under the command of Captain *Valage*, with two field pieces, he marched that way, imagining the Duke of *Montpensier* would retire upon his approach, for fear of being hemmed in betwixt two fires, as he would be, when he had these forces in his rear, and the town of *Falaise* in his front: so that he might then fortify it in a better manner, and put a stronger garrison into it. But the *Gautiers* being come within four leagues of *Falaise*, took up their quarters in a large village, which they fortified, at the entrance of the high road that led to the enemy, with their two field pieces, and

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a barricado made with barrels full of earth, that they might not be surprised, or attacked without being able to make a proper defence: whilst the Count *De Brisac* quartered at a little distance from them, by the side of the high road, and sent out parties of horse to scour the country.

1589.

Villers, however, made but little account of such a raw and inexperienced rabble: and having been out himself to reconnoitre their quarters, advised the Duke to raise the siege immediately, and attack them on a sudden. Upon which the Duke, who was very desirous of coming to an engagement, and put great confidence in his Marshal's judgment, quitted the siege that same night, and drew off his cannon from battering the walls, with a resolution to attack the *Gautiers* the next morning. By the disposition that *Villers* made for the assault, it was ordered that the culverine, and the other two pieces of artillery, should play along the high road upon the enemy's barricado and field pieces; after which, the infantry should march up to make the assault upon that part, in several divisions, under their respective Colonels: that the Duke of *Montpensier* should attack them, by a road that led into the fields on the right hand; and the Count *De Torigny*, with the cavalry of the vanguard, by another on the left: that the Sieurs *De Surené* and *Baqueville*, with two bodies of light horse, should stand ready to oppose the Count *De Brisac*, if he, with his horse, should make any attempt to divert the assault. The cannon were so well pointed, that they beat down all the enemy's barricado, and took off the head of Captain *Vaumartel*, who was busily engaged in rallying and encouraging his men: upon which, a signal was immediately given to attack the enemy on every side. The Duke of *Montpensier*, a brave and generous Prince, advanced to the attack on a round trot, at the head of his cavalry: but, whatever might be the occasion, leaving the post that was appointed for him on the right hand, he happened to fall in just at the place where the barricado was broken down, and the enemy's two pieces of artillery were planted, which had not yet given fire, so that it was most likely that many of his men would be slain, and the assault attended with much bloodshed. The wind was very high, and the shouts of the two armies so loud, that no particular man's voice could be distinguished, and the Duke would certainly have been in very great danger, if *Villers* had not set spurs to his horse, and galloped as fast as he could to overtake him, and make him sensible of his error; which he did, though but just in time to stop his career, by laying his battoon across his vizor, and brought him back, by a clear and open passage, to charge the enemy in the flank, as the Count *De Torigny* had likewise done on the other side, and the infantry in the front, where about twenty of them were killed by the discharge of the artillery: by which means the enemy was defeated in less than an hour, with the loss of about two

thousand

1589. thousand men, and of all their baggage, colours, and artillery. The Count *De Brisac*, who, during the engagement, had taken his station upon an eminence not far off, seeing himself so much inferior in strength, retired directly to *Falaise*, without making any further attempt, having opened a way, though with great slaughter of his men, to relieve that place; whilst the King's army, after their victory, marched into quarters in the adjacent villages.

After this, it was debated in a council of war, whether they should return to the siege of *Falaise* or not: but the opinion of *Villers* prevailed, who thought, as the Count *De Brisac* was now got into it with the rest of his forces, it would be a difficult and a tedious undertaking, and advised that the army, whilst it was flushed with victory, should march against the *Gautiers* to take their towns, and extinguish the insurrection at once. For when that obstacle was removed, there would be no forces left in that province to hinder them from making themselves masters of all the towns in it. With this resolution the army, reinforced with above four hundred fresh horse, marched towards the *Gautiers*, who being resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, had retired into three places, *Vimotier*, *Bernay*, and *La Chapelle Gautier*. But their commanders did not enter those towns with them; for *Longchamp* went to his government, and the rest gave out, that they were going to the Count *De Brisac*, to raise fresh supplies for their succour.

Vimotier was first assaulted and taken, without much trouble, as it was an open *bourg*. Above a thousand of the *Gautiers* were slain upon the spot, and those that fell into the enemy's hands alive, having taken an oath not to bear arms any more, but to follow their tillage, were set at liberty. So that having experienced very great gentleness and good order in the army, by the care which the Duke and *Villers* took to punish those that dared to commit the least outrage or insult, they were pretty well satisfied, and returned to the management of their own affairs. The attack upon *Bernay* was attended with more difficulty, for it was both walled round, and had the best men in it. But the cannon having battered it from morning till noon, the foot marched up to the assault, which was bravely sustained by the besieged: so that they were obliged to renew the battery the next morning, and having made a wider breach, many gentlemen dismounted from their horses, and put themselves at the head of the infantry to strengthen the assault, which being repeated with great fury, the action continued hot and bloody for the space of four hours. At last, young *l'Archant* and the Sieur *De Baqueville* entered the town, and after them the whole army, putting great numbers of the *Gautiers* to the sword: and a house being set on fire by a boy that belonged to Colonel *St. Dennis*, (for which he was condemned by Monsieur *Villers* to suffer death) the

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greater part of the town was burnt down to the ground. There were killed on the King's ſide, the Sieur *De la Fontain*, one of *Villers's* Aid du camps, fourteen Gentlemen, and about a hundred private men. The priſoners, having taken the ſame oath, and upon the ſame conditions, were ſet at liberty. But the remainder of the *Gautiers*, who were ſhut up in *La Chapelle*, ſeeing their aſſociates defeated, and that their commanders did not come with relief from any place, reſolved to ſurrender, and having ſent two of their Parochial Clergy for that purpoſe, they were forgiven upon the ſame terms: after which they left their arms and colours, and returned home to their uſual employment of tilling the earth.

1589.

Such was the ſucceſs of the firſt undertaking in this war; the news of which was received with great joy by the King at *Tours*, where he was buſy in augmenting his army, and ſettling his interview with the King of *Navarre*. For which purpoſe, the Sieur *Du Pleſſis Mornay* was come to his Majeſty a good many days before, and the Abbè *Del Bene* was likewiſe gone to the King of *Navarre*. Nor were they yet fully agreed concerning the place, and manner of their meeting. For his Majeſty was rather deſirous that the *Hugonots* ſhould make war apart: and the King of *Navarre* did not care to come to court, as he was diſſuaded from it by thoſe about him, who never ceaſed to remind him of *Paris*, and the maſſacre on *St. Bartholomew's* day. But neceſſity put an end to theſe doubts, by the coming of the Duke of *Mayenne*: who being engaged in a popular cauſe, and deſirous of getting a name, to ſtrengthen his party, and attach them more firmly to him, had left *Paris*, and was come to *Chaſteau-dune*, where he aſſembled his army from all parts: which, with two regiments ſent by the *Pariſians*, amounted to eight thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. His firſt attempt was upon *Vendoſme*, a large city, and part of the King of *Navarre's* patrimony, into which the Counſellors and Preſidents of the Parliament had retired, by the King's order, for their ſecurity, But as the Governor was treating ſecretly with the League, and intended to go over to that party, the Duke of *Mayenne* ſent the Sieur *De Rhoſnè* ſuddenly thither, with two thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, who being admitted, according to agreement, made himſelf maſter of the city, and took all the Counſellors and Magiſtrates priſoners, with many clients that attended them, who were afterwards obliged to ranſom themſelves with large ſums of money.

After *Vendoſme* was taken, it was thought, and with great reaſon, that the Duke would endeavour to make a further progreſs: upon which, the King ſent the Duke of *Eſpernon* forward, with the vanguard of his army, toward *Blois*, that he might lie in the way, and obſtruct the march of the enemy. But the Duke, being apprehenſive that *Blois* alſo might fall into the enemies hands, haſtened directly thither with all his infantry, and left

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1589. the Count *De Brienne* with the cavalry, quartered upon the road that leads from *Blois* to *Amboise*, and near *St. Ouyn*. The Marshal *D'Aumont*, with the rest of the army, encamped in the neighbourhood of *Tours*, to prevent any attempt upon that city: and the King dispatched the Abbè *Del Bene* a second time, to hasten the King of *Navarre's* coming; who, after he had sent the Sieur *De Chastillon*, General of his infantry, before-hand, to present his duty to the King, and to receive his commands, at last waited upon the King himself in the *Parc du Plessis*, a place at a little distance from the walls of *Tours*: where, when his Majesty came to meet him, he not only dismounted from his horse, at a considerable distance from him, but, as soon as ever he came up to him, he kneeled down, and would have kissed his feet. But his Majesty raised him up again, and embraced him very tenderly, and forgetting all former animosities, immediately entered into a free conversation with him, conducting him toward the city, through the army, which was drawn up on that occasion, and through the multitude of people that was come out of the gates to salute him. From whence they proceeded to the King's quarters, with infinite acclamations both from the soldiery and the citizens, every one being charmed with his Majesty's courtesy on one side, and the King of *Navarre's* dutiful submission on the other. The next day, after a secret conference, that lasted above two hours, the King of *Navarre* returned to his forces, which were yet quartered beyond the river: and the King, having put his infantry into the suburb of *St. Syphorien*, kept only his guards in the city, and the Nobility about his person.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*, seeing *Blois* so strengthened by the Duke of *Espernon's* arrival, that there was no probability of taking it, left that city and the Duke of *Espernon*, and marched on with his army as far as *Chasteau-renard*, but seven leagues distant from *Tours*, and the body of the King's army: and having received intelligence that the Count *De Brienne* staid at *St. Ouyn*, where he kept no very strict guard, and had suffered his men to disperse themselves in a straggling manner (according to the licentiousness of the times) amongst the adjacent villages: he marched nine leagues out of the strait road with incredible expedition, and coming suddenly upon the Count, found him so ill prepared for an attack, that many of his men were cut off or taken prisoners in a moment, and he fled, in great disorder, to the town, where he shut himself up, without any sort of provision to defend it. But the Duke pursuing him thither, and having planted his cannon with the same expedition, the Count was obliged to surrender, and was detained prisoner. The Marquis *De Canillac*, who, as General of the artillery, commanded in the fortifications which they had raised, and many of the best soldiers, lost

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their lives; the reſt, upon a promiſe not to bear arms for a certain time, were ſet at liberty. 1589.

After the Count *De Brienne* was defeated and taken priſoner, the Duke of *Mayenne* reſolved to attack the King himſelf in his quarters. For as he was not yet joined by the King of *Navarre*, and his foot were but ill ſecured in the ſuburb of *St. Syphorien*, which was a ſpacious and irregular place, he thought he might make himſelf maſter of it without any great difficulty, if the attack was ſudden. With this reſolution he decamped on the 7th of *May*, in the duſk of the evening, and taking two culverins, which they dragged along with infinite labour, he arrived near *Tours* with all his forces, about ſun-riſe. The King's foot were quartered in the ſuburbs; and as the place, which lay ſomething low, was commanded by a hill, on the top of which there were ſome houſes, Colonel *Montcaſſin*, who had the charge of the van, drew a ditch round the houſes, and poſted himſelf there with a ſtrong guard, to prevent the enemy from getting poſſeſſion of it, as it ſtood directly in the way that leads to the town from *Blois* and *Chaſteau-renard*. The Duke of *Mayenne*, having cauſed his army to make a halt upon a plain, before he came to the hill, to refreſh his men a little, after the fatigue of ſo long and ſpeedy a march, ordered two regiments, commanded by the Sieurs *Du Cluſeau* and *Du Bourg*, to advance and make themſelves maſters of thoſe houſes, which entirely commanded and obſtructed the high-road. This detachment arrived very ſuddenly, yet not before it had been diſcovered by the ſcouts: ſo that both ſides being prepared, there began a very hot ſkirmiſh, juſt at the time when the King was come to viſit that poſt himſelf. His preſence was of wonderful ſervice: for, beſides his aſſiſtance in making a proper diſpoſition for the engagement, the Sieur *De Montigny*, who was with him, ran to the front of the battle, at the firſt diſcharge of the muſketry, and both by his exhortations and example, greatly encouraged thoſe guards to do their duty, and behave themſelves like men; who conſidering that they fought in the ſight of the King himſelf, made ſo gallant a reſiſtance againſt the ſuperior number of the enemy, that they repelled their fury, till relief came up to them. The King, with great preſence of mind, and with a ſteddy, compoſed countenance, though he was unarmed, and but ſlenderly attended, having cauſed the regiments of *Jarzé* and *Rubempré*, which were on the right and left of the ſkirmiſh, to be well ſupplied with ammunition, commanded them to charge the enemy; and having himſelf drawn up the *Swiſs*, that were under the command of Colonel *Galati*, he ſent them immediately to take care of the city: for he was in no leſs apprehenſion of a tumult within, than of the attack without the walls. But his greateſt difficulty was to reſtrain the ardour of the Nobleſſe, who, out of their natural generoſity

1589. nerosity and desire of glory, were eager to engage in the action: and as they were going to fall on in a loose and disorderly manner, in all likelihood they would have suffered greatly, if he had not checked their impetuosity by his own personal authority and command, and drawn them up in separate bodies, with orders to stay near his person, that so he might send them to assist at different places as occasion required.

In the mean time the Duke of *Mayenne* had planted his culverines upon the hill, and kept so heavy a fire with them, that the guards were obliged to quit the houses, where the Sieur *De Montigny*, who was engaged in the first ranks, received a wound by a musket-ball, Colonel *Jarzé* was slain, and above two hundred private men. And tho' the enemy had the higher ground, and the Duke still brought up fresh forces where they were wanted, yet *Moncassin* and *Rubempré* made a brave resistance, and the fire of the musketry was so hot on both sides, that great numbers were killed. But the Duke having ordered the regiment of *Chataigneray* to advance, together with that of *Ponsenac*, which consisted of old soldiers that had served under his brother the late Duke of *Guise*; and both the King's Colonels being wounded, the foot began to retire, and the enemy pushing resolutely forward, at last made themselves masters of the whole suburb. The King, however, being very sollicitous to have it recovered, lest he should be besieged in a city that was so ill provided, and beyond which he had none left to retire to, ordered Monsieur *De Grillon*, who, as Colonel of his guards, commanded the infantry, to attack the enemy, and endeavour to drive them out. *Grillon* boldly advanced, with the flower of his men, and two gallant squadrons of Gentlemen, who having dismounted from their horses by the King's permission, were ready to fall on with sword and pistol. These at their arrival renewed the battle and having recovered one of the streets of the suburb by their first push, the engagement grew very hot again, and they fought with various fortune, and very great obstinacy, till the decline of the day. At which time the Duke's artillery playing, with more fury than ever, from the higher ground, and *Claude* Chevalier *D'Aumale* coming up with two fresh squadrons to relieve his party, *Grillon* very much wounded, and his men spent with the continual fatigue of a whole day, were obliged to quit the suburb, and retreated to defend the bridge, upon which the King himself was posted, with all the Nobility that attended his Court. The encounter there was sharp and bloody; but some small field pieces, that were planted at the entrance of the bridge, kept back the enemy, who being already masters of the whole suburb, exerted their utmost endeavours to get possession of it.

Whilst they were thus engaged with so much resolution on both sides, that the event was doubtful, the King of *Navarre*, having had immediate

notice

notice sent him of the danger, instantly moved, with all his forces, to relieve the King; and for fear of coming too late himself, he sent Monsieur *De Chastillon* before him, with fifteen hundred of the best foot in his army, who arriving about sun-set, marched directly to the place of battle. These forces coming in fresh, and desirous to signalize themselves in the most dangerous service, repelled the fury of the enemy so effectually, that night coming on, put an end to the action, each side desisting, as it were by consent, and waiting for the return of day-light. The defence of the [illegible] was given in charge to Monsieur *De Chastillon*, whose men were the freshest: and the King, with the Duke of *Montbason* and the Marshal *D'Aumont*, took upon him to guard the city, having the *Swiss* infantry and the Nobility of the court with him. There were above four hundred soldiers and many commanders killed that day on the King's side; among whom were the Chevalier *Berton*, nephew to Colonel *Crillon*; and *St. Malin*, the person who gave the first wound with his dagger to the Duke of *Guise* at *Blois*. On the League's side, about a hundred private men, and but two commanders and very few persons of distinction were slain. The Chevalier *D'Aumale*, as General of the infantry to the League, was left to maintain the suburb which they had taken, and the Marquis *De Pienne*, with his regiment, drew up right over against the Sieur *De Chastillon* at the entrance of the bridge, both sides labouring all night, with the utmost diligence, to entrench them-

Many outrages of all kinds were committed in the suburb; nor was there any more reverence shewn to churches and religious houses by the [illegible] the League, than if it had been taken by *Hugonots*; though the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was naturally averse to all sorts of military licence, used his utmost endeavours to prevent it. But the licentiousness of a voluntier army that receives no pay, is very hard to be restrained. They lay in continual apprehension all night, and many alarms were given on both sides. But on *Tuesday* the ninth of *May*, the regiment of *Charboniere*, which had been sent to their relief by the King of *Navarre*, appearing about break of day, and it being known that he was not far off, and advancing fast with the rest of his army, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having given up all hopes of making any further progress, ordered his dead to be buried, and quitting the suburb that he had taken, retreated in good order, and unmolested, to his former quarters.

The King's behaviour upon this occasion was much taken notice of, and exceedingly animated his party; though they had lost the suburb, when they saw him appear in his former Majesty, and first draw his army up himself in an undaunted manner, whilst he was but thinly attended and altogether unarmed; and then, having put on his armour at the

 head

1589. head of his Nobility, come to direct the order of the battle, carefully providing against all accidents, and reassuming the name and authority of a General, which he had supported with so much glory and reputation in his younger years, though he had thought proper to lay it entirely aside for a long time, for the more effectual accomplishment of his secret designs.

On the other side, the Duke of *Mayenne* and the heads of the League, availing themselves of the credit of having taken the suburb, and driven the King's forces from their post, published many printed accounts to encourage their party; in which they took great pains to magnify and exaggerate every circumstance of that action, amplifying the number and quality of those that were slain, extolling the valour of their own soldiers, boasting of the death of *St. Malin*, as a stroke of divine vengeance, and from thence predicting a speedy and compleat victory over their enemies.

But about the same time they sustained a much greater loss: for *Senlis*, a city ten leagues distant from *Paris*, and very convenient for either party, as affairs then stood, having at first sided with the League, had now declared for the King, and called in *William de Montmorancy* Lord of *Thorè*. And, not many days after, the Duke of *Aumale*, who knew there was but a weak garrison there, resolved to lay siege to it, firmly expecting to make himself master of the town before it could be relieved. For which purpose, having sent for the Sieur *De Balagny*, Governor of *Cambray*, and all the Noblesse of *Picardy* and the isle of *France*, that adhered to his party, with seven hundred horse and nine thousand foot (but most of them raw men, and raised in haste at *Paris* by the Sieur *De Meneville)* and nine pieces of cannon, he sat down before it on the 7th of *May*. The besieged made a brave defence at the beginning; and the day after the enemy had opened their trenches, they made so vigorous a sally, that above a hundred of the *Parisians* were left dead upon the ground, and amongst them the Sieur *De Chamois*, an old dependant upon the house of *Guise*. But after the artillery was planted, as they had but a very small quantity of ammunition, and still less of other provisions that were necessary to enable them to sustain a siege, they sent for the Duke of *Longueville* to their relief, who, with Monsieur *De la Noüe*, was come to *Compeigne*. But their forces were much inferior to those of the enemy, and the Noblesse of the province were not yet assembled: so that the besieged, not being able to hold out any longer, and despairing of relief from any quarter, were reduced to a necessity of capitulating. But when the news came to *Compiegne* that they were going to surrender, the Noblesse began to intreat the Duke of *Longueville* that he would lead them on to battle, as they thought it a great disgrace to them to suffer that town to be taken before their faces, without striking a blow. The

Duke

Duke of *Longueville* was a young Nobleman of great courage, but suffered himself to be governed in all things by the advice of Monsieur *De-la Noüe*, and the Baron *De Givry*, who commanded the light horse. Those two commanders thought the inequality of forces so great, as they had not above eight hundred horse, and not quite two thousand foot, that it would be extreme madness to think of an attack, especially if the enemy should draw up in order of battle, and plant their cannon before them. But the young Nobility, who could not bear to stand idly looking on, were so eager and impatient to come to an engagement, that the commanders resolved to go within sight of the enemy, and there wait to take the advantage of some convenient opportunity, as they could easily retreat without danger, and found it not possible, by any means, to relieve the town. When they were come to the top of a hill, which overlooks the plain where the city stands, they perceived that the Duke of *Aumale* was apprised of their coming, and had begun to draw up his army in the field. Upon which, *La Noüe* advanced before the rest to reconnoitre them more narrowly; and observing, as he was a very experienced soldier, that their men behaved in an aukward manner, and seemed in great confusion whilst they were forming, with their pikes waving backwards and forwards (a certain sign of inexperience and want of discipline) and above all, that they had left their artillery behind them, and, either out of too great confidence in their strength, or for want of judgment in such undertakings, had omitted that advantage, he turned back to *Givry*, and told him, that the rawness of the enemy almost persuaded him to hazard a battle; which being overheard by the Nobility, and the Duke of *Longueville*, who was as eager as any of the rest to distinguish his youth by some gallant action, they all earnestly intreated him to follow that resolution. Being encouraged therefore by so general an ardour, he drew up his cavalry in five divisions, and ordered the foot to descend into the plain with three field pieces, which they had brought with them, and to begin the battle. The field-pieces were so concealed in the midst of the foot, that they could hardly be seen, and marched so fast, that they kept pace with the rest of the army, and were not discovered by the enemy. So that, when the Sieur *De Balagny*, who led their vanguard, inconsiderately advanced to the attack, there was such havock made in his squadron, at the first encounter, by the artillery, which gave fire three times with great success, that before they had time to rally, the Baron *De Givry* rushed upon them with his light horse, and the Sieurs *D'Humieres* and *Bonivet* supporting them with two gallant squadrons of the Noblesse, he was not only forced to give ground, but to run away without making any further resistance. This onset being followed by the Duke of *Longueville* on one side, and the Sieur *De la Noüe* on the other,

1589. they routed the cavalry with very little oppoſition: and having purſued it not above three hundred yards, they wheeled and fell in upon the flank of the *Pariſian* infantry; which being charged in the front by *La Noüe's* muſketry, and there being no commanders who had abilities enough to deliver them out of that danger, their ranks were broke, and they made no defence, but having thrown down their pikes and muſkets, began to run away in great diſorder and confuſion. But as they were purſued by the cavalry, and the beſieged made a ſally upon their rear at the ſame time, there enſued a terrible ſlaughter of them, and ſo compleat a victory was gained by the King's forces, that they entered the trenches and took all the enemy's artillery, which was kept by the conquerors, and above thirty pair of colours. No officer of diſtinction, and not above twenty private men, were killed in the King's army. That of the League loſt above twelve hundred, amongſt whom was the Sieur *De Menneville*, an old dependant on the houſe of *Guiſe*, who making a ſtand at the place where the artillery was planted, received a mortal wound in his ſide by a muſket ball.

The Duke of *Aumale* retired to *St. Dennis*, as he could not well tell how to carry the news of this defeat himſelf to *Paris*. But when it was brought thither by the Sieur *De Balagny*, the whole city was ſeized with ſuch a panic, that Madam *De Montpenſier* and Madam *De Guiſe* were hardly able, with all their endeavours, to comfort the people, whoſe ſpirits, according to the nature of the multitude, are ſoon raiſed, and as ſoon dejected. But when the Council of the Union was aſſembled, they reſolved to recall the Duke of *Mayenne* as ſoon as poſſible, as the only perſon they could fully confide in, or thought able to defend them againſt the danger of a viſit from the enemy's army, which, being much increaſed ſince the late victory, now over-ran the whole country.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, after he left *Tours*, deſpairing of being able to make any progreſs in thoſe parts againſt both the armies joined together, had marched back, with the utmoſt expedition, towards *Normandy*; and being come to *Alençon*, a very large city, and of great importance, had, in a ſudden manner, got poſſeſſion of it by a compoſition with the inhabitants. From which he reaped this advantage, that the Duke of *Montpenſier*, already victorious in that province, could not find means to join the King, and add ſtill greater ſtrength to his army. And therefore, after he had taken *Alençon*, he deſigned to paſs on further, in full expectation of making a greater progreſs every day. But as the whole undertaking depended upon the ſecurity of *Paris*, and ſeeing that city not only ſtraitened for proviſions (becauſe the Duke of *Longueville* had blocked up all the paſſages to it) but the people diſpirited, and ready; now he was abſent, to run into tumults, he reſolved to deſiſt from all other attempts,

and return immediately to compose and relieve it. For which purpose he made long marches, and, without attempting any thing in the way, came, in the beginning of *June*, with his whole army, into the isle of *France*, which surrounds the city of *Paris*.

1589.

In the mean time, the King, to whose side the city of *Poictiers* had lately come over, having put his army in order at *Chastelrault*, resolved to pass the *Loire*, and march toward *Paris*, with a design either to distress that city, or to engage the enemy, if they advanced to meet him, in the open field. The Sieur *De Chastillon* marched before with the advanced guard; the King of *Navarre* and his forces made the van: the King himself commanded the main body, in which were the Duke of *Montbason*, the Marshals *De Biron* and *D'Aumont*, Monsieur *D'O*, and many other Noblemen and Commanders: and the Duke of *Espernon* brought up the rear. After the second day's march, the King received letters from Monsieur *De Sancy* by an express, who had come in disguise through bye-roads, and brought them secretly enclosed in the cover of a breviary. By these he informed him, that the *Swiss* of the Canton of *Bern* had not only given him leave to raise men there, but had lent him a sum of money, upon condition, that the King should defend them and the *Genevese* against the attempts of the Duke of *Savoy*: with which he had raised ten thousand foot of that nation, two thousand *German* horse, and three thousand *French* Harquebusiers: and that having not only begun a war with the Duke in the confines of *Geneva*, but engaged the Canton of *Bern* to make an opposition in those parts, till such time as his Majesty could extricate himself out of his present difficulties, and be able to send a powerful body of forces to their assistance, he himself was arrived in the territory of *Langres*, and was marching through the province of *Champagne* directly toward *Paris*.

This news gave great satisfaction, not only to the King, who had been very anxious about the event of that negotiation, but to the whole army also, as they all now firmly believed they should be able, with the assistance of those forces, to suppress the insurrections of the League in a few weeks: and his Majesty being convinced, that expedition was above all things necessary, immediately sent out dispatches several ways, especially to the Duke of *Longueville* and Monsieur *De la Noüe*, with orders to assemble as many forces as they possibly could, and move without delay to meet that army in *Champagne*: and to the Duke of *Montpensier* to follow the Duke of *Mayenne* (who had left the confines of *Normandy*, and was returned towards *Paris*) and to come and join him, where he thought most convenient. After which, the army pursued their intended march, with great cheerfulness and alacrity, as every man thought he was going to a certain victory.

But

1589. But this common joy was in some measure abated by the misfortune of the Count *De Soissons*, who having been sent by the King, together with Monsieur *Lavardine*, to command in *Bretagne*, whilst he was going to join the Noblesse of the province, which was assembled at *Renes* for that purpose, and had taken up his quarters at *Chasteau-giron* in a negligent manner, without setting proper guards, was attacked about midnight by the Duke *De Mercœur*: who, having made a sudden and expeditious march thither with his forces from *Vitry*, which was many leagues distant, took the Count prisoner, after such a defence as the nature of the place would admit of, and his strength enable him to make. This accident obliged the King, though he could very ill bear to diminish his army, to send a detachmentinto that province, under the command of *Henry* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Dombes*, son to the Duke of *Montpensier*, who, though very young, began to give evident proofs of a generous spirit and great courage.

The army pursued its march in good order and strict discipline: and the vanguard being arrived at *Beaugency*, on the 21st of *May*, the Sieur *De Chastillon*, with the troops under his command, advanced to get intelligence, and to reconnoitre the country; whilst, at the same time, Monsieur *De Sauveuse* was marching with three hundred lances, and one hundred light horse, to join the Duke of *Mayenne's* army. This officer, not having been apprized of the King's motions, had left *Bonneval*, a very rich monastery in the territories of *Chartres*, and was proceeding on his march, when the advanced parties, sent out by each side, met, and began a skirmish, without knowing each other. But the Sieur *De Chastillon*, who was superior in forces, and better prepared for an engagement, attacked the other party so furiously on every side, that after *Sauveuse* had lost a hundred and fifty of his men, who yet fought very bravely, he himself, with sixty Gentlemen, was taken prisoner, and died of two wounds that he had received in the engagement, a few days after.

So prosperous a beginning determined them to proceed; and on the 23d they encamped near *Gergeau*, a rich and pretty large town, where there is a bridge, that is one of the principal passes over the *Loire*. The Sieur *De Jalanges* was Governor of this town: and being summoned to surrender, before the King's army proceeded to batter it, he absolutely refused: upon which, the cannon were immediately planted against it, and soon made so large a breach in the wall, that they took the place without much difficulty by storm, and instantly ordered the Governor to be hanged. The town was sacked by the army, and the besieged cut to pieces; as the King, contrary to his natural disposition, was obliged to make a severe example, after he had so often declared, that he did not make war upon a common enemy, but upon a parcel of obstinate and incorrigible rebels. The taking of

of *Gergeau* was ſucceeded by that of *Piviers*, where the ſame rigour was exerciſed upon the magiſtrates of the place. So that the inhabitants of *Chartres* did not ſo much as wait for a ſummons, but threw open their gates, and received the King with all his army, and having driven out the dependants of the League, put themſelves entirely under his Majeſty's protection.

1589.

Whilſt the King was at that place, he received advice, by the Sieur *De la Clielle*, that the Pope had publiſhed a *Monitory*, in which he declared he would proceed to eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt his Majeſty, if he did not releaſe the Prelates out of priſon, within the ſpace of ſixty days, and if he did not make due ſubmiſſion for the death of the Cardinal of *Guiſe* in the ſame time: which affected the King in ſuch a manner, that he was not able either to eat or drink, for above forty hours afterwards. This declaration from the court of *Rome* had been obtained by the Dean of *Rheims*, who having been diſpatched thither by the Duke of *Mayenne*, had ſet the proceedings of the League in ſo fair a light, at the ſame time exaggerating the ſtrength of the confederates, and the weakneſs of the King's forces, that the Pope was at laſt induced to it, and the more readily, after it was reported, that his Majeſty was treating of an agreement with the King of *Navarre*, and deſigned to join the *Hugonots*. The *Monitory* was poſted up at *Rome* on the 23d of *May*, and publiſhed a few days after at *Meaux*, ten leagues diſtant from *Paris*; the Biſhop of which place was made High Chancellor by the Duke of *Mayenne* in the Council of the Union. The King was ſo ſhocked at this treatment from the Pope, that it occaſioned a general dejection in his army, and very much retarded its progreſs. Upon which, the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* endeavoured to comfort him, by ſaying publickly, "That as his Holineſs was abuſed by "the miſrepreſentations of the confederates, and had proceeded in that "manner, upon a ſuppoſition, that what they had done was out of zeal "for religion; ſo, when he ſhould be better informed, and convinced that "they had taken arms only to gratify their own ambition and private re-"ſentments, and not out of any real regard for the honour of the Apoſtolick "See, or the defence of the Catholick faith, he certainly, as a common "father, would change his opinion." But the King replied, with a deep ſigh, "That he thought it very hard, that he, who had always fought "and laboured ſo ſtrenuouſly for the ſupport of religion, ſhould be raſhly "excommunicated, becauſe he would not ſuffer his throat to be cut by "the hands of his rebellious ſubjects: and, that thoſe who had ſacked "*Rome*, and kept the Pope himſelf priſoner, had never been excommu-"nicated." To which the King of *Navarre*, who was preſent, immediately anſwered, "But they were victorious, Sir: Let your Majeſty endea-"vour to conquer, and then be aſſured, that theſe cenſures will be revoked,

"but

1589. "but if we are overcome, we ſhall all die condemned hereticks." This advice was much approved of by the King, and all that were preſent, and orders were accordingly given for the army to march, and lay ſiege to *Eſtampes*; which place being taken by aſſault, the King, whoſe natural propenſity to melancholy was heightened, and his paſſions enflamed by ſo many provocations, cauſed all the magiſtrates to be hanged, and gave the free plunder of the town to the ſoldiers. From *Eſtampes*, the King, being deſirous to block up the paſſages of thoſe rivers by which the city of *Paris* was ſupplied with proviſions, marched forward with the body of his army to beſiege *Poiſſy*: and the Duke of *Eſpernon* with the rear, took *Montereau*, upon the river *Yonne*, and ſacked it with the ſame fury. By the ſurrender of *Poiſſy*, which made but little reſiſtance, the King became maſter of a very fine and ſpacious bridge, that opens a paſſage there over the *Seine*; by the help of which he was able to extend himſelf on both ſides of the river. In this place the Duke of *Montpenſier*, who had followed the Duke of *Mayenne* out of *Normandy*, without meeting with any oppoſition, came to join his Majeſty; who intending to make that town his magazine, gave the government of it to the Sieur *De Villers*, and left his baggage, ammunition, and part of his artillery there, with a garriſon of two thouſand foot.

After *Poiſſy* was taken and garriſoned, the King of *Navarre* proceeded immediately with the van to beſiege *Pontoiſe*, of which Monſieur *D'Alincourt* was Governor, and with him the Sieur *D'Hautefort*, who had likewiſe been put in by the Duke of *Mayenne*, to aſſiſt upon occaſion. Theſe two officers having fortified a church, which ſtood in a corner of the town, and reduced it into the form of a raveline, ſtood reſolutely upon their defence. The firſt attempt was made upon the church, which being hotly battered and aſſaulted, and no leſs obſtinately defended, held out for the ſpace of nine days: at the end of which, *Hautefort* being killed by a cannon ball, the church was taken, and utterly demoliſhed, and the beſieged retired to defend the walls. But the Sieur *D'Alincourt* being wounded in the ſhoulder, and the braveſt of the beſieged ſlain by the continual fire of the artillery, and in the fury of a bloody aſſault, the reſt were neceſſitated to ſurrender, and had leave to march out of the town on the 24th of *July*, upon condition, that they ſhould not bear arms again in the ſervice of the League, for three months.

The day after the taking of *Pontoiſe*, the foreign army arrived at *Poiſſy* bridge. For Monſieur *De Sancy* being firſt met by the Count *De Tavannes* with five hundred horſe, in the confines of *Burgundy*, and afterwards by the Duke *De Longueville* and the Sieur *De la Noüe* in *Champagne*, with twelve hundred horſe, and two thouſand *French* muſketeers, had advanced with great expedition. Nor durſt the Duke of *Mayenne* venture to face

him with an army ſo much inferior, tho' he made a feint of oppoſing his paſſage: ſo that on *St. James's* day they paſſed the bridge at *Poiſſy*, where they were received with great joy, and furniſhed with plenty of all manner of neceſſaries by Monſieur *De Villers*, who had cauſed many carriages laden with wine and proviſions to be ſent thither to regale the *Swiſs* and the *Germans*. The next morning, which was *St. Anne's* day, the King deſired to view them in their ſeveral diviſions, which were drawn up for that purpoſe in the field: and being attended by the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Montpenſier*, he welcomed them all, and ſaluted the commanders with great familiarity, honouring them with ſuch warlike preſents as the diſturbed and neceſſitous ſtate of his affairs would only admit of. There were ten thouſand *Swiſs*, two thouſand *German* foot, two thouſand Reiters: to which the forces of the King, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, the Baron *De Givry*, and of the King of *Navarre* being added, the army amounted to forty-two thouſand effective men. The terror of this army made all the places thereabout ſurrender, except *Le Pont de St. Cloud*, a town about a league from *Paris*, which had the hardineſs to ſhut its gates upon them, but was victoriouſly entered on the 29th of *July*, and the ſuccours which the Sieurs *De Bourdaiſière* and *Tremblecourt* had attempted to throw into it, with two regiments of foot and four hundred horſe, were likewiſe furiouſly driven back by the cavalry.

1589.

Affairs at *Paris* were already in a very bad condition. For all the bridges being in the hands of the enemy, all the neighbouring towns taken, all the paſſages of the river blocked up, and the city ſtraitened on every ſide, there was no other hope now left but in the preſence of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had ſhut himſelf up with his army in the ſuburbs of *Paris*. His army conſiſted of eight thouſand *French* foot and eighteen hundred horſe. But ſo great was the ſcarcity of proviſions, and the terror ſo general that was occaſioned by the King's ſucceſs and ſevere manner of proceeding, that within two days the *French* foot were reduced to five thouſand, and the *Germans* demanding meat and money, began to threaten that they would go over to the enemy. Nor were the inhabitants more reſolute or more unanimous than the ſoldiery. For as the common people, according to cuſtom, had been very forward to rebel, ſo, in hopes of being overlooked and eſcaping unpuniſhed, on account of their meanneſs and obſcurity, they were eaſily prevailed upon to ſubmit to the King: and thoſe who from the beginning had ſecretly been in his intereſt, but durſt not declare themſelves, were now ſo animated by his approach and the dejection of the other party, that they began to go boldly about the ſeveral quarters of the city, perſuading the people to return to their obedience; and threw them into ſuch deſpair, by repreſenting to

1589. them the terrible situation they were in, that the Duke of *Mayenne* was no less afraid of the *Parisians* than of the King's army. Yet with a courage answerable to the greatness and urgency of the necessity, he dispatched young *Meneville* to the Duke of *Lorrain* (who had lately made himself master of *Jamets*, after a siege that lasted a whole year) desiring him to come personally to his relief, and sent orders for four thousand *Germans*, who had been raised by his commission, to join him with the utmost expedition, that they might advance together to raise the siege of *Paris*. But there could be no dependance upon these succours, as they were at such a distance that they could not arrive in due time. For the *Germans* were yet in their own country; the Duke of *Lorrain* was not fully determined how to act; the reputation of the League was greatly sunk in every province; and the people, now the first transports of their passion were over, and they saw themselves in such danger, began to think of returning to their duty to his Majesty: who having taken *St. Cloud*, had himself invested the Fauxbourg of *St. Honore*, and all that side of the *Louvre* that looks towards the river; whilst the King of *Navarre*, on the other side, sat down before that part which reaches from the Fauxbourg of *St. Marceau* to that of *St. Germain*. The Duke of *Mayenne* was quartered in the Fauxbourg of *St. Germain*, and defended both *St. Marceau* and *St. Victoire*, having caused his posts to be fortified every where with trenches. The Sieur *De la Chastre*, with the *Germans* and a regiment of *Walloons*, took upon him to defend the Fauxbourgs of *St. Honorè*, *Montmartre*, and *St. Dennis*, which were likewise enclosed and fortified in the same manner. In the city, the Duchesses of *Nemours*, *Montpensier*, and *Guise*, with the preachers (who yet, in a great measure, had now lost both their courage and reputation) took much pains to animate the people, as they saw them in such a state of dejection and despair. Monsieur *De Rhosnè*, who acted as the Duke's Marshal, was exceeding diligent in visiting every place; and the Priests and Friars in general had taken up arms and did the duty of soldiers.

The city being reduced to such extremities, and in so much terror (of which the King was thoroughly informed, by numbers of people, who ran away every hour from the city to his camp) his Majesty, on the 31st of *July*, had a mind to reconnoitre the enemy's posts in person: and by the advice of the Marshal *D'Aumont* and Monsieur *De la Noüe*, who attended him, resolved to refresh his army the next day, and on the 2d of *August* to make a general assault upon their works, with a full assurance of success, as he was in a manner certain, that the *Germans* would mutiny, and that many in the city would take up arms in his favour; some out of ancient affection and unvaried attachment to his person, others in hopes of obliterating the memory of their late insolence and rebellion by

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their prefent fervices. In his return toward *St. Cloud*, he ftopped his horfe upon a hill, from whence he had a full profpect of the city, and could not help faying, with fome emotion, " *Paris*, thou art the head " of the kingdom; but a head too great and too capricious: it is necef-" fary to take fome blood from thee, in order to reftore thy health, and " to preferve the reft of the kingdom from the like phrenzy. I hope, " in a few days, here will be neither walls nor houfes, nor any thing " elfe left, but the bare place where *Paris* once ftood." And indeed there was no man who did not already prognofticate that event: and the Duke of *Mayenne* himfelf, together with the Sieurs *De Rhofné* and *De la Chaftre*, being refolved not to furvive their ruin, had determined to mount their horfes and die honourably, fword in hand, in that enclofure that lies betwixt the modern walls of the town and the fuburbs, which they faw they could not defend.

But as many ftrange and wonderful events ftill happened in the courfe of thefe wars, fo a very unexpected and unthought-of accident proved a remedy againft that imminent danger, which neither the valour nor experience of the commanders were able to prevent. There was in *Paris* one *James Clement*, of the order of the *Dominican* Friars (who are commonly called *Jacobines*) born of mean parentage at the village of *Sorbonne*, in the territory of *Sens*, a young man about two and twenty years of age, and always looked upon by his brethren, and many others that knew him, to be a half-witted fellow, and rather a fubject of diverfion, than in any wife to be feared, or thought capable of undertaking any ferious or important affair. I remember to have feen him myfelf, and have often heard the other Friars entertain themfelves with him, when the court was at *Paris*, and I ufed to vifit *Stephen Lufignano*, a *Cypriot*, then brother of the fame order, and afterwards Bifhop of *Limiffo*. This fellow, either prompted by his own inclination, or fpurred up by the fermons that he daily heard preached again the King, in which his Majefty was ftyled *Henry of Valois, the tyrant and perfecutor of the faith*, determined to hazard his life in attempting, by fome means or other, to kill him. Nor did he keep this bold refolution fecret, but often faid publickly amongft his brethren, " That it was neceffary to take up arms and cut off the ty-" rant:" at which they only laughed, as ufual, and gave him the name of *Captain Clement*. Many took pleafure in putting him in a paffion, by telling him of the King's proceedings, and that he was advancing againft the city of *Paris*. To which, whilft the army was at a diftance, he only anfwered, " That it was not yet a proper time, and that he fhould not give " himfelf that trouble at prefent:" but when the King drew near, he began to grow more ferious, and told one of the Fathers of his order, that he had a ftrong impulfe to go and kill *Henry of Valois*, defiring his

1589. advice whether he ſhould put it in execution. The Father having communicated this affair to the Prior, who was one of the chief Counſellors of the League, they both anſwered, " That it behoved him to be tho-" roughly convinced that it was not a temptation of the Devil: that he " ought to faſt and pray, and beg of God to illuminate his mind and di-" rect him what to do." A few days after, he came to the Prior and the other Father again, telling them he had done as they adviſed him, and that he felt himſelf more ſtrongly moved than ever to undertake it. And the Fathers, as many ſaid, having conſulted about the matter with Madam *De Montpenſier*; or, as the favourers of the League pretend, of their own mere motion, exhorted him to the attempt, aſſuring him that, if he lived, he ſhould be made a Cardinal, and if he died, for delivering the city and killing the perſecutor of the faith, he would certainly be canonized for a ſaint. Upon which, the Friar, not a little animated by theſe exhortations, endeavoured to get proper credentials from the Count *De Brienne*, who was taken at *St. Ouyn* and ſtill detained priſoner in the city; telling him, that he had an affair to negociate with the King, of very great importance, and which would redound to his infinite ſatisfaction and advantage. The Count, not knowing the Friar, and hearing how the city ſtood affected, and that many were contriving to bring in the King, imagined what he ſaid was matter of fact, and made no difficulty of granting him his letter; with which he departed, the laſt day of *July* in the evening, and went directly from the city to the King's camp, where he was immediately ſeized by the guards: but upon ſaying he had buſineſs and letters to communicate to the King, he was brought to *James de la Gueſle*, the King's Attorney-General, who executed the office of Judge-Advocate in the camp. The Sieur *De la Gueſle* having heard the Friar's errand, and knowing that it was dark when the King returned from reconnoitring the enemy's works, told him that it was too late that night, but that he would introduce him the next morning without fail; and that in the mean time he might ſtay in his quarters for ſecurity. The Friar accepted the invitation, ſupped at the ſame table with *La Gueſle*, cut his meat with a new knife that had a black haft, which he had with him, eat, drank, and ſlept without any concern. And as there was a ſort of a prophecy current, not only in the camp but through the whole kingdom, that the King ſhould be killed by a Friar, he was aſked by many, whether he came for that purpoſe: but he anſwered very compoſedly, " That thoſe were not things to be jeſted with in that man-" ner." In the morning of the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, Monſieur *La Gueſle* went to the King's quarters very early, and having acquainted him with the Friar's deſire to ſpeak with him, was ordered to bring him in immediately, though he was not yet quite dreſſed, but ſtill without his buff-coat,

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which he uſed to wear with his armour, and had no other cloaths on his back but a thin taffaty waiſtcoat all unbuttoned. The Friar being introduced, they both withdrew to a window on one ſide of the room, and he delivered his letter from the Count *De Brienne*, which the King read; and having ordered him to proceed to acquaint him with his buſineſs, he pretended to feel for another paper that he had to preſent. But whilſt the King ſtood attentively expecting it, he drew the ſame knife out of his ſleeve, ſtruck him with it on the left ſide of the navel, and left all the blade buried in the wound. The King had no ſooner received the blow, but he haſtily drew out the knife with his own hands (which made the wound ſtill wider) and ſtruck it up to the haft in the Friar's forehead, who, being at the ſame time run through the body by *La Gueſle*, inſtantly dropped down dead, and was thrown out of the window by the Sieurs *De Montpezat*, *De Lognat*, and the Marquis *De Mirepoix*, Gentlemen of the King's bed-chamber, who were preſent at the fact; where he was torn to pieces by the common ſoldiers, his limbs burnt, and his aſhes ſcattered in the river.

1589.

The King was immediately carried to bed, and his wound not judged mortal, upon examination, by the ſurgeons. Wherefore, having called his Secretaries, he ordered an account of this accident to be diſpatched into all parts of the kingdom, exhorting the Governors and Magiſtrates not to be diſmayed, as he hoped to be ſo well again in a few days as to be able to get on horſeback. The ſame exhortations and hopes were given to all the commanders and principal officers of his army; and having ordered the King of *Navarre* to be immediately ſent for, he committed the care of the army, and the diligent proſecution of their preſent undertaking, entirely to him. But at night his wound grew ſo painful, that it brought a fever upon him, and when the ſurgeons came to examine it more narrowly, they found his bowels were pierced, and all agreed that he could not live many hours. After which, the King, who commanded them to ſpeak the truth, being informed of his danger, deſired that his Chaplain, *Stephen Boulogne*, might be ſent for, and with very great devotion made confeſſion of his ſins. But before abſolution, his Confeſſor having told him, that he heard the Pope had publiſhed a *Monitory* againſt him, and therefore he ought fully to diſcharge his conſcience in the preſent extremity; he replied, That it was true, but that the *Monitory* itſelf imported, that in the article of death he might be abſolved; that he would comply with the Pope's requeſt, and ſolemnly promiſed to releaſe the Prelates, though he was convinced their impriſonment had coſt him his life and crown. Upon this ſatisfaction, the Confeſſor gave him abſolution, and adminiſtered the ſacraments to him the ſame night. But his ſtrength beginning to fail, he ordered his chamber-doors to be thrown open,

1589. open, and the Nobility to be called in, who gave the moſt ſincere proofs of real affliction and concern, by the bittereſt and moſt affecting lamentations: and turning himſelf toward them, whilſt the Duke of *Eſpernon* and his nephew the Count *D'Auvergne*, ſtood by his bed-ſide, he ſaid, with an audible voice, "That he was not afraid to die, but that it grieved "him to leave the kingdom in ſuch diſtraction, and all good men in a "ſtate of affliction and perſecution: That he deſired no revenge for his "death; for he had learned from his youth, in the ſchool of *Chriſt*, to "forgive injuries, as he always had done upon every occaſion in times "paſt." Then addreſſing himſelf to the King of *Navarre*, he told him, "That if the practice of killing Kings ſhould become common, "he himſelf could not long be ſecure." He exhorted the Nobility to acknowledge the King of *Navarre* for their natural Sovereign, as the Crown lawfully devolved to him, and not to demur upon it, on account of difference in religion: for that he was well aſſured both the King of *Navarre*, who was a Prince of a candid and generous diſpoſition, would at laſt return into the boſom of the church, and that the Pope, when he was better informed, would receive him with open arms, to prevent the utter deſtruction of the kingdom. In the laſt place he embraced the King of *Navarre*, and ſaid to him twice over, "Brother, I aſſure you, "you will never be King of *France*, except you turn Catholick, and "humble yourſelf before the church." After which, having called his Chaplain, he rehearſed the Creed, according to the uſe of the *Roman* church, in the preſence of them all, and having croſſed himſelf, began to repeat the fifty-firſt Pſalm, but his ſpeech failing him at the twelfth verſe, he departed very quietly, having lived thirty-ſix years, and reigned fifteen and two months. By his death the royal line of the houſe of *Valois*, deſcended from *Philip* the third, ſurnamed *the Hardy*, became extinct: and by virtue of the *Salic* law, the Crown devolved to the family of *Bourbon*, neareſt in blood, and deſcended from *Robert* Count of *Clermont*, ſecond ſon to *St. Lewis*.

The whole army was exceedingly afflicted at ſo tragical an event, eſpecially the Nobility, who lamented the death of their Prince in the tendereſt and ſincereſt manner: whilſt, on the other hand, the *Pariſians* made the moſt extravagant rejoicings; and ſome of the principal men, who had worn mourning ever ſince the death of the Lords of *Guiſe*, now left off their black, and put on green, with plumes, and lace, and other finery. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, according to his wonted prudence and moderation, was very far from behaving in that manner, taking great pains to clear himſelf, and ſpread it abroad, that he had not the leaſt concern in the affair, but that it was directly and immediately the hand of God. He was not much credited, however. For the ſuſpicion was not eaſy to be

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rooted out of people's minds; as it seemed highly improbable that the 1589.
superiors of the convent, particularly the Prior, who was one of the Counsellors of the Union, and much confided in, should not have consulted with the Princes about the fact, and that they should have worked upon the credulity of the Friar, and encouraged him to commit it by such powerful allurements; and all this without their privity. But as the events that happen in the course of civil wars, are often either falsely related, or misrepresented, by the malice of contending factions, others have added many fictions to the truth, which * a certain writer, perhaps out of ignorance or carelessness, or it may be out of hatred and partiality, has not scrupled to publish in his writings.

Howsoever that might be, it is certainly worthy of very great consideration, and wonderful to think, how the singular virtues and noble accomplishments of so great a Prince, should bring him to so cruel and unfortunate an end; as we may from thence learn this excellent lesson, That the skilfulness of the pilot avails but little, if the gale of divine Favour, which governs human affairs with eternal providence, does not help to bring our actions to their desired port. For *Henry* the third was endowed with all amiable qualities, which even in his earliest youth were exceedingly reverenced and admired; singular prudence, royal magnanimity, inexhaustible munificence, most profound piety and ardent zeal for religion, perpetual love to the good, implacable hatred to the bad, infinite desire of doing good to every one, popular eloquence, affability becoming a Prince, generous courage, firm resolution, and wonderful dexterity in arms: for which virtues, during the reign of his brother, he was more admired and esteemed than the King himself. He was a General before he was a soldier, and a Statesman before he came to years of maturity: he made war with spirit, eluded the vigilance of the most experienced commanders, won many bloody battles, took fortresses that were deemed impregnable, gained the hearts of people far remote, and was renowned and glorious in the mouths of all men. Yet when he came to the Crown, and endeavoured, by too much artifice and subtlety, to free himself from the yoke and bondage of the factions, both parties conceived such a hatred against him, that his religion was accounted hypocrisy; his prudence, low cunning; his policy, meanness of spirit; his liberality, licentiousness and unbridled prodigality; his affability was despised, his gravity hated, his name detested, his private friendships and familiarity imputed to enormous vices; and his death, being extremely rejoiced at by factious men and the common people, was rashly judged a stroke of divine Justice.

After the King's death, the army continued all that day, as it were stupified and thunderstruck: nor were the *Parisians* in less wonder and amaze-

1589. amazement, when, by an unexpected accident, they saw themselves left quiet and unmolested that day, in which, with the utmost terror and apprehension, they looked for nothing but utter desolation. But the King of *Navarre*, having returned directly to his quarters at *St. Cloud*, though he had fully determined with himself to assume the arms and title of the King of *France*, was yet very doubtful and sollicitous about the event of it. For the *Hugonots* that depended upon him were few and weak, and if he should seem to acknowledge the sceptre from them, he was sure to alienate the stronger and more numerous party. In the Catholicks he could have but little confidence, as he was of a different religion, and had not gained their affections by the merit of any former benefits, but had always been very averse to them, nay their open enemy, and was not so much as known by sight to many of them before that time. As for the foreign troops, he could not tell what resolution they would take, as they were under commanders of small credit and authority, without instructions from their Princes how to act upon such an unforeseen emergency, and more likely to mutiny and disband for want of pay, than to follow him who had nothing to give them. For as he was but lately come out of that narrow angle of the kingdom, where he had been confined so many years, he was so far from being able to pay them, that he had not wherewith to support himself. And in the late King's coffers there was found but very little ready money; the vast expences of the war having swallowed up both the revenues that had been collected, and the sums which his friends had lent him in his necessities. To this were added, the prejudices that many of the principal men in the kingdom had conceived against him. The Duke of *Montpensier*, though he was of the same house, yet out of regard for religion, which he held in very great veneration, had but little correspondence with him, not being able to endure, and esteeming it a disgrace to the whole family, to see him surrounded with *Hugonot* Ministers and Preachers. The Count *D'Auvergne*, bastard of *France*, a young man of a fiery temper, took an opportunity of quarrelling with him upon every slight occasion, as quartering of soldiers, and dividing plunder, and seldom used to salute him. Monsieur *De Vitry*, Monsieur *De Villers*, and many others, who in times past had received favours from the house of *Guise*, and had lately served the deceased King, because their spirit would not suffer them to be called and accounted rebels, now that obligation and bond of obedience was dissolved by his death, could not by any means prevail upon themselves to follow an enemy to the house of *Lorrain*. And, which was of the greatest importance, the Duke of *Espernon*, who, as it usually happens, hated and persecuted all those that he thought were likely to eclipse or lessen him in his master's favour, had broken, almost openly, with him

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1589.

in the late King's life-time. For the King of *Navarre*, who was a ſpirited man, and one that ſpoke his mind very freely, having perceived that the Duke of *Eſpernon* looked upon him with an evil eye, and endeavoured to put his Majeſty out of conceit with him, had publickly complained of him, and ſaid, "That if he thought to treat him as he "had done the Lords of *Guiſe*, he would not bear it." And *Eſpernon*, on the other hand, had ſaid more than once, "That the King of *Na-* "*varre* did not uſe to make war like a King, and in a regular manner, "but like a free-booter and a plunderer, and that all manner of outrages "and enormities were committed by the *Hugonots*." And at the taking of *Eſtampes*, having catched a ſoldier of the King of *Navarre's* own troop of dragoons, who had ſtolen a pix out of one of the churches and thrown the hoſt upon the ground, he inſtantly killed him with his own hand; ſo that there was far from a good underſtanding betwixt them. All theſe conſiderations, added to the ſtraits and difficulties which he then laboured under, made the King of *Navarre* very dubious and uncertain what might be the event of ſuch a declaration: and ſo much the more, as he knew ſeveral people, employed by the League, were ſecretly come from *Paris* into the camp, to tamper with thoſe that were diſcontented, and that the Duke of *Mayenne* offered them all very large and advantageous conditions.

But whilſt the King was thus perplexed with doubts and involved in cares, private men were no leſs alarmed and full of apprehenſions. For the *Hugonots* imagined that the King would renounce their religion for the ſake of the Crown, and therefore were afraid he would ſoon be reconciled to the church of *Rome*. And the Catholicks, ſeeing him continually ſurrounded by *Du Pleſſis Mornay*, *Des Amours*, a Miniſter, the Sieur *De la Noüe*, and many others who were ſtaunch *Calviniſts*, and calling to mind the tranſactions of former times, were perſuaded he would not forſake that religion, and thoſe perſons with whom he had lived ſo long, and who had conſtantly ſtood firm to him in all his diſtreſſes and adverſity: and many of both religions were biaſſed by other intereſts and conſiderations of various kinds.

The army being in this fluctuating and unſettled condition, the Catholicks, who were the greater number, aſſembled the night before the 3d of *Auguſt*, to conſult what courſe they ſhould take. Here their opinions were very different. For many thought it moſt adviſeable to follow the King of *Navarre*, and ſupport him in his pretenſions to the Crown, not only out of regard to the juſtice of his cauſe, but in obedience to the expreſs tenour of the *Salic* laws, and to continue the kingdom in the lawful ſucceſſion. They ſaid, "That by doing otherwiſe, either the "kingdom muſt neceſſarily be divided amongſt ſo many petty Kings,

1589. " as there were armed Princes and Pretenders, or they muſt ſubmit to
" the dominion and arbitrement of foreigners. That this was the ſure
" way to foment diſcord and perpetuate civil wars, to the deſtruction of
" the publick, and of every individual; and to expoſe their common
" country to freſh dangers and diſaſters, and endleſs bloodſhed. That
" the hand of God was plainly to be diſtinguiſhed in favour of his juſt
" cauſe, by arming him with forces in ſo opportune a conjuncture, by
" reconciling him with his good ſubjects, and by putting him miracu-
" louſly in a condition both to obtain and defend his crown. That it
" was their duty to follow the guidance and diſpoſitions of Heaven, and
" to leave the care of future events to divine Providence. That by the
" law of God, Princes were to be borne with, and not deprived of their
" rights and inheritance, for any particular defect. That the King of
" *Navarre* was an ingenuous Prince, full of clemency, moderation, and
" ſincerity. That there was not the leaſt reaſon to fear a violent or tyranni-
" cal exerciſe of power from him, but much, on the contrary, to hope for
" a mild and regular government, with the ſame liberty of life and con-
" ſcience, that he had hitherto conſtantly granted to every one. That, in
" ſhort, it was a thing unworthy of the *French* name and Nobility to ſide
" with rebels, who had impiouſly imbrued their hands in the blood of
" their Prince, and with manifeſt violence and injuſtice, endeavoured
" to deſpoil the right heir of the lawful ſucceſſion to the Crown. But,
" on the other hand, that it was an action worthy the name of Cavaliers
" and Gentlemen, which they ſo much valued themſelves upon, to re-
" venge his innocent blood, ſo unjuſtly ſhed by his ſubjects, and to ſup-
" port the true and lawful heir in the poſſeſſion of the Crown." Such
was the opinion of the Sieur *De Ramboüillet*, the Baron *De Givry*, and,
above all, of the Duke of *Longueville*.

But many argued, on the other hand, " That they ought to obſerve
" the laws of God before any human inſtitutions, and that the ſalvation
" of the ſoul was always to be preferred to all worldly and tranſitory
" things. That the conſideration of religion was prior to the rights of
" Kings; as one depended upon the law of nature, and the other only
" upon the particular conſtitution and eſtabliſhments of different nations.
" That they had a recent and very remarkable example before their
" eyes, and no further off than in *England:* where a change of religion
" in the Prince had cauſed the deſtruction of the Catholicks, and alien-
" ated the whole kingdom from the Apoſtolick See. That the miſeries
" of war and the calamities that attend it, might be ended in a ſhort
" time; but the danger of loſing both their religion and their ſouls, ex-
" tended to their children, their grand-children, and their lateſt poſterity,
" which would ſuſtain an irreparable and eternal loſs by their preſent
" conni-

" connivance. That it was true, Princes were to be borne with, though " wicked and of another religion; but that was to be underſtood of thoſe " that were already placed and confirmed in the throne, not of ſuch as " were ſtill to be received and eſtabliſhed. That all means had been " tried with the King of *Navarre*, that all arguments had been uſed, " that he had been perſuaded by the States-General, and earneſtly in-" treated over and over again by the late King, to change his religion, " and yet could never be prevailed upon. That if he would not re-" nounce *Calviniſm* in the loweſt ebb of his fortune, it was not to be " hoped he would do ſo in the height of proſperity. That what was " ſaid of his good qualities and diſpoſition was very true, but that he was " ſo exceedingly bigotted to his religion, that he would think it merito-" rious to force men's conſciences; and though he himſelf was not of a " tyrannical nature, yet perhaps he might be ſucceeded by one of a dif-" ferent turn. That it was good to look forwards, and to beware of " alienating a moſt Chriſtian kingdom from its obedience to the Holy " See, and from the communion of the church of God." Theſe arguments were advanced by Monſieur *D'O*, the Sieur *De Maniy* his brother, Monſieur *D'Entragues*, *Dampierre* the Field-Marſhal, and the majority of the Aſſembly.

Beſides theſe two contrary opinions, a third expedient was recommended, which ſeemed in ſome meaſure to reconcile and balance them. For the Marſhal *De Biron*, the Duke of *Luxembourg*, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and others of the moſt prudent and moderate men in the Aſſembly, propoſed, That the King of *Navarre* ſhould be declared King of *France*, and that they ſhould obey and ſupport him as ſuch; but upon an aſſurance that he would change his religion, and embrace and maintain the *Roman* Catholick faith. And this motion was founded upon the declared will and pleaſure, as well as the wiſe determination, of their deceaſed Sovereign, who at his death had pronounced him his lawful ſucceſſor, but at the ſame time had alſo admoniſhed him to turn Catholick, if ever he expected to ſit in peace upon the throne of *France*.

This propoſal was in a manner generally approved of; and inſtructions were given to thoſe that made it, to let the King know, with all due modeſty, what they had determined. The Duke of *Luxembourg*, therefore, attended by the reſt, immediately went to wait upon him with the meſſage, and told him, " That the Princes, Lords, and Officers of the Crown, " together with all the Catholick Nobility that was in the camp, which " made the greateſt and beſt part of the kingdom, were ready to ac-" knowledge him King of *France*, to ſerve, obey, and ſupport him " againſt all others, ſince God and nature had called him to the Crown " by lawful ſucceſſion: but at the ſame time, they beſought him, that,

1589. "for the general contentment and due satisfaction of his subjects, for "the benefit, peace, and tranquillity of his kingdom, for the honour of "his own person, and out of regard to the title of *Most Christian King*, "he would be pleased to embrace the Catholick religion, and return "into the bosom of the holy church, to take away the pretences of his "enemies, and all scruples of conscience in his friends, that so he might "be served, honoured, and obeyed with universal consent and approba-"tion. That his Majesty would not think this their proposal and most "humble supplication, by any means strange; as it would appear much "more strange to their consciences, and to the whole Christian world, "that any one should be established in the throne of *France*, who was "not a Catholick, as all his glorious predecessors had been, from the "time of *Clovis*, the first of their Kings that received baptism."

The King, though he was much disturbed and perplexed in his mind, yet, either because he preferred his religion to the Crown, or knew that by endeavouring to please the Catholicks, his new subjects, he should displease the *Hugonots*, his old adherents, took also a middle course, and answered, "That he thanked the Nobility, with a heart sincerely *French*, "for their acknowledgment of his right: that he was thoroughly sen-"sible they were the principal support of the Crown, the main re-"source of the kingdom in war, and the security of the sceptre in time "of peace. That he embraced them all with tenderness of heart, and "was ready to acknowledge their loyalty and devotion, both in publick "and in private; but desired they would not think it strange, if he did "not so immediately comply with their first request, as the nature of the "thing required time, and advice, and mature consideration. That he "set a higher value upon his soul and conscience, than upon all worldly "grandeur. That he was brought up and instructed in a religion which "he had always thought the true one; nevertheless, if he was in an "error, he should be open to conviction. That he was ready to submit "himself, either to a general or national Council, and to be instructed "by learned and conscientious men, who would not disguise the truth: "but that these were motions proceeding from God, effects of time and "reflection, and which ought to be matured in peace and tranquillity, and "not amidst the noise and distractions of war, and with a dagger at his "throat. That he was firmly resolved to give all his subjects satisfaction, "but that the present conjuncture was not by any means proper to put his "designs in execution, lest his actions and declarations should seem coun-"terfeit and insincere, and extorted by force, or else determined by "worldly interests. Upon which account, he intreated them to wait for "a more convenient opportunity; and in the mean time, if they desired "any security for the maintenance of the Catholick religion in the same

" state

" ſtate that it then was, he was ready to give them all the ſatisfaction " they could wiſh for."

With this anſwer, the Deputies returned to the reſt of the Catholicks aſſembled in the *Hôtel de Gondi*, and the King likewiſe retired to conſult with his moſt intimate friends. The Sieur *De la Noüe*, a man of great experience in worldly affairs, though he was a *Hugonot*, freely told the King, " That he muſt never expect to be King of *France* if he did not " turn Catholick: but that he ought to endeavour to do it with reputa- " tion, and without doing an injury to thoſe that had ſo long ſerved and " ſupported him." On the other hand, *Du Pleſſis Mornay* and the Miniſters inſiſted, " That liberty of conſcience and the cauſe of God ought " to be preferred to all earthly greatneſs;" magnifying the ſtrength of their party, and telling him, " That they who had defended and preſerved " him ſo many years, were alſo able to eſtabliſh him in the kingdom." The King, knowing that theſe laſt were governed by their intereſts, approved of Monſieur *De la Noüe's* opinion, and reſolved within himſelf to turn Catholick: but, like a generous and magnanimous Prince, would not ſeem to do it out of ambition or conſtraint, and thought the propoſals that he had made to the Catholicks were but reaſonable: ſo that he determined to ſtick to thoſe terms, and to add nothing further than to prefix a certain limited time for his converſion.

God ſeemed miraculouſly to inſpire the Catholick party with the ſame diſpoſition and inclinations. For though many of them, and particularly ſome Prelates that were in the camp, oppoſed it: yet the greater part, out of a juſt indignation for their Prince's death, would not hear of any agreement or accommodation with the League. It was therefore at laſt concluded, that the King ſhould take a ſtated time for his converſion, and engage to preſerve the Catholick religion upon the ſame footing that it then was; upon which conditions they would acknowledge and follow him.

The Deputies having carried this reſolution to the King, and treated a long time with him and his Counſellors, an inſtrument was at laſt mutually agreed on betwixt both parties, by which the Catholick Princes, Lords, Officers of the Crown, Nobleſſe and ſoldiery, on one ſide, acknowledged *Henry* of *Bourbon* for their lawful Prince, and took an oath of allegiance to him, as King of *France*, promiſing to pay him due obedience, and to ſerve and ſupport him againſt every other perſon: And on the other ſide, he ſolemnly ſwore and promiſed, upon the word of a King, to cauſe himſelf to be inſtructed in the Catholick religion, within the ſpace of ſix months, by an Aſſembly of eminent and learned men; and, if there ſhould be occaſion, to call a national Council, to the decrees of which he would humbly ſubmit himſelf: and promiſed, in the

mean

1589. mean time, to maintain the ſaid *Roman* Catholick, Apoſtolick religion inviolable; not to make any innovations, or change any thing in it, of what kind ſoever, but to protect, defend, and ſecure it: to diſpoſe of all eccleſiaſtical benefices and revenues (in the manner obſerved by the Kings his predeceſſors) to worthy and able men, and of the ſame religion: to cauſe the exerciſe and ceremonies of it to be publickly eſtabliſhed in all places under his own particular juriſdiction, as he had conſented to do in the agreement concluded with the late King, in the month of *April* laſt paſt. That he would put no Officers nor Governors but ſuch as were Catholicks, into the towns that were under his obedience, nor into thoſe which hereaſter ſhould ſubmit to him, or ſhould be taken, except thoſe places only which had been already granted to the *Hugonots*. That he would admit none to any dignities, offices of the Crown, or magiſtracies whatſoever, but ſuch perſons as publickly profeſſed the Catholick religion. That he would conſerve and maintain the Princes, Peers of *France*, Miniſters of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen, cities, corporations, and the three States of *France*, not only in being, but in their wonted privileges, immunities, prerogatives, offices, employments, and magiſtracies, without any prejudice or innovation whatſoever. That he would endeavour to take juſt and proper revenge for the parricide committed upon the perſon of King *Henry* the third, by ſevere and exemplary puniſhment, and the deſtruction and extirpation of diſobedience and rebellion. Finally, that he would permit his Catholick ſubjects to ſend an Ambaſſador to the Pope, to inform his Holineſs of the reaſons why they had acknowledged him, and ſworn allegiance to him, and to ſue for and obtain thoſe things from the Apoſtolick See, which they ſhould think neceſſary for the univerſal good of the kingdom.

On the 4th of *Auguſt* this inſtrument was ſigned by the King, on one part, and on the other, by moſt of thoſe that were then in the camp: and was afterwards authenticated and regiſtered in the Parliament of *Tours*, according to the forms that had uſually been obſerved by thoſe courts, in the times of former Kings. Thus, the urgent neceſſity of affairs, and reſentment for the King's death, ſo freſh upon their minds, brought about this accommodation, which, at another time, could not, by any means, have been effected.

Yet this agreement was not ſufficient to retain every body: for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, under the pretence of a diſpute about precedence with the Marſhals *De Biron* and *D'Aumont*, had not ſigned the inſtrument; becauſe they, as Marſhals and in the camp, claimed a right to ſign firſt, and he, as Duke and Peer of *France*, pretended to the ſame. But in reality, for fear of being ill uſed by the King, and that in his preſent diſtreſs, he would, either by force or intreaties, extort a ſum of money from

from him, as every body knew his coffers were full. So that, pretending he had obtained leave from the late King to return to his governments; he departed the next day from the army with his troops, and with many others who followed his example, and took that opportunity of returning to their houses: and having passed through *Touraine* by *Loches*, he came at last to *Angoulesme*. *John* Sieur *De Villers*, who had the government of *Poissy*, a man very zealous for the Catholick religion, and who, in his younger years, had been preferred by the Lords of *Guise*, gave up his government, now the obligations ceased which he had to the late King, together with the artillery and ammunition of the army, to *Philibert* Sieur *De la Guiche*, who received it by order from the King: after which, he retired into his own country, with two hundred horse, and many Gentlemen that had attended him: many others did the same. Monsieur *De Vitry* took a bolder resolution (which nevertheless was also followed by many) and went over to the League without any demur; alledging, that he did not see any certainty at all in the King's promises, and that he would not bear arms in favour of the *Hugonots* against the Catholick religion. And the common soldiers, some out of impatience, some for want of pay, and others to avoid future hardships, began to straggle away and disband of themselves in such a manner, that by the 7th of *August*, the army was diminished above one half in number, and daily continued decreasing. It was likewise apprehended, that the *Swiss* would have left them. But the Marshal *De Biron*, who now was at full liberty to pursue his ancient inclination and attachment to the King, prevailed upon them, by various arguments and intreaties, to promise that they would follow the King for the space of two months, till they should receive fresh commissions from their Cantons: to which, a good sum of money, that the King borrowed from his friends, and divided secretly amongst their commanders, contributed more than any arguments or intreaties: so that without demanding further pay, but living upon free quarter, they peaceably followed the King's colours. Nor were the *Hugonots* more steddy, or better satisfied than the rest. For as they flattered themselves that the King, who had been brought up amongst them, and constantly defended and supported by them, would not only establish their religion, now he had attained to the Crown, but prefer his old friends to the most considerable offices and employments, and put more confidence in those forces that had carried him victoriously through so many dangers, than in the uncertain and conditional promises of the Catholicks. But now they found the contrary, they accused him of ingratitude: and had it not been that they entertained some hopes, that he did but temporize till he was settled in the throne, and that he would then act in a very different manner (as he himself artfully insinuated in

1589. his secret conferences with them) without doubt they would have utterly forsaken him. And yet, notwithstanding that expectation, very few followed him, and those not cheerfully: for many, not thinking themselves sufficiently secure, and others out of anger and discontent, disbanded, and returned in great numbers to the cities that were held by their party.

But the King having proceeded so far, and accommodated himself to the present necessity, immediately assumed the name and arms of King of *France*; and not being able at that time to support any new expence, made use of the late King's houshold furniture and liveries, the same purple serving as mourning for his predecessor, which he had, till then, used for the death of his mother. And as he knew people were not yet thoroughly reconciled to his authority, and that his weakness was yet held in contempt by many, he endeavoured, by easiness of access by the complaisance of his answers, the familiarity of his conversation, and the sprightliness of his wit, to make himself agreeable, and to gain the affections of every man; supplying his present inability by large promises, and behaving himself more like a companion than a Prince, whilst he seemed to acknowledge that he owed the Crown and the success of his undertakings, sometimes to the good offices and assistance of one man, and sometimes of another, but always separately, and professed the most earnest desire of shewing his gratitude to them all upon any opportunity. To the *Hugonots* he seemed to trust his most secret resolutions, and acknowledge their party as the foundation of all his hopes. To the Catholicks he paid very great respect, speaking with much reverence of the Pope and the Apostolick See: honouring the ecclesiastical order upon all occasions, and shewing himself so well disposed to the *Roman* religion, that he gave them the highest reason to expect a speedy and sincere conversion. To the common people he expressed great compassion for their burdens and the calamities of war: and to the meanest of them excused the necessity of taking free quarter upon them, by laying the fault upon his enemies. To the Noblesse he behaved with the utmost deference, giving them the glory of having acted like true *Frenchmen*, in preserving their country from ruin, and restoring the royal family: eating with them in publick, and admitting any of them into his own apartment; and was so far from concealing his private necessities, that he often took an opportunity of introducing those things in a joke, which he could not so well lay before them in a serious manner; and by such arts endeavoured to allure every one to follow his party.

But the army was now reduced to so small a number, that he was not only obliged to raise the siege of *Paris*, but to make speedy provision against the imminent danger that he was threatned with; as the League had increased in strength and reputation every moment since the King's death:

death: ſo that he entered into a private and long conſultation with the Marſhals *De Biron* and *D'Aumont*, the Sieur *De la Noüe* and the Duke of *Montpenſier* (for that Nobleman, being ſatisfied with the King's promiſes, had now firmly reſolved to adhere to him, out of regard to the common intereſt of their family) what meaſures would be ſafeſt to take in their preſent circumſtances. And finding they could not poſſibly keep the whole army together, which yet, in a few days, would have been much inferior to the forces of the League, they determined that the King, with the Duke of *Montpenſier* and the Marſhal *De Biron*, ſhould retire into the province of *Normandy*: that the Marſhal *D'Aumont* ſhould go into *Champagne*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, with Monſieur *De la Noüe*, into *Picardy*, to keep thoſe provinces in their duty, and to reunite when time and occaſion ſhould require.

But the King, being well acquainted with the ſtrength of the League, and the heavy burden of civil war, was deſirous to ſee if there was any hope left of an agreement with the Duke of *Mayenne*, as he was determined not to be in any wiſe wanting to himſelf, nor to neglect any probable means of ſecuring the Crown in peace. And as he was informed that one *Bigot*, a dependant upon Monſieur *Villeroy*, was then in the camp, with many others, who had come thither from the city for different purpoſes, he cauſed him to be introduced into his preſence by the Sieur *De Chaſtillon*, and gave him orders to let his maſter know, that he very much deſired to ſpeak with him, and that if he would fix upon any place to meet him, he ſhould have a ſafe conduct ſent him, and all other neceſſary ſecurity.

The Sieur *De Villeroy* had gone over to the League, not only out of reſentment for his ſudden diſmiſſion from court, but becauſe the government of *Lions*, after the death of Monſieur *De Mandelot*, was, contrary to the promiſe which the King had made him, firſt given to the Duke of *Nemours*, and afterwards to Monſieur *De la Guiche*, in preference to his ſon *D'Alincourt*, who upon that dependence had married the daughter of *Mandelot*. To theſe cauſes of diſcontent he added another excuſe, which ſeemed to be ſtill more plauſible. For as his eſtate lay within the territories of *Paris*, and he was turned out of his employment at court, he ſaid he could not tell how to ſupport himſelf, except he joined that party that would ſecure him in the poſſeſſion of his own property. Whatever his motives might be, it is certain, that when *Bigot* had delivered the meſſage to him from the King, he deſired to be excuſed from having any thing at all to do in the matter, without the Duke of *Mayenne's* privity and conſent, to whom he immediately communicated it. But the Duke would not ſuffer *Villeroy* to go; alledging, that it could not be done ſo ſecretly but it would be generally known, and conſe-

1589. quently give umbrage and cause of suspicion to his party: that affairs were at present in a very hopeful train, and that it would be imprudent to alter or interrupt their course, as any little accident might do; and therefore only consented, that he should receive a Gentleman at his house in *Paris*, and treat with him there, if the King pleased to send one for that purpose. With this answer *Bigot* returned to the camp: and the King, not thinking it below him to take these means to advance his own affairs, and shew the Catholicks that he was desirous of peace, immediately sent the Sieur *De Marsilliere* his Cabinet Secretary.

Marsilliere not having been able to obtain leave to speak personally with the Duke of *Mayenne*, told the Sieur *De Villeroy*, that the King had sent him expresly to assure the Duke, that he was heartily inclined to peace, and to represent to him how necessary it was for the publick good: that he had a very great esteem for the Duke, and was desirous to make him his friend, and to have him near his person, that he might have an opportunity of shewing his regard for him, by promoting him to a degree of honour suitable to his condition. That the Duke ought now to lay aside his vain hopes of seeing him totally abandoned and forsaken: for all the Princes, Officers of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen and others, both in the army and out of it, had sworn allegiance to him, and promised him their assistance, on one hand: and on the other, he had given them sufficient satisfaction in what concerned religion, by a reciprocal engagement in writing, a copy of which he had sent him to shew to the Duke. That not only the *Hugonots*, but even the Catholicks of the army, were highly enraged at the Duke on account of the King's death, and had solemnly sworn to prosecute their revenge till they were thoroughly satisfied: that he himself had promised the same, and was nearly interested in it: that if so universal a benefit as the peace of the kingdom did not allay the resentment of those that had thought themselves injured, and induce him to come in at that time, he would never be able to do it afterwards, upon any pretence whatsoever. That therefore it behoved the Duke to consider of it, and to embrace so fair an opportunity of regaining the affections of so many Catholicks, and so large a body of the Nobility, who, after all hopes of peace were at an end, would for ever after be his bitter and irreconcileable enemies. Finally, that the King desired he would propose some terms, as his Majesty was disposed to gratify him in every thing that was possible.

These things being reported to the Duke by Monsieur *Villeroy*, he had commission to answer, That the Duke had no private enmity to the King, and for his own part, honoured and held him in the highest veneration; but that religion and conscience would not suffer him to enter into a treaty with him. That if his late brother had taken arms in the King's life-

time

time to prevent the Crown from descending to a Prince of a different religion, as by the Duke of *Alençon's* death they apprehended it might, he could not lay down those arms, now the necessity was more urgent, and that event had actually happened, without doing injury to the memory of his brothers, and to his own conscience, and acting contrary to the solemn oath that he had taken. That he had engaged his honour, and given up his life to the publick cause, when he accepted the office of Lieutenant-General of the State; and that, as he had declared and acknowledged the Cardinal of *Bourbon* for King, and the Crown had been adjudged to be his right, he could not withdraw his allegiance from him, nor resolve upon any thing till the said Cardinal was set at liberty, and all those of his party assembled together. That if the King's death had created him so many enemies, he hoped God would protect his innocence: but his satisfaction was so great to see the death of his brothers revenged, that he should chearfully support all the hatred he had incurred on that occasion. That he neither ought, nor could give advice to a Prince against whom he had taken arms: but he might easily conclude, that the releasing the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and his own conversion were necessary, before they could proceed to any treaty. With these general terms *La Marsilliere* returned to the King, just when he was going with his army to leave *St. Cloud*, and the adjacent towns, where he was not able to stay any longer.

1589.

The resolutions, after the King's death, had been no less divided and uncertain in *Paris*, than in the King's camp. For the Duke of *Mayenne's* friends and relations, especially Madam *De Montpensier*, advised and exhorted him to cause himself to be elected and declared King of *France*, by the party which he commanded: representing to him, that he ought not by any means to omit so fair an opportunity of transferring a Crown into his family again, which had been formerly worn by his ancestors, as he was acknowledged to be the head of the kingdom, and obeyed not only by most of the principal cities, but by a great number of the Nobility, and by far the greater part of the Clergy. The controversy, they said, was betwixt him, who was already acknowledged and obeyed by those of his party, and a Prince of a different religion, whose right of inheritance might very well be called in question, both on account of the distance of blood, and his being an enemy to the church; upon which considerations, he could never be sincerely liked nor obeyed by those very Catholicks that seemed to be of his party, who indeed had now at first been prevailed upon to follow him by their resentment for the King's death; but as the principles of the Catholicks and the *Hugonots* were absolutely incompatible and contradictory to each other, it could not be long before their former hatred would revive and their passions flame out

 again;

1589. again; that they would ſoon be ſeparated, and divided by difference of religion and their own natural enmities. That it was neceſſary to chuſe a warlike and Catholick Prince, to whom they might ſecurely have recourſe, when they ſhould grow diſcontented, or find their error and abandon that party. That the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, a decrepid old man, and detained in priſon, was, upon both thoſe accounts, a very unfit perſon. That the Duke would be accuſed of puſillanimity, if he ſhould be wanting to himſelf upon ſo fair an occaſion, as none but mean-ſpirited people accounted exceſſive moderation a virtue: whereas men of a noble diſpoſition always incline to bold and generous attempts. That it would be attended not only with great advantages, but with the higheſt honour, and was neither impoſſible nor difficult: and that the Duke could neither excuſe himſelf to his own conſcience nor to his poſterity, if he neglected a bleſſing which God ſo miraculouſly held out to him. They ſhewed, that to declare the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, was the ſure way to eſtabliſh the King of *Navarre* in the poſſeſſion of the Crown; for by ſo doing, they would own that the kingdom belonged to the houſe of *Bourbon*: and when the Cardinal died, who was already in the laſt ſtage of his life, the lawful ſucceſſion could not afterwards be denied to his nephew. And though the objection of his religion ſhould ſtill remain, he would eaſily get over that, by turning Catholick, and going to hear a maſs or two perhaps. But if he perſevered in it, yet the other Princes of that houſe would ſucceed in their natural order without oppoſition: for which reaſon, it was beſt to oppoſe the very firſt ſtep, and aſſume that to himſelf which he was inconſiderately going to confer upon another. That the matter was eaſy at preſent, though very likely it would be otherwiſe in a few days. For the King of *Navarre* had promiſed to turn Catholick within ſix months, and in the mean time it was poſſible his nephew the Duke of *Guiſe* might be ſet at liberty, who being the head of the family, would, perhaps, oppoſe his greatneſs, and be governed more by his own intereſts, than a proper regard to the many labours and maturer years of his uncle. That it was neceſſary to begin boldly and ſuddenly, before the King of *Spain*, the Pope, the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Savoy* had time to lay their ſchemes to turn the current of affairs their own way. For when once he was elected and declared, they would be neceſſitated rather to ſupport him than take part with the King of *Navarre*, an heretick, and enemy to *Spain*, on account of ſome part of his dominions being uſurped by that Crown; to the Pope, in conſequence of his religion; to the Duke of *Lorrain*, for ſeizing upon the Duke of *Bouillon's* territories; and to the Duke of *Savoy*, for his deſigns upon *Geneva* and the affair of *Saluzzo*. Finally, they argued, that ſince the labour and danger were certain, and that he was to bear all the weight of them, it was

was more eligible to undergo them, to advance his own interests and greatness, than to promote the exaltation of another, and to support a weak and infirm Prince, who was in prison and hardly known, and from whom he was not certain he should ever receive any recompence. 1589.

This specious advice, which proceeded chiefly from self-interest, was opposed by *Villeroy* and the President *Jeanin*, whom the Duke consulted in every thing: not that they alledged either right or justice against it (considerations of very little account when the debate is about a Crown) but only represented the impossibility of the thing, and said, That the *Parisians*, the common people, and cities of his party, were dismayed with what had lately happened, having seen the Duke but a few days before, reduced to the last extremities, and their common destruction so near, that it was thought inevitable. That their ardour was much damped, and they were now very far from being so zealous in the cause of the union as they had been in the beginning. That they wanted a Prince, who had money and forces sufficient to defend and secure them from the resentment of the King of *Navarre* and his party, and therefore had turned their eyes, some upon the Duke of *Savoy*, others upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, and many even upon the King of *Spain*: nor did any thing restrain them from applying to those powers, but the justice and equity that was due to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was esteemed the lawful successor, as those considerations have, generally speaking, much greater weight amongst the commonalty, than amongst people of higher rank. But when that motive ceased, it was most probable that they would all rather chuse to be governed by so potent a monarch as the King of *Spain*, who had so many ways and means of gratifying and rewarding his subjects, than by a petty Duke of *Mayenne*, whose only strength consisted in the union of those that had elected him to be their chief. For with what power, with what funds, with what armies, would he pretend to dispute the Crown with the King of *Navarre*, and the greatest part of the Nobility united with him? or with the forces of the King of *Spain*, of the Pope, of *Savoy*, or the Duke of *Lorrain*? When the house of *Bourbon* was excluded, there was not one of them that might not claim a better right to the Crown than he. For the Infanta of *Spain* was daughter to the late King's sister: the Duke of *Savoy*, son to one of his aunts: the Duke of *Lorrain* was head of his family, and had sons by another daughter of *France*: and the Pope, if he was moved by zeal for religion, would be so much the better pleased to have a powerful Prince to defend it; and if he acted upon principles of self-interest, might reasonably expect greater advantages from any of those Princes, than from so weak a one as the Duke of *Mayenne*. That it would be madness to undertake an enterprise that was neither generous, magnanimous, nor likely

1589. likely to ſucceed, but raſh, precipitate, and diſhonourable, and which would be attended with the loſs both of his life and fortune.

This advice prevailed with the Duke of *Mayenne*, as well upon the above-mentioned conſiderations, as for two other reaſons. One, that Don *Bernardino de Mendozza*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, did in a manner openly declare againſt his election: ſo that conſidering the forces and authority of his Catholick Majeſty, he thought it would be impoſſible to effect any thing that he did not approve of. The other, that if it ſhould be diſcovered that he ſuffered himſelf to be governed by his own private intereſt, and not by regard for religion and the publick good, he was afraid he ſhould be abandoned by the Pope and all the other confederates, and particularly by the *Pariſians*. For which reaſons he choſe to wait for a more favourable and opportune conjuncture, and in the mean time to cauſe the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be declared King, as he ſaw it was the general inclination of the people, and leaving the bare title and enſigns of royalty to him that was not only old and infirm, but in priſon, to keep the power and authority of the government in his own hands: being certain, that the more unanimouſly he was elected and declared by the League, the more cloſely he would be confined and watched by the King of *Navarre*, and conſequently it would be ſo much the longer before he could be capable of taking the ſupreme command entirely upon himſelf. In which time, perhaps, either his death, or victory, or ſome other event, might open him a fairer and more convenient opportunity of accompliſhing his deſigns: whilſt the other competitors were ſpending their ſtrength to ſupport their hopes and pretenſions, which would either be entirely extinguiſhed, or at leaſt very much cooled, when they ſaw another perſon in immediate poſſeſſion of that crown, which they had taken ſo much pains to ſecure to themſelves.

The Duke, therefore, anticipating the ſollicitations of the people and the Council of the Union, was the firſt that declared the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King of *France*, with the title of *Charles the tenth*, and cauſed him to be proclaimed ſo in the Parliament, in the Council of the Union, and in the middle of the city of *Paris*, retaining to himſelf the name and authority of his Lieutenant-General through the whole kingdom. This declaration bore a good face, and was very agreeable to the people, and fully determined them to continue the war, for the liberty of their King, as they ſaid, and the extirpation of hereſy: the *Spaniards* were not diſpleaſed at it, as it gave them time to ſettle their affairs, and to make ſuch further preparations as were neceſſary: and the Pope rejoiced exceedingly to ſee both the Catholick religion and the lawful ſucceſſion of the Crown in the kingdom of *France* ſecured at the ſame time, and by the ſame means.

1589.

After the Cardinal of *Bourbon* had been declared lawful King by the Council of the Union, the Duke of *Mayenne* exhorted the people, by a pompous ediĉt, to acknowledge the Prince whom God had given them, to pay due obedience to him, and to labour, with all their might, to deliver him from the impriſonment in which he was detained by his enemies: commanding that every one ſhould bind himſelf, by an oath before the magiſtrates of his province, to live and die in the Catholick religion, and to defend, proteĉt, and confirm it; pardoning all ſuch as ſhould ſeparate themſelves from all correſpondence with the *Hugonots* within the ſpace of fifteen days, and retire into places that adhered to the Catholick Union. As ſoon as this ediĉt was regiſtered and publiſhed in the Parliament, he diſpatched the Commendatory *De Diu* to *Rome* again (who had brought the *Monitory* againſt the late King) to inform the Pope of the ſtate of affairs, to notify that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was declared King of *France* with the title of *Charles the tenth*, and to intreat his Holineſs to aſſiſt the cauſe of religion, not only with his countenance and approbation, but alſo with ſupplies of money and forces. Into *Spain* he diſpatched two ſeveral couriers, with particular accounts of the whole tranſaĉtion, deferring to ſend any perſon of diſtinĉtion thither till the arrival of Don *Juan de Morrea*, who had been ſent by his Catholick Majeſty juſt before the late King's death, and was then, as he heard, in *Lorrain*. For though the King of *Spain* had not been willing openly to declare himſelf an enemy to King *Henry* the third, for whom he pretended to have a great reſpeĉt upon many accounts: yet, as he himſelf had firſt laid the foundation of the League, and aſſiſted and ſtrengthened the Duke of *Guiſe* with great ſums of money; ſo after his death he had ordered *Mendozza*, his Ambaſſador, to ſtay at *Paris*, and there, under pretence of taking care of the intereſts of the Catholick religion, to aſſiſt them in every thing, as he aĉtually did, and had ſo gained the affeĉtions of the *Pariſians*, partly by money, partly by artifice and addreſs, that he had as great an influence and authority amongſt them as the Princes of the houſes of *Lorrain*. And though his Catholick Majeſty never ſent any forces openly to the League whilſt the King lived, yet he ſuffered the Count *Jago de Collalto*, who had raiſed a body of *German* infantry at his expence, and for his ſervice, to go, under a pretence of particular friendſhip, into the ſervice of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and had, both with his purſe and authority, promoted the levies of *Swiſs* and *Germans*, which the Duke of *Brunſwick*, *Charles* Count of *Mansfelt*, and the Sieur *De Baſſompierre* had made in favour of the League. But now the King's death had taken away that reſtraint, and ſo honourable a pretext, as the aſſiſting the Catholicks againſt a heretick and excommunicated Prince, preſented itſelf, the Duke of *Mayenne* was in hopes that he would employ

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1589. all his forces to serve the League; and therefore staid to hear his intentions more particularly from the mouth of Don *Juan de Morrea*, after which he designed to send some person of authority, to concert measures with him for their common interest.

But the King having heard of the declaration in favour of his uncle the Cardinal, which had been published at *Paris*, and received in other places that adhered to the League, determined in the first place, as the Duke of *Mayenne* expected, to dispatch his confidant *Du Plessis Mornay* to *Chinon*, where the Cardinal was, with orders that he should be removed to *Fontenay*, and there confined more closely under stricter guards, thinking that place more secure, because it was near *Rochelle* and surrounded on all sides with the *Hugonot* forces. He proceeded in the next place to sollicit the Catholicks, who had acknowledged him, to send the embassy already concluded on, to *Rome*, to enter into a negociation with the Pope, and to see if it was possible to pacify him and secure his interest. The Catholick Lords, therefore, being desirous to make their embassy respectable, both by the birth and wisdom of the person they employed, sent the Duke of *Luxembourg*, a Nobleman of a very illustrious family, of singular abilities, and great experience in state affairs. After which, the King, to shew that he had not forgot his promise to the Catholicks, caused the Assembly of the States to be summoned to meet, the *October* following, at *Tours*; which, as the Parliament and Court of Exchequer then resided there, was become the capital city of his party. There, he told the Catholicks, he would be instructed in the *Roman* religion, in the congregation of the States, by learned and pious men, whom he had sent for from all parts, and professed with great appearance of sincerity, that he would submit to whatsoever should be determined upon in that Assembly: though the *Hugonots* affirm, that he gave their party other assurances in private, which, if true, was not much to be wondered at, in the precarious situation of his affairs. These things being dispatched, which were all absolutely and fundamentally necessary for his establishment in the kingdom, he resolved not to stay till he was attacked by the forces of the League, as their commanders intended to follow him with their whole army in a few days, but marched directly away towards *Compiegne*, carrying the King's dead body with him: and having taken *Meulan*, *Gisors*, and *Clermont* by the way, arrived at that place on the 24th of *August*, where he interred the body in the great church with as much funeral pomp (though very little) as the necessity of the times would admit of: after which he pursued his march, with all possible expedition, towards *Normandy*.

At his entrance into that province, it was looked upon as a happy beginning, and an introduction to future success, that he was met there by

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Captain *Rolet*, a man of no leſs valour than good ſenſe and underſtanding, who, as Governor of *Pont de l'Arche*, a place of very great importance, three leagues above *Roüen*, and in a manner the key of the *Seine*, took the oath of allegiance, and delivered that fortreſs into his hands. After three days march farther into the province, the King came to *Darnetal*, a town ſomething leſs than two leagues diſtant from *Roüen*, and having encamped his army there, reſolved to make a feint of beſieging that place, in which the Duke of *Aumale* and the Count *De Briſac* had ſhut themſelves up. Not that he thought he had either ſtrength or other neceſſary proviſions ſufficient to take it, but to ſhew courage and reſolution, and to amuſe the enemy till he had effected what he intended to do. The army therefore ſat down before it, and having burnt the mills which were on the outſide of the fortifications, whilſt there were frequent ſkirmiſhes betwixt his forces and the garriſon, the King having left the command of the army to the Duke of *Montpenſier* and the Marſhal *De Biron*, went immediately to *Dieppe*, which city was governed by the Commendatory *De Chattes*, and had acknowledged his Majeſty. When he had carefully conſidered the ſituation of *Dieppe*, the harbour, which is a very capacious one, and the country round about it, he reſolved to remove thither with all his forces, and there to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of the League's army. What induced him to take this reſolution, was, that, the town lying upon the ſea-coaſt right over-againſt *England*, with a port large enough to receive any fleet, how numerous ſoever, he might have ſupplies of men, money, cannon, and ammunition from Queen *Elizabeth*; and in caſe he ſhould be ſo diſtreſſed by the enemy that he could hold out no longer, he might paſs over into *England*, and return afterwards and land at *Rochelle*, or in what other place he ſhould think fit. He was the more confirmed in this determination by the ſtrength of the city and the citadel, by the largeneſs of the ſuburbs, that were capable of containing all his men, and by the ſituation of the paſſes about it, which was ſuch, that every place might be defended inch by inch, ſo that he could not be obliged to retire into the caſtle till after a long time and an obſtinate conteſt. For all theſe reaſons, he immediately diſpatched *Philip* Sieur *Du Freſne* to the court of *England* (whither he had been ſent ſome time before by the late King, and was but juſt returned) to acquaint the Queen with the extremities he was reduced to, and to ſollicit ſupplies of men and money there: and having performed this moſt important journey with wonderful expedition, he joined his horſe with the garriſon of *Dieppe*, and took the towns of *Eu* and *Neuf Chaſtel*, weak places, but ſuch as might have incommoded him, as they lay ſo near. After which, he thoroughly ſcoured the country on all ſides, and then returned

1589. to *Darnetal*, with a design to conduct his army to *Dieppe*, now there was nothing left in the way to obstruct his march.

He marched from *Darnetal* on the 2d of *September*, with fourteen hundred horse, two regiments of *Swiss*, each of which consisted of fifteen hundred men, and three thousand *French* musketiers; to so small a number was his army reduced since the King's death. There were with him the Duke of *Montpensier*, who led the van: the Count *D'Auvergne*, whose resentment for the King's death and desire of revenge, had made him forget all former disgusts: *Armand* Marshal *De Biron*, who had the chief direction of affairs: his son *Charles*, Baron *De Biron*; *Charles* of *Montmorancy*, Sieur *De Meru*, or Lord *D'Anville*, as he was more commonly called, who commanded the *Swiss*: Monsieur *De Chastillon*, General of the *French* infantry: Monsieur *De Rieux*, Marshal of the field: Monsieur *De Baqueville*, who commanded the light horse: the Sieurs *De l'Arembures*, *De l'Archant*, *De Mignonville*, *De Guitry*, *Du Hallot*, and *De la Force*, the other Lords and Gentlemen being gone, according to the first resolution, into different parts of the kingdom. With this army and these commanders, the King being come near *Dieppe*, gave orders that the Commendatory *De Diu* should continue in the city and in his former command of the citadel, with the ordinary garrison of two hundred men, and two companies of *French* foot extraordinary, which amounted in all to the number of five hundred; whilst he himself resolved to keep the field with the rest of the army.

The city of *Dieppe*, as we have said before, lies upon the sea-side, just over-against *England*, and has a port on the right hand, which extends itself in the form of a half-moon, and where a vast number of vessels may ride in security. On the left stands the citadel, which, being of a quadrangular form, and built upon a rising ground, scours the country on one side from four large towers, and on the other commands the town. The situation of this city is very strong and advantageous: for towards the sea it is fortified with several bastions, ravelines, and platforms, besides the powerful defence of the water: and on the side toward the land, the country is so rough, that no forces can approach it without great difficulty, nor any artillery without much more. The nature of the roads that lead to it likewise affords infinite opportunities of defence. for it lies betwixt two steep, craggy, and woody hills, which extend themselves from the beach many miles into the country. Within these there is a narrow valley, through which the river *Bethune* takes its course, and dividing the *Bourg du Pollet*, falls into the harbour, and from thence directly into the sea. Up this river the salt-water runs, and when there are high tides, it overflows the valley for several miles; which makes it so deep and miry, that there is no way of coming at the city but over

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the hills, and by another road that is made by art, and leads along the 1589. ſkirts of the hill, through many turnings and windings, to one of the gates. So that there are only two avenues to the town, one over the top, the other at the bottom of the hill on the left hand: for the road that goes over the top of the hill on the right hand leads ſtrait to *Pollet*, which Bourg is divided from the city by the harbour, and the ſhallow ſtream of the river *Bethune*. The ground betwixt one hill and the other is all marſhy and rotten by the ſtagnation of the water, and there is no paſſing it, except by a very narrow way, in which there are ſeveral bridges, as the river there divides itſelf into many channels. Upon the hill, on the left ſide, which is no leſs ſteep and craggy than the other, ſtands the caſtle of *Arques*, ſomething more than a league from the town, a place excellently fortified both by art and nature, and which commands a large Bourg of the ſame name that lies under it, directly in the road which leads to *Dieppe*, along the foot of the hill by the river-ſide. The hill on the right hand, which is much more woody than the other, does not run in one continued ridge, as that on the left does, but about a league above *Pollet*, is divided by a great valley which ends over-againſt *Arques*: and in this lies *Martingliſe*, a conſiderable and very commodious village, on the right hand; and on the left, an hoſpital of *St. Lazarus*, which the *French* commonly call a *Maladerie*.

The King and his chief officers, having narrowly ſurveyed every one of thoſe places, reſolved to quarter with his whole army at *Arques*; imagining, that if the Duke of *Mayenne* followed him, he would not paſs along the hill on the right ſide, acroſs the valley and through the wood, as that led only to *Pollet*, but would take the direct road to the walls of *Dieppe*. For which reaſon, he immediately ſet the whole army at work, and what few peaſants could be got together, to encloſe the caſtle and Bourg as ſpeedily as poſſible, with a good trench about eight feet wide and as many in depth; raiſing fortifications on the inſide with the earth that was thrown out of it, and ſtrengthening it with ravelines and redoubts about ſixty paces diſtant from each other: and then, having planted his cannon in a very advantageous manner, he went himſelf into the caſtle with all the *French* foot; and the Marſhal *De Biron* into the Bourg, with the two regiments of *Swiſs*: ſo that by this diſpoſition he blocked up both the roads which lead to the town, that over the top, and the other along the bottom of the hill. The horſe lay behind the reſt of the army, in that ſpace which reached from the trenches as far as *Dieppe*, ready to move where occaſion ſhould require, as there were places left at proper diſtances along the trenches wide enough for fifty of them in front to ſally out at a time; a body ſufficient for their preſent purpoſes. In the harbour of *Dieppe*, many veſſels were ſtationed to bring

1589. provisions for the army from *England*, and the coasts of *Normandy*, from *Caën*, *St. Lo*, and *Carantan*, towns that adhered to the King; which was of great service; for some winds brought in barks from *England*, others, those that came from *Normandy*, successively relieving the necessities of the soldiers. Besides this convenience, they had many miles of a most fertile country in their power, which at that season of the year furnished both horse and foot with great plenty of every thing.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* being reinforced by the Marquis *Du Pont*, who was come with the army of *Lorrain* to assist the League, and likewise by the Duke of *Nemours*, who had brought up the forces of *Lionnois*, by Monsieur *De Balagny*, Governor of *Cambray*, and last of all by the *German* horse and foot, which had been raised by his order, with the assistance of *Spain*: in order to keep up his reputation, and to gratify the sanguine hopes that he had conceived of gaining a victory, and driving the King out of the kingdom, had moved from *Paris* on the 1st of *September*, and with six thousand *Swiss*, four thousand *German* foot, twelve thousand musketiers, part *French*, part *Lorrainers*, and four thousand five hundred horse, had taken possession of *Poissy*, *Mante*, and *Vernon*, which surrendered to him: and having reduced *Gournay*, which made some little resistance, in the space of two days, marched forwards with great expedition toward *Roüen*, from whence he took the Duke of *Aumale* along with him, when he found the King had left those parts: and thus augmenting his forces, which increased every hour, he continued his march, with the same speed, towards *Dieppe*. But he took a different road from what the King and all his commanders thought he would have done. For leaving that which runs along the hill side on the left hand towards *Dieppe*, by the way of *Arques*, where he knew the King's army had taken possession of all the advantageous places, and was excellently posted for making a vigorous opposition, he marched on by the hill on the right hand, with a design to make himself master of *Pollet*, that so he might block up and command the mouth of the harbour. By which means he thought he should easily be able to gain a compleat victory, and put an end to the war; as the King, being then deprived of the use of his shipping, and cut off from all communication with the sea, could not possibly receive the supplies that he expected from *England*, and must of consequence be reduced to great extremities and want of provisions.

But the King, to whom the Sieur *De Baqueville* (who was ordered to observe the motions of the enemy) had reported, in good time, that the Duke of *Mayenne* had taken the road towards the hill on the right hand, being aware of his intention, and desirous to prevent it, left the Marshal *De Biron* at *Arques* with the *Swiss*, a thousand musketiers, and six

hundred horſe, not only that he might hinder the paſſage of the enemy on that ſide, as had been his firſt intention, but alſo that he might paſs over the valley to the foot of the hill on the right hand, and there draw a line round the *Maladerie*, and another large trench toward the bottom, to obſtruct the Duke's paſſage on that ſide alſo, by a double impediment, leſt he ſhould be able to get over to the left hand hill, and either attack his army in their works, or diſtreſs it by throwing himſelf betwixt it and the town. When matters were thus diſpoſed on the outſide, the King, with the reſt of the cavalry and the remainder of the *French* muſketiers, paſſed immediately through the city to *Pollet*; where the Nobility and Commanders, as well as the common ſoldiers and inhabitants, laboured inceſſantly day and night, till he had ſurrounded the whole Bourg with a deep trench, which ending in the form of a ſpur, made an acute handle, at the extremity of which, a large mill that ſtood there, was turned into a fort, and not only filled with earth, but ſurrounded with paliſades. After which he planted ſix pieces of cannon, though but ſmall ones, upon the works, and brought all his men within the encloſure of that fortification.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was ſo embarraſſed with the weight of his artillery and the ruggedneſs of the roads, that he had been obliged to march very ſlowly, and did not arrive within ſight of *Pollet* till *Wedneſday* the 13th of *September*, where he drew up his army in order of battle, and made a ſtand for three hours, expecting the King would come out of his trenches to fight him: whilſt, in the mean time, he cauſed his light horſe to ſcour the country all round, under the command of the Duke of *Nemours* on one ſide, and the Count *De Sagone* on the other. The King's army conſiſted of few more than ſeven thouſand men, including even thoſe that were at *Arques*; and the Duke's amounted to about twenty-nine thouſand horſe and foot, furniſhed with great plenty of ammunition and an excellent train of artillery. So that his Majeſty, ſeeing ſuch a prodigious diſparity betwixt their forces, thought proper to keep cloſe in his entrenchments, and only conſented that the light horſe, commanded by the Grand Prior, ſhould ſally out, ſupported by the Sieur *De l'Archant's* and Monſieur *De la Force's* troops of lances, to ſecure their retreat if there ſhould be occaſion. They ſkirmiſhed with the advanced guards all the time that the main body of the League's army ſtood ſtill, and ſometimes the ſkirmiſhes grew ſo warm, and increaſed to ſuch a degree, that it was fully expected, by people of little experience, that the commanders would come to a general engagement: though there was not much loſs ſuſtained by either ſide in theſe encounters, and the King's, for the moſt part, had the advantage. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, perceiving that the King would not run the hazard of a battle, except he

was

1589. was forced to it, and then with the advantage of his trenches and other works, retired over the hill and quartered his army at *Martinglise*; and having caused *Pollet* to be reconnoitred that night, and found that it was excellently fortified, and in a manner inaccessible on every side, as it commanded all the plain, and was flanked by the cannon of the town, he resolved not to attempt it, but to pass over to the hill on the left hand, and endeavour either to take the castle of *Arques* and besiege the King's army, or else to draw them to an engagement in defence of their posts. For he put such confidence in the valour and number of his troops, that if he could not do it otherwise, he boldly determined to attack the King even in his own trenches, though at a manifest disadvantage.

In the mean time, the Marshal *De Biron* had possessed himself of the *Maladerie*, and made a large trench round it with the utmost expedition, where he placed twelve companies of *Swiss* and three hundred *French* musketiers: and not trusting entirely to that, had raised another high work within less than five hundred paces below the first, and there posted the *Swiss* of the King's guard, under the command of Colonel *Galati*.

The Duke having given his men three days rest, marched with all his army in order of battle on the 16th, at night, without beat of drum or sound of trumpet, and leaving *Pollet* behind him, passed beyond the King's trenches, and appeared about break of day, upon the declivity of the hill that leads down to the plain, with a design to pass the bridges on a sudden, and get over, without opposition, to the left side. But he found himself prevented by the vigilance of the King, who being come silently in the evening to *Arques*, and having received intelligence of his moving, many hours before it was day, had disposed his forces in exceeding good order, some at the entrance of the bridges, where the Grand Prior was with his light horse, and the lances commanded by the Sieur *De l'Archant* and Monsieur *De la Force*: some in the middle of the plain, where the *French* infantry was, encompassed with bogs and pools made by the river: some in the lower way of the hill on the left side, where the Duke of *Montpensier* was with the Nobility and the companies of *Arembures*, *Du Hallot*, and *Mignonville*: and others upon the ascent of the same road, where the Marshal *De Biron* was, with a squadron of *Swiss*, flanked with musketiers. The artillery of *Arques* was all pointed to scour the plain; and *Galati* having drawn up his *Swiss* musketiers with their front toward the enemy, and their rear to the *Maladerie*, was posted in such a manner as to fire from the second trench directly upon that pass by which the army of the League was to descend.

The Duke thought that disposition so wisely made, that he did not care

care to engage an army which he ſaw ſtanding firm in their ranks ready 1589. to receive him, at ſo manifeſt a diſadvantage of ground; and finding, upon examination, that it was impoſſible to paſs the plain and to get up the hill on the left ſide, except he could firſt make himſelf maſter of thoſe two entrenchments that ſtood ſo high as to command all the deſcent and all the plain, he reſolved to retire to his former quarters at *Martingliſe*, from whence he ſent out parties to ſkirmiſh, ſometimes toward *Pollet*, ſometimes toward the trenches, in order to cover his deſign, and to make the King uncertain on which ſide he intended to attack him. But on the 21ſt, in the morning, which was the feaſt of St. *Matthew*, being reſolved to try his fortune, he ordered the Count *De Belin*, one of his Marſhals, to advance directly to attack the *Maladerie*, and begin the battle there, with Count *Jago de Collalto's* regiment of *Germans*, and the regiments of foot under the command of *Tremblecourt* and *Chaſtaigneray*; who having led his men through a thick woody defile, and exceeding troubleſome, came within ſhot of the larger trench. At which time, the *Germans*, wearied with their march through ſo uneven a road, and knowing the aſſault would be very difficult, from the high ſituation of the enemy's works, reſolved to make uſe of art to effect their deſign, if deceit may be ſo called. For which purpoſe, they held up their hats on the tops of their pikes, and ſtretched out their hands, making ſigns that their intention was to come over to the King's party, and not to ſtorm or aſſault that fortification: which being eaſily credited, as a rumour was ſpread abroad, that they were diſſatisfied with the Duke, and wanted an opportunity of revolting, they came forwards till they were got cloſe under the work without being fired at or reſiſted. When they arrived there, and confirmed that by their profeſſions which they had ſignified by their actions, they were pulled up by the hand by ſoldiers of the ſame nation, and aſſiſted to get upon the parapet, where they had no ſooner lodged themſelves, but they, unexpectedly, fell upon the *French* and *Swiſs* with their pikes and ſhorter weapons, who having no firelocks in their hands, but ſeeing themſelves thus ſuddenly attacked, or rather vilely betrayed and going to be murdered, immediately turned their backs without being able to make any reſiſtance, and, with infinite terror and confuſion, began to fly towards the deſcent, in hopes of getting into ſhelter on the plain. *Tremblecourt* and *Chaſtaigneray*, whoſe men were divided into two light parties, followed the track of the *Germans*, and having ſeen this beginning, ruſhed ſuddenly out of the wood, and immediately advanced, as faſt as ever they could, to the ſame entrenchment, where they joined the flank of the *German* battalion, and were ſo animated with the ſucceſs of their firſt attempt, that they ran furiouſly together to make an aſſault upon the ſecond fortification. On the other hand, the Marſhal

1589. Marshal *De Biron* had hasted thither to encourage Colonel *Galati* to make a vigorous defence. But the attack was so hot and unexpected, from the sudden taking of the *Maladerie*, that the *Swiss* guards giving way, and the Marshal *De Biron* being thrown from his horse, that work was also carried with incredible celerity by the enemy.

The Duke of *Mayenne* being informed of this prosperous beginning, and resolved to pursue his advantage, gave orders to the Duke of *Nemours* and the Count *De Sagone*, to advance with the light horse on the right hand of the trenches already taken; and to the Duke of *Aumale*, to proceed with twelve hundred more horse on the left hand, whilst he himself followed with the remainder of the army, divided into several bodies, as the nature of the place would admit. In the mean time, the King, being exceedingly vexed and enraged at the unexpected loss of the trenches, and finding that it was now become necessary to engage with his whole force, rode up to the Duke of *Montpensier*, and ordered him instantly to charge the Duke of *Aumale*; and the Grand Prior, on the other side, to attack the Duke of *Nemours* and the light horse of the League. The Grand Prior, though very young, yet ambitious of glory, and to take some revenge for the late King's death with his own hand, came up to the head of his troop, and putting down the beaver of his helmet, immediately rode full gallop to meet the enemy: and seeing the Count *De Sagone* at the head of his squadron, he called to him by name, and challenged him out to fight hand to hand: which being no less gallantly accepted, they charged each other so resolutely, that the Grand Prior receiving a pistol shot on the fore-part of his helmet, reeled backwards and forwards two or three times, and had like to have fallen; but the Count *De Sagone*, being wounded with a brace of balls in the side and left thigh, dropped dead from his horse upon the ground. The King's light horse rushed upon the enemy with no less fury than their commanders; but found their number so much superior, as they were followed by two squadrons of Reiters, which the Duke of *Mayenne* had sent to support them, that they were obliged to retreat. So that still giving ground, after an obstinate resistance, they were at last furiously driven back to the foot of the hill, where the fire from the cannon at *Arques* served both to secure them and repel the enemy. In this engagement, which was very hot and bloody on both sides, the Sieur *De Baqueville*, who was the Grand Prior's Lieutenant, died valiantly fighting.

On the other side, the Duke of *Montpensier*, being met by those who were flying from the trenches, and ran in a confused manner towards the plain, was so disordered by them, that he had much ado to disengage himself: and when he advanced to attack the squadron that was led

led by the Duke of *Aumale*, he was so * daunted at their numbers, that he kept wheeling and discharging his pistols at them, but still retired towards the descent, whither he was closely pursued by the cavalry of the League. The King, who was betwixt both these troops, and had advanced rather too far towards the steep of the hill on the right hand, to give necessary orders, found himself so entangled amongst the enemy's squadrons, that being almost left alone, and disdaining to run away, he thought himself irrecoverably lost, and rode about, exhorting, intreating, and threatning those that were flying, stopping and upbraiding sometimes one, sometimes another, and bewailing himself aloud, "That in all "*France* there were not fifty Gentlemen that had courage enough to "die with their Prince." Nor was there any doubt, but if the Duke of *Mayenne* had come up time enough with the rest of his army, the King and all his forces must have been inevitably destroyed. But whilst he was bringing up the cavalry very slowly through rough and broken defiles, and often turned back again to make them keep close in their ranks for fear of disorder, he gave the King sufficient time to rally and retrieve his loss. For in this interval the Sieur *De Chastillon*, perceiving the danger that his party was in, immediately quitted the hill on the left hand, where he had been posted at the beginning, and marching up with the utmost speed to the place of battle, called out to the King, "Courage, "Sire, WE are here, and will spend the last drop of our blood by your "side." Upon which he instantly attacked the regiments of *Tremblecourt* and *Chastaigneray* with such fury, that having taken the Count *De Belin* prisoner, and the chief commander of the *Lorrainers*, with the loss of above three hundred of their men, he drove them out of the trenches again. This gave a very different and immediate turn to the fortune of the day. And the Marshal *De Biron* having happily disengaged himself from the enemy, had now, with the assistance of Colonel *Galati*, prevailed upon the *Swiss* to make a stand, who before were running away; but upon this encouragement they faced about with fresh vigour, and marched up again to join Monsieur *De Chastillon*, who had already retaken the smaller entrenchment, and was rallying his men to attack the *Maladerie*. The King himself likewise, having bravely advanced thither, caused the Baron *De Biron*, with an hundred Gentlemen, who were

* The forementioned anonymous author of the critique upon *Davila*, says, that he was imposed upon in this circumstance, by the account which the Duke of *Mayenne* published of the engagement to magnify his advantage, to encourage his party, and at the same time to vilify the Duke of *Montpensier*. For that he behaved very bravely, and retook the entrenchment that had been taken by the *Germans*. Which indeed seems to be justified both by the Duke of *Montpensier's* former and subsequent behaviour; and *Davila* himself mentions the Duke of *Mayenne's* account of this action, as if he thought it exaggerated.

1589. gathered together about him from ſeveral parts, to diſmount from their horſes; and placing them in the firſt files of the infantry, ordered them immediately to make a fierce attack upon the great trench. The action was very hot and bloody for a quarter of an hour; but *Collalto's* lanſquenets, who were fatigued with their march and late duty, and now charged on all ſides, at laſt began to give way, and were routed and furiouſly driven out of the *Maladerie* with great ſlaughter, by the *Swiſs* pikes and *French* muſketiers, in revenge for the treacherous manner of proceeding by which they had made themſelves maſters of it at firſt.

In the mean time, the King, whoſe admirable celerity and preſence of mind provided remedies for every deficiency in a time of ſo much diſtreſs, rode up to the head of the Duke of *Montpenſier's* ſquadron, with threeſcore horſe, which he had rallied with much difficulty, and brought it back to make a vigorous attack upon that of the Duke of *Aumale*, who, being maſter of the field, had already over-run all the deſcent. So that after an obſtinate engagement, which laſted about three quarters of an hour, he broke quite through it, and drove it back again, by degrees, to the top of the hill. On the other hand, the Grand Prior, who at firſt had been obliged to retreat, being relieved in his diſtreſs, by the lances under the command of the Sieurs *De l'Archant*, *Montataire*, and *La Force*, which at laſt came up to the battle, ſoon forced the enemy's light horſe to turn their backs, and retire, as faſt as they could, along the road that led from the field of battle to *Martingliſe*. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who did not arrive till his cavalry was already retiring, and the King's forces had recovered their works, thinking it then too late to make any farther attempt, and that his men were tired out with the length of the action; and ſeeing the badneſs of the road had prevented his ammunition from coming up, of which the infantry ſtood in great need, as they had expended all their own in the battle, ordered a retreat to be ſounded, and drew off to his firſt quarters. Such was the dangerous battle of *Arques*, which laſted a whole day, with various fortune, and ended in a manner ſo different from the beginning, that the King ſaid publickly at night, "That either the Duke of *Mayenne* was not the "ſoldier that every body took him to be, or that he had ſhewn him fa- "vour and reſerved him for better times."

The beſt judges made no ſcruple of giving the glory of the day to the King, who (though with various ſucceſs) had defended his poſts, and hindered the enemy from paſſing over to the hill of *Arques*, which was their principal end and intention. But the Duke of *Mayenne* induſtriouſly ſpread it abroad that he had gained a victory, and confirmed it by a pair of colours belonging to the King's light horſe, and three more of the foot, which had fallen into the hands of his men at the firſt taking of the entrenchments,

trenchments, and were ſent, with great oſtentation, to *Paris*. On the 1589. ſide of the League, there were ſlain about ſix hundred, amongſt whom were the Count *De Sagone* and the Baron *De St. Andrew*; and on the King's, only two hundred. But his loſs was very great by the death of the Sieur *De Baqueville*, a reſolute, indefatigable, and valiant ſoldier, and a very proper man to command a body of light horſe, which requires not only courage, but great care and expedition. Nor was it a ſmall misfortune that the Sieur *De Montataire*, Lieutenant to the Prince of *Condé*, having received a muſket-ball in his left leg, was abſolutely diſabled by it ever after.

At night the Duke, being reſolved to try all poſſible means either to drive the King away, or to draw him out of his trenches, determined to get on the other ſide of *Dieppe*; not by the common road, but a long way about: for having taken a large circuit round both hills, he came, in three days march, on the 24th of *September*, to the north ſide of the city near the citadel, and the ſame night cauſed eight pieces of cannon to be planted there immediately, with which he began to batter the houſes of the town early the next morning. But the King, after the army of the League was ſeen to march that way, having left Monſieur *D'Anville* with the regiment of the Sieur *De la Garde*, four companies of *Swiſs*, and threeſcore horſe, to defend *Arques*, was come, with all the reſt of his army, to *Dieppe*; and being quartered in the Fauxbourgs, flanked and defended by the cannon of the citadel, he ordered a ſmart ſkirmiſh to be begun on all ſides, by that means to prevent the effects of the enemy's battery. The forces of the League advanced with no leſs reſolution to the ſkirmiſh. But the encounter was ſoon ended by a new, and till that time, unheard-of device; for the King having ſent the Baron *De Biron* into the middle of the field with a large ſquadron of horſe, and the Duke of *Mayenne* being ſurpriſed at their boldneſs in advancing ſo far, and thinking they had raſhly overſhot themſelves, ſent two conſiderable bodies of horſe to charge them: at the arrival of which, the King's forces ſuddenly opening to the right and left with wonderful dexterity, there appeared two large culverines in the midſt of them, which giving fire, and repeating it ſeveral times with great quickneſs and certainty, not only killed many of them and broke their ranks, but obliged the enemy to wheel off and retire, at the ſtrange and unuſual ſight of two ſuch heavy pieces of artillery playing from amidſt a body of cavalry. This new and expeditious method of managing heavy cannon, was the invention of one *Charles Briſe*, a *Norman* bombardier, who having been a long time with the pyrates in the *Weſt-Indies*, was grown very expert in the art of gunnery, and during the courſe of the civil wars, performed ſo

1589. many other signal services, that he was much esteemed for his skill and experience.

Whilst they were skirmishing in this manner, and made a terrible thunder about the walls of the town with their artillery, the Duke of *Mayenne* ordered the Duke of *Aumale* to make a sudden assault upon the works and castle of *Arques* with the rear guard, in which he had placed a regiment of *Walloons*, the regiment of *Lorrain* and *Collalto's* lansquenets for that purpose; hoping to carry it, and confine the King within the circuit of the town. But he found so vigorous an opposition there, that after he had redoubled his assaults for the space of two hours, he was obliged to retire, with the loss of two captains and above an hundred soldiers. *D'Anville* likewise sustained considerable loss: for notwithstanding the strength and advantage of the place, above sixty private men and two *Swiss* captains were slain, and Colonel *La Garde* was dangerously wounded in the thigh.

But though the King and his army had met with so good success, and repulsed the enemy in all places, yet they were not only much exhausted with fatigue, as they were few in number, and obliged to continual duty, but also in want of provisions. For being reduced to scarcity in the end of *September*, and the rains and storms beginning to grow very great and frequent, neither the ships could so conveniently bring in supplies, nor could the country, now laid waste and destroyed, any longer furnish food for the men nor forage for the horses, which were extremely jaded by incessant labour and hardships. But the King's hopes were founded upon the succours which he expected from two different places. For he had written to the Duke of *Longueville* and the Marshal *D'Aumont* to unite their forces and come to join him; imagining that the Duke of *Mayenne* would not suffer himself to be enclosed betwixt two armies, though inferior to him in strength, but that at their approach he would raise his camp. And on the other hand, he knew four thousand *English* foot, with great plenty of ammunition, which Queen *Elizabeth* was sending to his relief, were ready to embark; by whose arrival his army would be considerably reinforced, and their hard duty in some measure lessened: not doubting but the *English* fleet would likewise bring provisions sufficient to support his army many days. The Duke of *Longueville* and the Marshal *D'Aumont*, contrary to expectation, arrived first, as voyages by sea are very uncertain. For being joined by the Count *De Soissons*, who was released from his imprisonment in *Bretagne*, and the Sieur *De la Noüe*, they pressed forward their march with so much expedition, that on the 26th they lodged within six leagues of the Duke of *Mayenne's* army. The Duke, therefore, to avoid being encompassed, and because he despaired of effecting any thing further at *Dieppe*, raised his camp on the

28th in the morning, and marched away towards *Picardy*, to meet the forces which were coming to his aſſiſtance out of *Flanders*, by order of his Catholick Majeſty, under the command of the Sieur *De la Motte*. 1589.

The next day the Duke of *Longueville* and Marſhal *D'Aumont* joined the King, who having left the Marſhal *De Biron* at *Dieppe*, went out with ſix hundred horſe and two thouſand foot to meet them; and following the army of the League by the ſame rout, he retook the town of *Eu* and the caſtle of *Gamaches* before he paſſed the river *Somme*, availing himſelf of the opportunity, whilſt the Duke, whoſe army continually diminiſhed by the deſertion of his men, was intent upon his march, and kept his men very cloſe together and in good order, ſtill endeavouring to get farther from him. So that without meeting with the leaſt interruption, the King arrived at *Amiens*, the principal city of *Picardy*, where he was received with very great magnificence, being met by all the citizens without the gates, who preſented him with a canopy of ſtate to walk under, as they had been uſed to do to other Kings; but he modeſtly declined it with his wonted prudence and moderation.

Whilſt he ſtaid at *Amiens* to put his army in order again, and to regulate the affairs of that city, four thouſand *Engliſh* and a thouſand *Scots*, ſent by Queen *Elizabeth*, arrived at *Dieppe*. Upon which news, the King, whoſe affairs now began to take a more proſperous turn in all parts, returned thither with his whole army and joined them, to the great joy of every one. For they had not only brought a vaſt quantity of proviſions with them, but ſome money, which was immediately diſtributed amongſt his ſoldiers to the laſt farthing; and though the ſum was not large, yet he gave it them with ſo much cheerfulneſs and generoſity, that every body was ſatisfied and contented.

When the *Engliſh* had reſted themſelves, and thoſe that had been ſo harraſſed at *Dieppe* were refreſhed after their late hardſhips, in the beſt manner that was poſſible: the King, being deſirous not to loſe any time, now the Duke of *Mayenne* and his army were at a diſtance, reſolved to aſſault the ſuburbs of *Paris*. Not out of any reaſonable expectation that he ſhould be able to take the city, by the advantage of ſome favourable opportunity, whilſt the people were in terror and confuſion (for that was thought impoſſible, both by himſelf and all his commanders) but for the ſake of plundering thoſe ſuburbs, that were known to be full of riches, to relieve the extreme neceſſities of his army, in which the Nobility and Gentlemen, as well as the common ſoldiers, were reduced to very great ſcarcity of money: and not only the furniture of their horſes, but even their arms and wearing apparel ſpoiled and broken, with bad weather and continual duty. With this deſign he left *Dieppe*, on the 19th of *October*, with an army of twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, beſides

fourteen

1589. fourteen pieces of heavy artilllery, and with easy marches took the direct road to *Paris*. The Grand Prior and the Baron *De Givry*, who succeeded the late Sieur *De Baqueville* in his post, scoured the country before them with the light horse: the Count *De Soissons*, and the Marshal *D'Aumont*, led the vanguard: the King, with the Marshal *De Biron*, and Monsieur *De la Noüe* conducted the main body: and the Duke of *Longueville* brought up the rear. In this order the army arrived at *Pont de l'Arche*, from whence the Duke of *Montpensier*, having passed the *Seine* with three hundred horse, went towards *Caen* in *Nomandy*, to superintend the affairs of that Province, where the forces of the League were grown very powerful.

On the last of *October* the King quartered with his army but a league from the Fauxbourgs of *Paris*: where the tumult of the people, and the consternation of the Duchesses was very great, now the Duke of *Mayenne* was so far off, and the King unexpectedly come to assault the city, at a time, when they imagined he could hardly defend himself, and that he was so weak, that he must soon either be utterly destroyed, or driven out of the kingdom: as the Duke of *Mayenne*, to magnify the strength of his forces, when he went with a design to besiege *Dieppe*, had written to *Paris*, that within a few days he would either bring the King thither prisoner, or force him to fly with disgrace into *England*. But now things happened so contrary to their expectation, the city being destitute of soldiers, and out of hopes of any relief, was full of terror and distraction; especially as they had no head of any authority to keep the people in order, and to make other necessary provisions. For though Don *Bernardino Mendozza*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, used his utmost endeavour to encourage them with his presence, and most earnest exhortations, yet he was not a person whom the *Parisians* could much confide in, as he was neither their countryman, nor had any great experience in warlike affairs. But at night Monsieur *De Rhosne* opportunely arrived; for being at *Estampes*, which town had been taken a few days before, he marched fourteen leagues without ever stopping, and came into the city, though but with a few horse, at the beginning of the night. Upon his arrival, the Council of the League recovered their spirits, and resolved to defend the suburbs. For which purpose people of all conditions, and even the very Friars, took arms, and were distributed in the best order that might be, in the works that had been thrown up three months before, when it was besieged by *Henry* III.

On the 1st of *November*, before break of day, the King divided his infantry into three bodies: one of which was led by the Marshal *De Biron*, the Baron his son, and the Sieur *De Guitry*, to assault the Fauxbourgs of *St. Victoire* and *St. Marceau*; the second by the Marshal *D'Aumont*,

Monsieur

Monsieur *D'Anville*, and Colonel *De Rieux*, against the Fauxbourgs of *St. James* and *St. Michael*; and the third, commanded by the Sieurs *De-Chastillon* and *De la Noüe*, assaulted the Fauxbourg of *St. Germain*. The cavalry likewise being drawn up in three divisions, one commanded by the King himself, another by the Count *De Soissons*, and the third by the Duke of *Longueville*, stood all ready in the field, each squadron as a support to its body of foot, in case of any unexpected accident. As soon as it was light the assault began, and continued very fierce for the space of an hour: but the works being demolished in many places, and the raw undisciplined multitude not able to stand before the valour of the King's soldiers, the citizens were at last obliged to give way, after a great number of them had been killed, and with much difficulty retired time enough to have the gates of the city shut, the assailants pressing on furiously on every side, and particularly the Sieur *De la Noüe*, who having entered the Fauxbourg of *St. Germain*, and coming down the street, which is called the *Rüe de Tornon*, pursued those so closely that retired into the city through the gate *de Nesle*, where the Sieur *De Rhosne* himself was, that it could hardly be shut. In this assault above nine hundred *Parisians* were slain, and above four hundred taken prisoners: amongst whom was Father *Edmund Burgoigne*, Prior of the convent of *Jacobines*, who being convicted by evidence, of having publickly, and in the pulpit, extolled the murder of *Henry* III. and having advised and instigated the murderer to it, and compared him also in his sermons, after the fact, to *Judith*; the deceased King, to *Holofernes*; and the deliverance of the city, to that of *Bethulia*; was condemned by sentence of the Parliament to be drawn asunder by four horses, his quarters to be burnt, and his ashes scattered in the wind: which severe sentence was executed some few months after. The suburbs being entered on every side, the officers restrained the soldiers with the utmost care from running up and down in a confused manner to plunder, till the cavalry were come in, and posted ready to receive any that should dare to sally out of the city. After which, the quarters were divided amongst them, with strict charge, nevertheless, not to violate either churches, monasteries, or any other sacred places: which order was observed with so much strictness and punctuality, both by the officers and soldiers, that masses were said that day, which was the feast of *All Saints*, in every church, with as much decency as if no such thing had happened: and the Catholicks of the King's army were present at them in vast numbers, celebrating that holy day with very great joy. The sacking of the suburbs lasted as long as the army continued in them, and the booty was so rich and plentiful, that the King's army was wonderfully relieved and encouraged by it.

1589.

In the mean time the Duke of *Mayenne* having been informed, that the

1589. the King was marched towards *Paris*, deferred his meeting with the agents out of *Flanders*, though he had marched ſo near to the confines for that purpoſe, and without waiting for further intelligence, moved that way with his whole army: and having paſſed the bridge of *St. Meſſant* (contrary to the King's expectation, who had ordered Monſieur *De Thoré*, Governor of *Senlis*, to break it down, which he, being ſick in bed, could not ſo ſpeedily perform) ſent the Duke of *Nemours* before with the light horſe; who arriving on the 2d of *November*, very much raiſed the ſpirits, and allayed the apprehenſions of the *Pariſians*, as they were in great fear that the King would purſue his victory, and aſſault the city after he had taken the ſuburbs. The Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf, likewiſe, came up the next day: ſo that the King, thinking himſelf not very ſecure in the ſuburbs, where he was liable to be attacked on a ſudden, without being able to make any uſe of his cavalry, marched out of *St. James's* gate on the 4th of *November*, and drew up his army in order of battle, waiting many hours to ſee if the Duke of *Mayenne* would follow him. But finding that no body offered to ſtir from the city, he marched gently away, and quartered the ſame night at *Mont l'Hery* and reſolved to proceed to *Tours*, becauſe he had ſo promiſed the Catholick Lords, and had ſummoned the States to aſſemble there at the latter end of *October*. And though he very well knew that the war which was kindled on every ſide made travelling ſo unſafe, that the Deputies could not meet together at the appointed time, and had not taken any pains himſelf to aſſemble them, that he might not be ſo ſoon reduced to a neceſſity of changing his religion, and alienating the *Hugonot* party entirely from him: yet he was determined to be there himſelf, to avoid giving the Catholicks any room to accuſe him of breaking his word, and that he might take an opportunity at the ſame time of ſettling the affairs of that province: after which he ſhould be at liberty to return with freſh vigour, perhaps better attended by the Nobility, and with greater ſtrength to carry on the war. The next day his army ſat down before *Eſtampes*, which town ſurrendered without reſiſtance: and the King, thinking it could not be maintained, as it had been taken three times in the courſe of a few months, cauſed it to be diſmantled in his preſence, leaving the citizens at liberty to receive either party. After a ſtay there of one day only, he diſpatched the Baron *De Givry* into *Brie*, the Marſhal *D'Aumont* in *Champagne*, and the Duke of *Longueville* into *Picardy*, with ſufficient forces to ſupport themſelves in thoſe provinces: whilſt he himſelf, with the reſt of his army, making ſhort marches through *Beauſſe*, and over the common paſſes of the *Loire*, took the direct road into *Touraine*.

Whilſt the main armies and the heads of the factions were carrying on the war in this vigorous manner, the other provinces of the kingdom were in

in no leſs commotion: and there was nothing to be ſeen in any part but daily encounters, and bloodſhed, and devaſtation of the country. For in the county of *Beauvais*, the Marquis *De Piennes*, one of the principal Lords of the Union, defeated and killed the Sieur *De Bonivet*. In *Picardy*, the Sieur *D'Arcy* having ſent for the ſame Marquis to his aſſiſtance, and taking the opportunity of the water being let off, that the foſs of *La Fere* might be cleanſed, had ſuddenly ſurpriſed that town in the night. In *Berry*, the Sieur *De Montigny*, who was of the King's party, defeated and took Monſieur *De la Chaſtre's* Lieutenant in the open field: and on the other ſide, Monſieur *De Neuvy*, who adhered to the League, routed the Sieur *De Gamache*, and took him priſoner. In *Champagne*, the Count *De Grandpré*, attended with a great many Gentlemen that were of the King's party, ſurpriſed *Vitry*, and cut all the garriſon to pieces: but being aſſaulted a few days after by Colonel *St. Paul*, who was chief commander for the League in that province, they made ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance, that the forces of the League did not get the victory without the loſs of a great many men and much bloodſhed: and on the King's ſide all the Gentlemen and Officers were either killed or dangerouſly wounded; and the Count *De Grandpré* himſelf was carried half dead to *Châlons*, being wounded in eighteen different places. In *Normandy*, the Baron *D'Eſchauſour* and Captain *Valage* routed Colonel *St. Dennis* and put him to flight, as he was going with his regiment to join the Duke of *Montpenſier*. At *Tholouſe*, *Limoges*, and *Tours*, there were exceeding great commotions. In the territories of *Geneva* the war was very warmly carried on betwixt that city and the Duke of *Savoy*, who having poſſeſſed himſelf of the country, was now beſieging the city, about which he had raiſed many forts, and was in great hopes of carrying it. In *Provence*, Monſieur *De la Valette*, Governor for the King, had many ſkirmiſhes with the Count *De Cars* and the Sieur *De Vins*, who commanded for the League: and on both ſides many towns were taken, and ſeveral bloody encounters happened betwixt them. In *Dauphiné*, Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo* having joined *Les Diguieres*, blocked up *Grenoble* and *Valence*, the only towns in that province that adhered to the League. And in this manner, with various ſucceſs, but ſtill with the loſs of much blood, the war was proſecuted by both parties.

1589.

In the mean time, the King was come with his army to *Chaſteau-dun*, where the *Swiſs* commanders were alſo arrived upon their return from their Cantons, to which they had been ſent by the forces of their nation that were in the camp, to acquaint them with the death of King *Henry* the third, and to receive their inſtructions how to proceed for the future. The anſwer that they brought was, that the Cantons would perſevere in

1589. amity and alliance with King *Henry* the fourth, as they had done with his predeceſſor, and that therefore they muſt continue to ſerve and follow him. Which reſolution of the Cantons was chiefly owing to the addreſs of the Sieur *De Sillery*, the King's Ambaſſador there, and to the preſence of *James Auguſtus de Thou*, who on his return out of *Italy*, whither he had been ſent by the late King to the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, had ſollicited and adviſed that determination. The King and his whole army were much rejoiced at it, not only becauſe they found the main ſtrength of their infantry conſiſted in the *Swiſs* regiments that were with them, and had always behaved themſelves with great bravery, but becauſe he was in hopes of increaſing their number, by obtaining the favour of a new levy under the colours of their Cantons.

After a ſhort ſtay at *Chaſteau-dun*, the King went to lay ſiege to *Vendoſme*, a city of his own patrimony, and which was thought very convenient for him, becauſe it was near the *Loire*. The ſuburbs were taken at the firſt aſſault: and the King having perſonally viewed the walls, and the nature of the ſituation, reſolved to batter that ſide of the caſtle which looks toward the country, and commands a large plain, though it does not ſtand very high. There were accordingly two pieces of cannon planted the next day againſt that fortreſs, with a deſign to raiſe a royal battery againſt the curtain, as ſoon as two towers were demoliſhed, which ſerved to flank it on each hand. But a great part of the tower on the left hand being beat down in a ſhort time, ſome of the infantry advanced to the aſſault, and were ſurpriſed to find the place abandoned by the garriſon, without any reſiſtance: upon which, after they had made themſelves maſters of the tower, they began to fire with their ſmall arms from that place of advantage upon the walls below, whither the beſieged had retired to defend them: and the number of forces continually increaſing in the tower, the Baron *De Biron*, newly made a Marſhal of the field by the King, immediately haſted thither, in great hopes of carrying the whole, and had ſcarce brought down his men to make the attack, but thoſe at the walls were ſo terrified that they quitted them, and the whole circuit of the caſtle at the ſame time, endeavouring to ſave themſelves by retiring into the city: but being prevented by the King's ſoldiers, who purſued them very cloſe, the city was alſo ſtormed with the ſame fury in leſs than three hours: in which, except the churches, convents, and other religious places, every thing was given up to the ſoldiers, who found there great plenty of rich plunder. The Governor, who upon various occaſions had treated with the King, and always deceived him by his double dealing, was condemned to die, together with Father *Robert*, a *Cordelier*, who had there publickly commended the murder of the late

 King,

King, and excited the common people to rebellion by his ſermons. After the taking of *[illegible]*, *Lavardin* and *Montaut*, caſtles of that juriſdiction, alſo ſurrendered, and the King meeting with no further oppoſition in any place, came at laſt to *Tours* upon the 21ſt of *November*.

1589.

He entered the city the very ſame night by torch-light, being met at the gates by the Cardinals of *Vendoſme* and *Lenoncour*, and all the Preſidents and Counſellors of the Parliament, and ſurrounded with a vaſt concourſe of people, as all the neighbouring towns had reſorted thither to ſee his entry. But the neceſſity of affairs obliged him not to ſpend his time idly there, and his own diſpoſition was ſuch, that he readily conformed to it. So that the next morning he came without further delay to the Parliament, and being ſeated on the royal throne, was acknowledged King of *France*, with the uſual ceremonies, and very great acclamations. After which, upon the murmurs and complaints of the Catholicks of his army, and the earneſt intreaties of the Lords and Barons who followed him, that he would fulfil the promiſe he had made them to change his religion, he cauſed the Nobility to be publickly called together; and when they were aſſembled, in full expectation of ſome ſuch profeſſion, he told them, in a few words, "That to his great concern, he ſaw the dangers and fury of "the war had hindered the meeting of the Aſſembly, which was appointed "at that time. That they themſelves were witneſſes that he had laid aſide "all other undertakings upon that account, and had come to *Tours* in "hopes of finding ſome way of giving them the ſatisfaction they deſired. "That the nature of things, and not any backwardneſs in him, had re-"tarded it. That therefore, when they conſidered how much advantage "their common enemies would reap by his being at ſo great a diſtance, "and deferring to carry on a vigorous and uninterrupted war, he in-"treated them to impute that to neceſſity, which did not depend upon "his own will, and to conſent that the convocation of the Deputies might "be poſtponed till the 15th of the next *March*: by which time he hoped "the fury of the rebels would be quelled, that he might attend to the "ſettling of his future courſe of life and government with more ſucceſs, "with greater peace of mind, and leſs detriment to the publick affairs. "That they would accept his perſon, which was always in their hands, "as a pledge and ſecurity for his good faith: and that he would ſincerely "perform in deeds more than he now promiſed them in words." To which the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen aſſenting, more out of neceſſity than inclination, a proclamation was iſſued, that the meeting of the Aſſembly was thereby prorogued till the 15th of *March* next enſuing. The King was in hopes, as the war continued, and the factions daily grew more inveterate againſt each other, that the Catholicks would be ſtill

1589. more confirmed in their resolution to follow him, and that he might be able, by plausible excuses, by divers promises, and other artifices, to gain more time before he embraced the Catholick religion; and that perhaps they would at last be content that he should continue in his own. For which reasons he constantly evaded their importunities, and excused himself from complying with their desires, not only, that he might not seem to suit his conscience merely to the times, but for fear of alienating the *Hugonot* party, to the great diminution of his forces: Wherefore, as necessity so required, and that he might not give people time by indolence and inaction to contrive new disturbances, but keep them continually engaged in military operations, he resolved to go from *Tours*, and move with his army, to make himself master of those towns which the enemy possessed in the territories of *Maine* and *Normandy*.

Before his departure, *Giovanni Mocenigo*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, having received instructions from the Senate to continue in his embassy with the present King, was introduced to an audience with the usual formality, where he presented letters to him from the Senate, in which they gave him the title of King of *France*: and having congratulated him upon his accession to the Crown, he made an apology, that an Ambassador extraordinary was not sent for that purpose, according to custom, on account of the badness of the roads, which were every where spoiled and broken up by the course of the war. The Senate had been in some doubt whether they should confirm their Ambassador, and whether they should give his Majesty the title of King of *France* or not. But wisely foreseeing, not only, that it was necessary for the good of *Christendom* that the lawful heir should be supported in the possession of the kingdom, which the League endeavoured to dismember and subject to foreign Princes; but also, that the King, being acknowledged by the greater part of the Nobility, which is the main strength of the kingdom, in all probability would at last get the better of the League by his courage and magnanimity; they resolved to confirm their Ambassador, and to give his Majesty the title of King of *France*, and at the same time to assist him in every thing that lay in their power, as they had done all other Kings of *France* in their exigencies. And though the Pope's Nuncio and the *Spanish* Ambassador vehemently opposed it, and made heavy complaints, that a heretic, and one that lived in open disobedience to the Holy See, should be acknowledged King of *France*, in contempt of the declarations made by the Pope in the Consistory of Cardinals: yet the Senate answered, that the Republic of *Venice* did not trouble itself about deciding differences of faith, as that was his Holiness's province; but that it acknowledged *Henry* of *Bourbon* to be of the royal blood and lawful successor to the Crown of *France*, as it was well known

known to all men. That they only concerned themſelves about his temporal rights, without interfering in ſpiritual affairs: and that they ſhould treat with the King concerning what related to the government of thoſe ſtates that were under his dominion, without any prejudice to the Pope's declaration. This anſwer indeed was not very agreeable to the court of *Rome*: and *Gieronimo Matteucci*, the Pope's Nuncio, reſident at *Venice*, having often proteſted againſt it, at laſt ſuddenly departed from the city. Yet ſo great was the addreſs of *Alberto Bedoaro*, their reſident Ambaſſador with the Pope, and ſo powerful the arguments that were urged by *Leonardo Donato*, who was ſent Ambaſſador extraordinary by the Republic for that purpoſe, that the Nuncio was not ſo much as admitted into the Pope's preſence, but ordered to return immediately to his reſidence, and to give himſelf no further concern in the affair. The favourable declaration of that Senate gave the King very great ſatisfaction, as he thought the determination of the wiſeſt and moſt politic aſſembly in *Chriſtendom* would add much to the reputation of his cauſe, and might induce many other Princes, eſpecially in *Italy*, to follow its example. Upon which conſideration, he expreſſed himſelf in terms of the higheſt gratitude and reſpect, both by letters and verbal meſſages delivered by Monſieur *De Mets*, his reſident Ambaſſador at that city, for the proofs that the Senators had given him of their good will and affection.

1589.

The King having left *Tours* on the 26th of *November*, cauſed ſiege to be laid to *Mans*, a place of very great importance, in which the Sieur *De Bois-Dauphin* had ſhut himſelf up with above two hundred Gentlemen and ſeventeen companies of foot. The garriſon ſeemed determined to make a vigorous defence, and for that purpoſe burnt the ſuburbs, and fortified the gate that looked towards the road by which the King was to make his approach, with a raveline thrown up in the form of a tenaille. The Count *De Briſac* alſo was come, at the ſame time, to *La Fertè Bernard*, on purpoſe to throw ſuccours into the town in good time; and having broke up the roads and harraſſed the King's army not a little upon its march, at laſt fell upon one of the quarters of the *German* horſe, and took and ſtripped above fifty of them. But after the Baron *De Biron* and Monſieur *De Chaſtillon*, who lodged themſelves in the place where the ſuburbs ſtood before, had taken the raveline by a fierce aſſault on the fourth day after the ſiege was laid, the garriſon not being willing to ſuſtain the fury of the artillery from a battery that was now raiſed and ready to play upon them, began to capitulate, and ſurrendered upon very honourable terms. For the King, in whoſe army there was a great ſcarcity of powder and ball, was extremely well pleaſed not only at getting poſſeſſion of that place in ſo eaſy a manner, but that he might alſo

ſupply

1589. ſupply his wants out of the enemy's ammunition which was lodged there. The example of *Mans* was followed by *Beaumont*, *La Val*, *Chaſteau Gontier*, and all the places thereabout. Upon this, the King marched forwards and laid ſiege to *Alançon*, which city being given up, after it had been battered three days, Captain *Lago*, with the garriſon, retired into the fortreſs, with a deſign to defend it. But when the cannon were planted, he did not ſtay to be reduced to extremities, but delivered it into the King's hands on the 14th of *December*; who having left the Baron *D'Hertrè* there with three hundred *French* foot, proceeded towards *Normandy* and inveſted *Falaiſe*, in which there was the Count *De Briſac* with many Gentlemen, and the Chevalier *De Piccard's* regiment of foot: ſo that on account of the reputation of the commander, the ſtrength of the place, and the rigour of the ſeaſon, it was thought it would prove a very long and difficult undertaking: yet when the Fauxbourg *de Guibray* was taken and the army lodged under cover, the King having perſonally reconnoitred the ſituation of the fortreſs, ordered a battery to be raiſed againſt it, imagining, that if he could take that, he ſhould alſo ſoon be able to make himſelf maſter of the town. Beſides the main battery, he alſo cauſed two culverines to be planted upon an eminence, that commanded the paſſage that led into the city from the tower of the *Dongeon*, which was the principal ſecurity of the caſtle: and in this manner diſtreſſed the beſieged, and deprived them of their chief reſource. The artillery play'd two days with very great violence, and having utterly demoliſhed the tower which defended the angle of the city and caſtle that was oppoſite to the *Dongeon*, the King ordered it to be aſſaulted the ſame night by two different regiments, one conducted by the Sieur *De Chaſtillon*, that was to endeavour to get into the caſtle from the broken tower: the other by the Baron *De Biron*, to try if they could force themſelves by the ſame way into the town, which joined in that place to the fortreſs. Both the regiments ſucceeded in their attempts, for one, paſſing through the ruined tower, obliged the garriſon to retire into the *Dongeon*; and the other got at the ſame time into the main ſtreet of the town, which was furiouſly taken and ſacked without any further reſiſtance. The Count, who was ſhut up in the *Dongeon* with a few ſoldiers, and thoſe already terrified by the reſolution which the enemy's forces had ſhewn, and by the ill ſucceſs of their endeavours to defend the place, ſurrendered at diſcretion the next morning to the King, who detained him and fifteen more of the chief of them priſoners, and with a princely liberality, gave the Count's houſhold furniture, which was very rich and of exceeding great value, to the Baron *De Biron*.

Argentan and *Bayeux* ſurrendered without making any reſiſtance: and the

the King purſuing his march, came to the city of *Liſieux*, which, at the fight of his artillery, ſubmitted on the 30th of *December*. *Ponteau de Mer*, *Pont l'Eveſque*, and all the other towns thereabout, followed this example: ſo that the League had no place left in the lower *Normandy*, except *Honfleur*, a town ſituated at the mouth of the *Seine*, right over-againſt *Havre de Grace*; which the King paſſed by without taking any notice of it at that time, as he was in haſte to go into the higher province, though the Duke of *Montpenſier* earneſtly perſuaded him to ſtay till he had reduced it.

1589.

The End of the Tenth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF *FRANCE.*

BOOK XI.

ARGUMENT.

The Pope's resolution concerning the affairs of France. He sends Cardinal Caietano his Legate thither. The variety of opinions concerning his commission. He arrives in the kingdom. His perplexity and journey to Paris. The different ends of the League. The Marquis De Belin proposes a treaty of agreement. The Duke of Mayenne deliberates upon it, and resolves to carry on the war. He besieges Pontoise, which surrenders to him. He encamps before Meulan, and batters it with great fury. The King comes to relieve that place. The Duke raises the siege, and marches to meet the supplies in Picardy. The King assaults Dreux, but to no purpose. The Duke returns with an addition of strength. The King raises his camp and chuses a field of battle upon the plain of Yvry. The Duke follows him and

and arrives at the same place. The armies engage, and the King gets the victory. The preachers acquaint the Parisians with this defeat: who resolutely prepare to sustain a siege. Divers overtures of peace are made, but nothing is concluded upon. The Duke of Mayenne goes to the frontiers of Flanders to procure succours. The King takes all the neighbouring towns about Paris. Siege is laid to that city, with a design to reduce it by famine. The miseries of the siege, and the obstinacy of the citizens. The King of Spain orders the Duke of Parma to march with his whole army to raise the siege of Paris. He enters the kingdom with a vast army, and great preparations; joins the Duke of Mayenne, and advances toward Paris. The King consults what is best to be done: resolves to raise the siege, and go to meet the enemy. The armies face each other many days. The Duke of Parma takes Lagny, and opens a passage for provisions to Paris. The King retires; but before his retreat, gives a scalado to the city, which proves ineffectual. The Duke of Parma takes Corbeil, and by that means entirely delivers the city of Paris from a scarcity of victuals. He resolves to return to Flanders, and marches back in excellent order. The King follows him. There happen many encounters. The Duke, at his departure, leaves some of his forces behind him, and promises supplies of money to the League. The King returns through Picardy.

1590.

IT was now the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety: a year full of all those miseries and calamities that are the usual consequences of civil wars; but remarkable also for the importance of those events that happened in the course of it, as the natural revolution of things so brought it to pass, that the flame of the war now burst out with the utmost rage and violence. The Monitory, published the year before against *Henry* the third, obliged his Ambassadors and Ministers to leave *Rome*, upon the news of his death, which arriving at a time when the Pope was not only very much exasperated at his joining the *Hugonot* party, but exceedingly mortified and chagrined at the success of his arms, was received by him with the utmost demonstrations of joy, as it seemed to him, that the hand of God had miraculously averted that ruin, which human remedies were in no wise able to prevent. And his joy was not a little increased by the reports of the agents of the League, who not only confirmed the advice of the King's death, but assured him, that the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Council of the Union, were determined to acknowledge the Cardinal of *Bourbon* as the lawful King of *France*, by a publick declaration and strict oath of allegiance, and to use their utmost efforts to get him released from his imprisonment; and that this resolution was adhered to, and unanimously embraced by, almost all the principal cities, with the greater part of the Nobility, and the approbation of all the

1590. Clergy of the kingdom, all which things being agreeable to the Pope's wishes, who was exceedingly desirous to have the King of *Navarre* excluded from the Crown (whom he looked upon as an irreconcileable enemy to the church) but yet was not willing, that the kingdom of *France* should be divided into so many parts as some would have it, and that it should fall at last into the hands of a foreign Prince, not only induced him to write very gracious letters, and full of approbation, to the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Chiefs of the League, but also determined him to supply them both with men and money, to facilitate the release and firm establishment of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. So that without any demur, in a work which he esteemed highly meritorious, and would greatly contribute to the glory and exaltation of the Apostolick See, he resolved to send a Legate into *France*, who might personally assist in affairs of so great importance, and try to reduce all the Catholicks by such means as he should think most proper, to unite in one body, in obedience to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, already elected and declared King of *France*, and to exert their utmost endeavours to set him at liberty. For a purpose of so great consequence, he fixed upon Cardinal *Henrico Caietano*, a man in high esteem, not only for the nobility of his extraction, but for his own worth and experience, and thought sufficiently qualified for so important a negotiation: yet, according to what the King's friends then gave out, and his own actions afterwards plainly proved, too much inclined to favour the attempts and interests of *Spain*. He likewise appointed a select number of Prelates to attend the Cardinal Legate, all of them either eminent for their extraordinary learning, or approved experience in state affairs: amongst whom were *Lorenzo Bianchetti* and *Philippo Lega*, afterwards created Cardinals: *Marco Antonio Mocenigo*, Bishop of *Ceneda*, a man well versed in affairs, and highly esteemed by the Pope: *Francisco Panigarola*, a most eloquent preacher, and *Roberto Bellarmino*, a Jesuit of very great learning. With this Legation, so well chosen, his Holiness sent bills of exchange upon the bankers of *Lions*, to the amount of three hundred thousand crowns, with a commission to the Legate to dispose of them as occasion required; but particularly, for the release of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, upon which he seemed to be more intent than upon any other object whatsoever.

But this resolution, though ardent, was soon damped, and the Pope began to grow very doubtful, upon the receipt of letters from the Duke of *Luxembourg*, in which he acquainted him, that he was appointed Ambassador to his Holiness and the Apostolick See by the *French* Nobility, (who followed the King of *Navarre* in great numbers, and acknowledged him as lawful King of *France*) to inform his Holiness of the reasons that had moved all good *Frenchmen* to that recognition, and to desire him, as a common father, to point out proper remedies for their divisions, and

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means for the peace and union of the whole kingdom. By which the Pope not only perceived, that the Agents of the League had imposed upon him, when they said, that the major part of the kingdom had joined the party of the Union, and that only a few desperate people followed the fortune of the King of *Navarre*; but he also entertained some hopes, that an end might be put to the miseries and discords of the kingdom by pacifick measures: that so, those that had gone astray might be reduced into the pale of the church, and his desire of having a lawful Catholick *French* King might be gratified, without exposing the poor, afflicted people of *France* any longer to the dangers and calamities of an obstinate war. Wherefore, being excited also by the constant informations that he received from the *Venetian* Ambassadors, who were very zealous for the preservation of the Crown of *France*, he returned a favourable answer to the Duke of *Luxembourg* and the *French* Nobility that were in the King's camp; assuring him that he should be graciously and honourably received, and exhorting them to continue firm in the Catholick religion, as they protested they would do in their letters, which came with the Duke's, and that they would persevere in it to the last drop of their blood. And yet, at the importunities of the Agents of the League (and particularly of *Frison*, Dean of *Rheims*, lately sent thither by the Duke of *Mayenne)* who pressed him to hasten the Legate's departure, for that these were only artifices of the King of *Navarre* to pacify him, and gain more time, he sent the Legate away for *France*, but with instructions very different from his first designs. For though all his endeavours before tended to the release and establishment of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, he now took no further notice of his affairs, and only ordered the Legate to try, by all possible means, to reunite the Catholicks in obedience to the church, and to get a Catholick King established by general consent, without specifying any person. Besides these instructions in writing, dated the 15th of *October*, he gave him more particular and express orders to stand neuter, and shew himself disinterested in the secular pretensions of the Princes, but to exert himself with the utmost zeal and ardour for the support of the Catholick religion, and not to object to any particular person, provided he was a *Frenchman*, obedient to the church, and generally liked by the people. He further ordered him, and repeated it earnestly when he gave him his last instructions, not to shew himself an open enemy to the King of *Navarre*, as long as there were any hopes of his returning into the bosom of the church. But this was very contrary to the principal end of the Embassy, which was to assist the party of the League, as the main support of the Catholick religion in *France*, an article often repeated in his first instructions, and always designed by the Pope from the beginning, but which he thought fit to alter in his last orders. So that the substance of

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1590. the affair was changed, as it often happens, by variety of circumstances, which interrupted the execution; in such a manner, that it was afterwards governed more by the nature of the different events that happened, than by any firm or determinate resolution.

The intelligence that the Legate received from Cardinal *Moresini*, whom he met at *Bologna*, corresponded with the Pope's instructions. For as that Cardinal was very well acquainted with the affairs and interests of the kingdom, he gave the Legate a particular account of the designs of *Spain*, of the pretensions of the Duke of *Mayenne*, of the weakness of the League (now composed of different and disagreeing parties) and the strength of the King, which had a more secure foundation in the concurrence of the greater part of the Nobility, than the party of Union could possibly have in the combination of the common people. The same was signified to him at *Florence*, by the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, who, being thoroughly informed of the designs that were carrying on in the kingdom of *France*, advised him to keep himself neuter, and not refuse to listen to any overtures of agreement, that were consistent with the interests of the Catholick religion, and the reputation of the Pope. But the Legate paid little regard either to Cardinal *Moresini* or the Grand Duke, as he suspected, that one endeavoured to lead him into the same errors and misconduct for which he himself had been censured at the court of *Rome*; and that the other was inclined to favour the King's party for his own interest, and had given him his advice with partiality. Wherefore, as he was an austere man, and determined to support the grandeur and power of the church by rigorous measures, and being accustomed to the manners of *Italy*, where the Pope's authority is held in the highest veneration amongst the neighbouring Princes, and a people given up to devotion, he firmly persuaded himself, that he should be able to influence all the Catholicks, merely by the terror of spiritual arms, and not only to exclude the King of *Navarre*, but to procure a King to be declared and acknowledged, that should be wholly dependent upon the Apostolick See, as well as nearly attached and obliged to the Crown of *Spain*, which he was too partially disposed to favour, both by ancient inclination, and the repeated instances of the Count *D'Olivares*, his Catholick Majesty's Ambassador at *Rome*. And he was the more confirmed in his imagination, that every thing absolutely depended upon his authority, when he afterwards arrived at *Turin*; where the Duke of *Savoy* intreating him, in the most submissive terms, as one that had the disposal of all things, to consider his title to the Crown of *France*: for that he was the son of *Margaret*, sister to King *Henry* the second, in whose right, he alledged, that the Crown belonged to him, as the tenour of the *Salic* law had formerly been dispensed with, in favour of other Princes that were descended from females of the Royal Blood.

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He likewise set forth his merits and services to the Holy See, since he was still using his utmost efforts, at a prodigious expence, to reduce the city of *Geneva*, the basis and original source of *Calvinism*: endeavouring, by these means, to secure the protection of the Legate, who not being sufficiently acquainted with the course of affairs, was not aware that the Duke took this method, and pretended a right to the Crown, because he had no other means so effectual of supporting his interests, and was endeavouring to ingratiate himself with the Pope and the Legate, in order to draw sums of money from them, with which he might bring the *Genevese* under his subjection, and fortify and establish himself in the possession of the marquisate of *Saluzzo*, against whosoever should at last be chosen and acknowledged King of *France*: in which he saw he could not have a more powerful protector than his Holiness.

But after the Cardinal Legate was come into *France*, it was not long before he found things very contrary to his expectation. For having sent to command Colonel *Alphonso Corso*, not only to desist from molesting *Grenoble* and *Valence*, which were the only cities that adhered to the League in *Dauphinè*, but also as a Catholick and a stranger, to forsake the King's party and join the Union, that admonition proved of no effect. For the answer he received, was, "That he was a Catholick indeed, "and an obedient son of the Apostolick See in spiritual concerns: but, "as a soldier, that had engaged in the service of the Kings of *France*, "he could not dispense with himself from following his present Majesty: "and that of consequence, he was obliged to behave, in regard to *Grenoble* "and *Valence*, as he thought most convenient for the affairs of the Prince "whom he served." By which answer the Legate was not a little mortified, and was still more vexed, when, upon his arrival at *Lions*, he found the affairs of the League in such disorder by the King's late successes, that he was so far from being obeyed in any thing else, that he could not so much as obtain a safe conduct to prosecute his journey in security. For the Count *De Brisac*, who was at first appointed by the Duke of *Mayenne* to meet him and secure his passage, was obliged to return and attend to the affairs of *Normandy*: and Monsieur *De la Bourdaisiere*, to whom that commission was afterwards given, had been defeated by the King's forces, under the command of the Sieur *De Pralin*, near *Bar*, upon the *Seine*. So that being reduced to very great perplexity, he knew not what course to take; so many were the obstacles that presented themselves to his consideration. The Duke of *Nevers*, who had retired to his own estate, and was not concerned on either side, invited him to come thither, where he might stand neuter, as became one that represented the Apostolick See, and freely take such measures as should appear most convenient to him: and this advice seemed to agree best with the Pope's

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1590. design and instructions. On the other hand, the Duke of *Mayenne* never ceased importuning him to come to *Paris*; representing to him, that without the authority of his name, and that assistance which was expected from him, the League would be in danger of being dissolved and utterly subdued by the King's forces, and consequently not only the city of *Paris*, but all the rest of the kingdom would be left to the mercy of the *Hugonots*.

The King himself was not altogether without hopes, that, if the Legate could not be prevailed upon to take up his residence in any place that declared for his party, he might at least be persuaded to stay in some neutral town out of the way, and perhaps to go to the city of *Avignon*, till he saw the event of the Duke of *Luxembourg's* Embassy at *Rome*. For which purpose, he caused it to be industriously published, that if the Legate, who was reported to be on his journey, would bend his course toward him, every one should receive him with honour and reverence, and take care of offending either him or any of his attendants: besides which, he should have a safe conduct, and enjoy all manner of security. But if he proceeded towards the quarters of the League, he strictly forbad all people to acknowledge him as Legate, or to receive him into any place that adhered to him, on pain of being treated as rebels. But the Legate not only thought it disgraceful to turn back again, and unsafe to go to the Duke of *Nevers*, a weak and inconsiderable Prince, who had neither fortress nor strong city, where he might shelter himself from the snares of the *Hugonots*, but also esteemed it still more indecent and prejudicial to abandon the Catholick party; as such a behaviour would utterly dismay the friends of the League, and at the same time add strength and reputation to the King's cause; which would occasion greater mischief and confusion in spiritual than in temporal affairs; for then, with great dishonour to the Pope, the Catholick party would be left destitute and abandoned through his fault, and the King, who at that time, for fear of his enemies, seemed inclinable, both by his actions and professions, to embrace the Catholick religion, would no longer be under any restraint, but left at full liberty to act as he pleased, without regard to any body. He imagined, in the last place, that he was come into *France*, not only to compose discords, but chiefly to endeavour the suppression of the King of *Navarre*, and to get a new King elected, who should wholly depend upon the Pope, and live in strict amity and confidence with the King of *Spain*. This reflection had so much weight with him, that out of regard to decency, and not finding any restriction to the contrary in his commission, he resolved at last to comply with the sollicitations of the League, and to go forwards directly to *Paris*. And as he saw the Duke of *Mayenne* so fully engaged in military undertakings, he

sent Monsignore *Bianchetti*, to demand an escort of soldiers from the 1590. Duke of *Lorrain* to secure his passage: which being obtained without any difficulty, he passed through *Dijon* and *Troyes*, and came on the 20th of *January* to *Paris*, where he was received with great pomp and solemnity, and lodged in the Archbishop's palace, which was sumptuously decorated with the royal furniture, that had been taken out of the King's apartments at the *Louvre*. At his arrival, he caused the Pope's Brief of the 15th of *October* to be published: in which, after an honourable commemoration of the merits and services of the kingdom of *France* to the Apostolick See, and of the reciprocal good offices that had passed betwixt his predecessors and the Most Christian Kings in all times; and after he had compassionately deplored the present distractions and calamities, he set forth, "That by the advice of his Consistory, he had "appointed Cardinal *Caietano* Legate to the kingdom of *France*, with "power to use all means (by the Divine assistance) which he should "think most conducive to support the Catholick religion, to recall he- "reticks into the bosom of the church, to restore the peace and tranquil- "lity of the kingdom; and, finally, to endeavour that the people of it "might live in security and repose, to the glory of God, after the mi- "series of so long and calamitous a war, under one, only, good, pious "and sincerely Catholick Prince. For which purposes, he earnestly in- "treated and exhorted all orders and degrees of men in *France* to perse- "vere in the Catholick religion, to use their utmost endeavours, after "the glorious example of their ancestors, to pluck up the poisonous "weeds of heresy by the very roots, and to suppress the first causes and "seeds of discord; beseeching them at last to lay aside all particular en- "mities and animosities, that so, when the fatal and destructive effects "of civil war were at an end, they might pay a ready and dutiful obe- "dience to a lawful and truly Catholick Sovereign, under whose shelter "and protection the public service of God might be re-established, and "every man enabled to live in charitable union and concord with his "neighbour: commanding them, in the mean time, to receive the "Cardinal Legate with all due reverence, and to observe his fatherly ad- "monitions, if they expected any temporal comfort and blessing, or to "entitle themselves to the rewards of a future state."

Two different proclamations ensued upon the publication of this Brief; one from the Parliament of *Tours*, by which all persons were forbidden to obey or acknowledge the Legate; the other from the Parliament of *Paris*, exhorting them to shew a due regard to the fatherly affection of the Apostolick See, and to reverence the Legate's admonitions. After these so contrary proclamations, many learned men entered the lists in behalf of their respective factions, and engaged, in their manner, with no less ardour

1590. ardour than the military people. For besides repeated decrees of the Parliament, innumerable other writings were published; as, decisions of the *Sorbonne*, letters from the Legate, answers from those Prelates that adhered to the King, and such a prodigious quantity of pamphlets dispersed abroad by busy people, that all mens brains seemed to be at work, and every pen employed in the defence and confirmation of the rights of one or other of the parties. But the chief topic was the power and coming of the Legate, which was canvassed with so much acrimony, that it was easy to see that spiritual applications, thus wrested, and diversly interpreted, in the heat and fury of war, were more likely to add fresh fuel, than to extinguish the present flame. So that the Legate was convinced, in a few days, of the vanity of his first expectation; and that it would have been more prudent to have stood neuter, since by coming to *Paris* he made himself Legate only to one of the factions: a thing very different from the intentions of the court of *Rome*, and at which he was not a little mortified and alarmed, especially when he likewise plainly saw the weakness and disorderly state of the League.

The affairs of the Union were at this time in a very unsettled and precarious condition. For the diversity of pretensions, and the contrariety of the ends of the confederates, as it generally happens, interrupted the course of their undertakings, and not only kept the minds of particular people in suspence, but retarded the effects and operations of common interests, which required the utmost dispatch, considering the King's celerity and resolution. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who was chief of the faction, and entirely supported the weight of affairs, by the authority of his person, the prudence of his administration, and his experience in war, thought the Crown justly belonged to him, as a recompence for the loss of his brothers and his own indefatigable labours, and designed either to transfer it to himself and his own posterity, as had been done in the times of *Pepin* and *Charles Martel*: or, if that could not possibly be accomplished, at least to confer it upon some Prince who should acknowledge it entirely from him; with a firm resolution, however, never to suffer the kingdom to be in any wise dismembered, much less to fall into the hands of a foreign Prince. The King of *Spain*, on the other hand, from the beginning, had secretly, and now openly protected and fomented the League, and had not only already spent two millions of gold for the service of the confederates, but was still obliged, besides the supporting a large number both of horse and foot for them, to contribute vast sums of money, both in publick and private: and seeing that the undertaking would be so far from succeeding, that the League could not subsist, and must be speedily dissolved without great and powerful assistance from him, he thought it highly just and reasonable, that, as he bore the loss and expence,

pence, the advantage ſhould alſo redound to him: and therefore, beſides a ſecret deſign of uniting the two Crowns, or cauſing that of *France* to devolve upon his daughter the Infanta *Iſabella*, daughter of Queen *Elizabeth*, eldeſt ſiſter to *Henry* the third, he alſo endeavoured to get himſelf publickly declared Protector of the Crown of *France*, with royal prerogatives and authority to appoint Officers of the Crown, as well as Governors of provinces and military commanders, to diſpoſe of Biſhopricks and other eccleſiaſtical dignities, and to have the ſovereign power veſted in him. And this was demanded and openly contended for by his agents, who were Don *Bernardino Mendozza*, and the Commendatory *Morrea*, *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis*, Commiſſary-general of his armies, who was lately come from *Flanders* for that purpoſe. The *Pariſians*, who were ſenſible that the main ſtrength of the faction conſiſted in them, not only on account of the number of the citizens and the power of the city, but alſo of their continual contributions, which were the ſinews of the war, thought they had the beſt right to diſpoſe of the Crown: and being out of humour with the Duke of *Mayenne*, for the ill ſucceſs of his arms, as the Fauxbourgs ſeemed to have been loſt by his delay, and the city in a manner beſieged and reduced to great ſcarcity of proviſions by his neglect, they ſeemed inclinable to favour the pretenſions of the *Spaniards*, hoping, by the aſſiſtance of their forces, utterly to deſtroy the King, whoſe very name they could not endure to hear of: to extirpate the religion of the *Hugonots*, which they naturally abominated: and to be eaſed of the intolerable burden of contributions by the money of *Spain*, as the miniſters of his Catholick Majeſty artfully promiſed and gave out, both in private and in publick. The Nobility, on the contrary, that adhered to the League, and commanded their troops, and governed their ſtrong towns, could not bear the thoughts of ſubmitting to the *Spaniſh* dominion, but were deſirous of having a *French* King; and, either out of intereſt or affection to the houſe of *Guiſe*, were reſolved to follow and obey the Duke of *Mayenne*, which obliged all the reſt of their party to adhere to him, and conform to his will and authority. In the Parliament, many were inclined to favour the King, and deſirous that he would embrace the Catholick faith, that they might acknowledge and obey him: and the Counſellors in general were very averſe to the thoughts either of having the kingdom divided or conferred upon a foreigner. The Duke of *Lorrain*, from whom the League received no ſmall addition of ſtrength and reputation, thought the kingdom belonged to his ſon, the Marquis *Du Pont*, as he likewiſe was born of *Claude*, ſiſter to *Henry* the third; and was highly offended, that any others of the houſe of *Lorrain* ſhould preſume to ſtand in competition with him, who was the head and chief of the family. The Duke of *Savoy*, in the laſt place, pretended a right

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1590. to the Crown, as son to *Margaret*, sister to *Henry* the second, with some expectations that he should be favoured by the *Spaniard*, but fully assured of the Pope's assistance and protection. These two last Princes, besides their designs upon the Crown, had also other private views: for the Duke of *Lorrain* wanted to make himself master of *Metz*, *Thoul*, *Verdun*, and the duchy of *Sedan*, to which places he had divers pretensions: and the Duke of *Savoy*, to maintain himself in the marquisate of *Saluzzo*, by which means, as it was afterwards discovered, he hoped to join *Provence* also to his state, a territory very convenient for him, as he already had some footing there, and was in possession of the city and country of *Nice* or *Nizza*. The Duke of *Nemours* and the Duke of *Mercœur*, were desirous to see such a division of the kingdom take place: one, that he might have an opportunity of reducing his government of *Lions* into an absolute dominion; the other, that he might recover *Bretagne*, which, he said, belonged, by ancient right, to his wife: and many other particular persons were willing to concur with them in that scheme, in hopes of converting their governments into perpetual inheritances. Of so great a diversity of interests and inclinations, and of such a variety of designs, was the League composed, which jarring and contradicting each other, interrupted the course of their undertakings, and greatly abated the fervour with which they at first entered into an association, that seemed to have no other end but the support of religion.

This difference of views and uncertainty of resolutions in the League, were not unknown to the King, who was well acquainted with the temper of the individuals, and had daily intelligence of their proceedings. And therefore, in order to avail himself of them, when he left *Dieppe*, he set the Marquis *De Belin* at liberty upon his parole (who had been taken prisoner in the action at *Arques*) with a commission to offer terms of peace, in his name, to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and to exhort him, as a Prince of good and upright intentions, not to concur in the pernicious designs of foreigners, but to extricate himself from the yoke of the rabble and the intrigues of the *Spaniards*, and to listen to advantageous and necessary terms of accommodation; as, by so doing, he might, with the more merit and honour, expect to obtain whatever he himself could reasonably desire. At the same time, he had privately wrought upon the Catholicks of his party to entreat the Marquis, that he would, in their name, desire the Duke of *Mayenne* to exhort and persuade the King to turn Catholick, as the only means of reducing his Majesty into the pale of the church, and, to his own great honour and reputation, of restoring peace, so necessary and so much desired by the whole kingdom of *France*. But when the Marquis had delivered his message and reiterated it, after the King's departure from the Fauxbourgs of *Paris*, it occasioned very different opi-

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nions and resolutions, not only amongst the Duke of *Mayenne's* Counsellors 1590. but even in his own breast. Those that favoured the proposals of the Catholicks in the King's party, said, " There could be no resolution taken either more effectual, or more advantageous and honourable to the Duke, upon all considerations. For if the King should comply with their desire and turn Catholick, all intestine discords would immediately subside, the Catholick religion be secured, the Crown descend to the lawful successor, and an end put to the direful revolutions of civil war. That the Duke would make his name glorious through all the world, as the author of so great a benefit, his intentions would be justified, and the end of his taking arms plainly appear, with the eternal benedictions of all the people of *France*. That in consequence of so salutary a manner of proceeding, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* would be released, who, it was reasonable to believe, at his advanced age, would rather desire his liberty, and a quiet passage out of the world, than an empty title of royalty in close imprisonment. That the Dukes of *Guise* and *Elbeuf* likewise, who otherwise might probably continue a long time in confinement, would thereupon be immediately set at large. And finally, the Duke himself and his family would be so caressed, and so bountifully rewarded, that they themselves would have nothing left to ask for or desire. But if the King should refuse to comply with his request, and still persevere in the *Hugonot* religion, then, not only the proceedings of the League would be justified to all mankind, to the confusion of those that maliciously slandered their actions; but the Catholicks who followed the King, being convinced of the insincerity of his promises, and in despair of his conversion, would all forsake him: so that when he was destitute of all other assistance but that of a few hereticks, it would be an easy matter to suppress him, and to put an honourable and victorious end to the war."

On the other side, those that opposed this resolution, said, " That as the war was undertaken merely upon the account of religion, such an overture could not be made, without first obtaining leave from the Pope, to whom it belonged to approve of and confirm his conversion; and that the Duke of *Mayenne*, not being absolute Prince of the League, but only head of his own party, ought not to proceed to so important and so peremptory an act, without the consent of all those that followed him, and of all the Princes that adhered to and favoured the League. For if the Pope should not approve of his conversion, whatsoever should have been treated or resolved upon, would be void and of no effect. And if the confederates should not like his measures, they would chuse another head, and he would be deprived of the support of the Catholick party, and left unhappily exposed to the mercy of his enemies. That this was a contrivance of the King himself, to create distrust betwixt him and his party, and to sow

1590. discords and suspicions amongst the confederates. That very likely he would pretend to turn Catholick, that he might the more securely deal with religion as he thought best; in which case the too precipitate and too simple credulity of the Duke would be for ever condemned. That the King, no doubt, would promise mountains of gold, in order to dissolve the union of the League, but without giving any security, that he would afterwards perform the least part of what he had promised, when he was peaceably established in the throne; from whence, to his eternal blame, his own ruin, and the destruction of all his adherents, would inevitably ensue. That the present situation of affairs required, that he should continue united with the rest of the confederates; that he should not disgust the Pope, nor alienate the King of *Spain* nor the Duke of *Lorrain*; that he should not be dismayed at a little bad success at the beginning, but hope, as God had avenged the blood of his brothers, that he would also give him his assistance to establish religion, and to exalt himself to the honour he aspired to." The Duke was moved, on one hand, by the equity of the proposal made by those of the King's party, as well as by resentment at the fickleness and impertinence of the *Parisians*. The scarcity of money distressed him; for want of which, he was not able to pay his foreign troops, nor to satisfy the demands of all the garrisons and Governors, who applied to him for whatsoever they stood in need of. But the subtlety and obduracy of the *Spaniards* perplexed him more than all the rest of his difficulties: for though they had caused the Sieur *De la Mothe*, Governor of *Graveling*, to march out of *Flanders* with supplies, to the very frontiers of the kingdom, they flatly refused to let him advance any further, or to furnish the League with any more sums of money to carry on the war, except his Catholick Majesty was first declared Protector of the Crown of *France*, with authority to dispose of the principal dignities, as well ecclesiastical as civil (which they called *las marcas de justicia*) by which he would have full power and command over the League. But the demand seemed so exorbitant, so prejudicial to the Crown, and so unbecoming, that neither the Duke himself could endure to hear of it, nor did he think that any of the confederates, except the *Parisians*, would submit to it: as that would be putting the reins entirely into the King of *Spain's* hand, and giving him leave to turn the course of affairs which way soever he pleased at last to direct it. But, on the other hand, the apprehension of being left destitute and alone, the uncertainty of the King's conversion and promises, the ancient enmity that had subsisted betwixt them, and above all, the hope of obtaining the Crown for himself at last, would not suffer him to consent to the Marquis *De Belin's* proposals: so that he sent him back again to the King with a general and ambiguous answer, and declined the treaty of agreement that had been proposed. And to provide

vide the beſt remedies that he could for the preſent diſorder that his affairs were in, partly by importunity, partly by artifice, partly by terror and threats, he cauſed the Council of the Union to be new modeled, which from the beginning was compoſed of refractory and turbulent people, and ſuch as were not wholly at his devotion; and was reſolved, that the Archbiſhop of *Lions* (who was juſt ſet at liberty by Captain *Du Gaſt* for a large ſum of money, and arrived at *Paris)* ſhould execute the office of High Chancellor, and in that quality preſide at the Council. He likewiſe introduced the Sieur *De Villeroy* and Preſident *Jeannin*, men that were his confidants, and extremely averſe to making any condeſcenſion to the arbitrary temper of the *Spaniards:* and thus by degrees increaſing the number, he put in ſo many of the principal Gentlemen, that he no longer dreaded the inſolence and inſtability of the lower ſort of people, in the occurrences and deliberations that daily happened. And yet, that he might ſeem to give ſatisfaction to every one, he cauſed a decree to be made in the Council, by which the Princes, Peers, Marſhals of *France*, Governors of provinces, Officers of the Crown, and the three orders of the kingdom, were ſummoned to meet at *Melun*, in the month of *February* next enſuing, to hold the States General there, where the preſent poſture of affairs ſhould be conſidered, and proper meaſures taken to remedy them with the common conſent. And though men of underſtanding plainly foreſaw, that the tumults and confuſion occaſioned by the war would fruſtrate this appointment, as it was not poſſible either to aſſemble or continue together, in a place that was in the midſt of thoſe diſtractions, yet it ſerved for a lure to to the common people, who are more apt to liſten to ſpecious pretences, than to enquire into the truth and bottom of affairs.

1590.

With the *Spaniards*, who were very importunate for a declaration, the Duke took other meaſures; excuſing himſelf by the expectation of the Cardinal Legate's arrival, who was then not far off, and without whoſe preſence and approbation, he ſaid, it was by no means proper to come to any determination, in a matter of ſo great importance: buoying them up with hopes and other artifices, and with ſo much diſſimulation, that as they made no doubt of the favour and ready concurrence of the Legate, it was not very difficult to prevail upon them to wait for an anſwer till his coming: tho' they would not ſend orders for their forces to advance to his aſſiſtance, nor diſburſe any money, but pleaded the ſame excuſe, and ſaid, that they muſt ſtay for the approbation of the Cardinal Legate. But as the people of *Paris* were in great want of proviſions, and began to murmur exceedingly (as indeed they had ſome reaſon) the Duke drew all the forces that he had together, and laid ſiege to *Pontoiſe*, in order to open a paſſage,

1590. passage, on that side, for the conveyance of provisions from the province of *Normandy*.

In the mean time the Cardinal Legate arrived at *Paris*, where the Duke of *Mayenne* had a conference with him, in the presence of all the principal Lords that were there at that time: amongst whom was the Cardinal *Gondi*, who, after the late King's death, had retired to *Noisy*, a seat belonging to his brother, the Marshal *De Retz*, and there lived in peace, without concerning himself in the affairs of either party. At this conference, they immediately began to consider upon ways and means to promote the cause of the League: the *Spaniards* strenuously insisting, that his Catholick Majesty should be declared Protector of the kingdom of *France*, with the power and prerogatives before mentioned; in which they were supported by *The Council of sixteen*, who assured them, that their demands would have been readily complied with, if they had not been opposed by the Duke of *Mayenne*; and that the whole party would chearfully concur in giving all manner of satisfaction to his Catholick Majesty, as a Prince, to whom they were indebted for the preservation of their religion and the security of their persons. On the other hand, the Duke, together with the majority of the Nobility and Counsellors of the Parliament, positively declared, that they would never come into such measures: and a warm debate might probably have ensued, to the prejudice of their common interests, if the Legate had not hinted to the *Spaniards*, "That it was by no means a proper time to insist upon such demands, nor to lay the *French* nation under so unseasonable a restriction. That it would force them into an agreement and reconciliation with the King of *Navarre*, who was not tardy in promoting his interests, and had offered them very ample and advantageous terms. That things were not yet come to a proper crisis, and it would be highly imprudent to excite such untimely jealousies and suspicions amongst the people, as must naturally tend to the dissolution of the League, the suppression of the Catholick religion, and the utter disappointment of their undertakings. That it was necessary, in the first place, to endeavour to hinder the farther progress of the King's arms, that he might not take the advantage of their discords, and have time to establish himself in the throne: and when that danger was removed, neither means nor opportunities would be wanting to promote the interests of his Catholick Majesty, which at a proper conjuncture he would use his utmost endeavours and authority to advance." And it was very lucky for them, that about the same time, either by chance or contrivance, some articles of accommodation were made publick, betwixt the King and the Duke of *Mayenne*, which were reported to have been concluded on by Monsieur *De Villeroy*, for the Duke, and the Marshal *De Biron*, on the King's behalf; and many proceeded so far as to affirm that it was certainly true, that they

had been already ſigned by the Ducheſſes of *Mayenne* and *Nemours*, one of them mother, and the other wife, to the Duke, both of whom were indeed very much averſe to the *Spaniards* demands. So that fear, as it commonly happens, prevailing over all other paſſions, and removing every impediment, the *Spaniſh* miniſters at laſt agreed, that *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis*, one of their number, and the Sieur *De Roſſieux*, on the part of the Duke of *Mayenne*, ſhould go together into *Spain*, to know his Catholick Majeſty's intentions from his own mouth, as the Duke affirmed they were very different from what his miniſters reported, and to bring back a plan of adminiſtration in other affairs.

1590.

In the mean time, they conſented, that the ſuccours from *Flanders* ſhould advance to join the Duke of *Mayenne*, who deſigned to march forwards and face the enemy, as ſoon as he had taken *Pontoiſe*. And the Cardinal Legate paid down the three hundred thouſand crowns that he had brought with him from *Rome*, in bills of exchange, which, as they could not at preſent be laid out for the enlargement of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, he had granted to the Duke upon ſo urgent a neceſſity, ſince he alledged that his army abſolutely refuſed to move, except they were paid ſome part of their arrears.

On the other hand, the Duke of *Mayenne* conſented, that the college of *Sorbonne* ſhould make a decree, to be confirmed by the Legate, that no agreement ſhould be treated of with hereticks, particularly with *Henry* of *Bourbon*, who was declared relapſed and excommunicated: and that no communication or correſpondence ſhould be held with him by any one, on pain of being excommunicated and treated as a heretick: to which the Duke aſſented without much difficulty, as he was at that time utterly averſe to an accommodation, and in great hopes of conquering his enemies, and accompliſhing the end that he ſecretly aſpired to.

All diſputes being thus compoſed, the Duke, who was impatient to retrieve the reputation which he had loſt in his late attempt upon *Dieppe*, and by ſuffering the Fauxbourgs of *Paris* to be taken, and being ſpurred up with great promiſes by the Cardinal Legate, moved directly with his army to beſiege *Meulan*, a ſmall place, but ſituated upon a paſs of the river *Seine*, at the entrance into *Normandy*, and therefore, like *Pontoiſe*, prevented the conveyance of proviſions to the city of *Paris*. It is encloſed with a very old wall, and extends itſelf along the bank of the *Seine*: from whence there is a convenient paſſage over a ſpacious bridge into an iſland in the midſt of the river, which is reduced into a ſort of a fortreſs, defended and flanked with four ravelines in the modern manner: and from the iſland there is a paſſage over another bridge to the further ſide of the river, where there is a large old tower, which ſerves as a defence and fortification to the bridge. Colonel *Beranguevìlle*, was in the town with four

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1590. companies of *French* foot, fifty *Swiss*, and eighty light horse; and imagining, that after the taking of *Pontoise*, which place had capitulated, the Duke of *Mayenne* would proceed to besiege *Meulan*, to gratify the *Parisians*, he had with great diligence caused the Bourg to be surrounded with a good trench, flanked with half moons, and had done the same by the tower, which stands on the other side of the river, at the entrance of the bridge, the island being tolerably well fortified before. At the same time he likewise dispatched several messengers to the King, to desire relief; and having made all possible preparations, and furnished the townsmen with arms, was determined to make a resolute defence. The siege being laid on that side where the Bourg stands, the Duke of *Mayenne* ordered a battery to be raised, which began to play upon the besieged with eleven pieces of cannon. But so great was their diligence in repairing their works, and so grievously was the army annoyed in the flank by two pieces of cannon, planted upon the angle of a raveline in the island, that the siege was attended with great difficulty and went on very slowly. The Duke, therefore, being vexed that so small a place should make so obstinate a resistance (for he had already been ten days before it) caused the Sieur *De Rhosnè*, one of his Marshals du camp, to pass over to the other side of the *Seine*, and erect a battery against the tower of the bridge, to distress the besieged on all sides.

In the mean time the King, who was quartered betwixt *Lisieux* and *Ponteau de Mer*, with a design to besiege *Honfleur*, which was the only town in lower *Normandy* that adhered to the League, having received advice of the distress of *Meulan*, resolved to march immediately to its relief. For as his chief hopes of success consisted in the blocking up and cutting off provisions from the city of *Paris*, in order to humble the citizens, and in full expectation that necessity would incline them to peace, he knew that the taking of *Meulan* would open a passage sufficient to bring in abundant supplies of provisions. Upon which account, he left *Lisieux* on the 14th of *February*, and having taken *Verneüil* by the way, proceeded with so much expedition, though in very good order, that after he had marched forty leagues in seven days, he appeared on the 21st, with his army drawn up in order of battle, within sight of *Meulan*, on that side where the tower was besieged and battered by the Sieur *De Rhosnè*; who having but a small part of the army with him, and therefore not sufficient force to continue the siege on the side towards the fields, drew off his cannon, and passed the river in boats that waited to convey him to the Duke's camp: whilst the King personally entered the town on that side, and having praised the resolution of the besieged, and encouraged them to persist, left three hundred *Swiss* and two hundred *French*

French firelocks there, and then retired to his army, which was quartered in neighbouring places. 1590.

The Duke of *Mayenne* knowing that the King would not attempt to paſs the river with inferior forces, in the face of his army, boldly continued to batter the place: and the cannon having fired above five hundred ſhot, to the great damage of the fortifications, ſo fierce an aſſault was made, upon the 22d, that the beſieged could not have ſuſtained it long, if the King had not given them new courage and vigour at the ſame time, by ſending in a ſupply of freſh men from the other ſide of the river. Yet notwithſtanding this relief, as they had loſt the firſt trench, they were forced to retire into their inner works with but little hopes of defending them; when the Marſhal *De Biron* opportunely arrived with a large body of foot, and bringing more cannon into the iſle, ſo galled the beſiegers on their flank, and killed ſuch numbers of their men, that they were obliged to retire towards the evening. The Duke of *Mayenne* ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to force the place, as he thought the glory would be ſo much the greater if he could take it before the King's face, and ſucceed in an undertaking that was now rendered much more difficult by the hourly relief which the beſieged received from the other ſide of the river. But the King having changed his quarters, after he had furniſhed *Meulan* with all things neceſſary, lodged his army upon the main road that leads to *Paris*, which obliged the Duke of *Mayenne* to ſend the Duke of *Nemours* thither with ſome light horſe, to prevent the people from growing deſperate, and running into tumults and cabals. It happened, preſently after he had made this detachment from his army, that he received advice that the old caſtle at *Roüen* was ſurpriſed by ſome ſeditious perſons, and that the whole city was in very great danger and conſternation. Upon which account he determined, upon the 25th, to raiſe the ſiege, and to march that way without any further delay: which might be looked upon as one of thoſe many lucky accidents that contributed to advance the King's fortune. For the danger at *Roüen* vaniſhed without much trouble, and the Sieur *De la Londe*, who commanded the garriſon, having driven thoſe out that raiſed the tumult, the ſame night, together with the Sieur *D'Allegre*, their head, reſtored the city to its former tranquillity. And the Duke of *Mayenne* at laſt thinking it impoſſible to take *Meulan*, conſidering the hourly relief it had from the King, and not being willing to conſume his army in a vain undertaking, reſolved to draw off, and to proceed, by eaſy marches, to meet the ſupplies from *Flanders* and *Lorrain*, which, he had intelligence, were advancing with great expedition to join him.

On the other hand, the King, being intent upon cutting off proviſions from *Paris* on all ſides, reſolved to make a ſudden attempt upon the city

1590. of *Dreux*, in hopes of reducing it before the Duke of *Mayenne* returned, that so he might not only totally shut up the passage from *Normandy*, but prevent a free communication betwixt *Chartres* and *Paris*, by keeping a strong garrison there to scour the roads of *Beausse*. The Sieur *De Falandre* and Captain *La Viette* were in *Dreux*, both good officers: and having a sufficient garrison, they sustained the siege, which was begun upon the last day of *February*, with great resolution, shewing much courage and experience in the first skirmishes: of which they gave still further proofs, upon the Marshal *De Biron's* coming to reconnoitre the place. For they privately laid a considerable body of musketiers in ambush for him in the moat, by whom *Charles Brise*, his chief cannonier, who was close by his side, Captain *La Boulaye*, and two of his own servants, were killed: and he himself, being hit upon his breast-plate with three balls and beat to the ground, had the good fortune to escape being wounded, by the goodness of his armour, but had much difficulty to clear himself, and would certainly have been taken prisoner by the enemy, if the Baron his son, who followed him at a little distance, had not opportunely come up to succour and disengage him. The valour of the besieged was not less upon other occasions: for the artillery having made a considerable breach by the 3d of *March*, the King ordered the foot to assault the curtain, from which, after a close action that lasted from noon till sun-set, the besieged at last repulsed the King's forces with very great slaughter, and pursuing them victoriously to their trenches, killed three captains there, and two hundred private men. About this time the King received some very seasonable supplies from several parts. For having sent for all the forces that could be spared from the provinces, he was first joined by the Marshal *D'Aumont*, who arrived with the Noblesse of *Champagne* and and twelve hundred Reiters, lately sent out of *Germany* by the Sieur *De Sancy*, and soon after, the Grand Prior and the Baron *De Givry* came up with two hundred Gentlemen and three hundred light horse; and at last Captain *Rolet*, Governor of *Pont de l'Arche*, the Commendatory *De Chattes*, the Sieur *De l'Archant*, and other Gentlemen, brought in the forces of *Normandy*: after whose arrival, the King, being resolved to make a vigorous push to take the place, caused four more pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition, to be fetched from *Meulan*, where they had been left, and began to batter it afresh with the utmost fury.

When the news of *Dreux* being besieged was brought to *Paris*, it is hardly possible to conceive how the people were affected by it, and what clamours and mutinies it excited amongst them, being exposed, as they said, more than all others, to future dangers and present famine and distress. The Cardinal Legate, therefore, and the *Spanish* ministers, being in great perplexity, not only endeavoured to pacify and encourage the citizens,

citizens, by the aſſiſtance of the preachers, but importuned the Duke of *Mayenne*, by preſſing letters and meſſages full of reſentment, to come to their relief; ſpurring him up with heavy and reiterated complaints, and ſeeming to wonder, that now he had a much ſtronger army than the King's, he ſhould ſuffer the principal city, on which the chief hopes of the League were altogether founded, to be reduced to ſuch extremities: adding, that it was neceſſary to prevent thoſe inſurrections which the King's agents were ſecretly labouring to excite. That infinite ſums of money had been ſpent, great pains taken, and nothing done, except ſuch things as were of little or no conſequence to their main deſign. That it plainly appeared nothing elſe was endeavoured, nothing elſe intended, but to conſume time to no purpoſe, and weary out the patience of the confederates. And when the three hundred thouſand crowns ſent by the Pope were once gone, with what funds would he ſupport his army for the future? With contributions from the *Pariſians*, who having been already long blocked up and reduced to extreme want of neceſſaries, were obliged to pay ten crowns for a buſhel of wheat, and live upon bread alone without any other ſubſiſtence? That it was unanimouſly deſired he would at laſt make a trial, whether the ſwords of the confederates were as ſharp, and would cut as well as thoſe of the *Bearnois* (as they called the followers of the King) and that his Catholick Majeſty had not left his towns in *Flanders* without garriſons, only that his forces might waſte their time in idleneſs and inactivity. That it was maniſeſtly ſeen what great things the reſolution of one man could effect: for the King, without money, without being ſupported by confederates, without friends, and in a manner without any towns, had in a few months traverſed all *France*, taken more ſtrong places than there were days in the year, and and now abſolutely threatened the city of *Paris* itſelf, even in the face of the League's army.

1590.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was ſo ſtung with theſe reproaches, often and earneſtly repeated, that, though he inwardly had little dependence upon the rawneſs and inexperience of his men, and was well acquainted with the valour of the Nobility that followed the King's colours, he reſolved, however, to venture a battle. For the great ſuperiority that he had in numbers made him conceal his own apprehenſions; and his being head of a confederate army obliged him to carry on the war, according to the directions of others, as he was afraid many inconveniencies might enſue if he ſhould take the management of it entirely into his own hands. Wherefore, being joined by the Count of *Egmont*, who brought fifteen hundred lances, and four hundred carbineers from *Flanders*; and about two days after, by Colonel *St. Paul*, with twelve hundred horſe and two thouſand *German* foot, from *Lorrain*, he inſtantly began his march to

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1590. raiſe the ſiege of *Dreux*, and to try the fortune of a battle. The *Flemiſh* — cavalry were excellently mounted, and gayly clothed in ſilk and lace, but not eſteemed by any means equal to the *French* Nobility: on the other hand the carbineers, armed for the moſt part with breaſt-plates and ſteel caps, and mounted upon nimble horſes, of a middle ſize, being very ready and expert in all ſorts of encounters, were not only in great reputation with their own ſide, but, which was of more conſequence, not a little dreaded by their enemies. The *Germans*, conducted by *St. Paul*, had been raiſed in the name of the Sieur *De Sancy*, who was ſent by the King to the Princes of *Germany*, and having obtained a ſum of money from the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, the Count of *Montbeliart*, and from the cities of *Ulme* and *Noremberg*, had levied both horſe and foot to join the Marſhal *D'Aumont* in *Champagne*, as the cavalry happily did, having come from *Langres* by different roads to the place of rendezvous. But when the infantry came near the city of *Straſbourg*, they were ſurrounded by the Duke of *Lorrain*, and broke their faith, to deliver themſelves out of the danger they were in; and having received freſh liſting money, in the name of the confederates, were come into the camp of the League, under the command of Colonel *St. Paul*. With theſe forces, and his former army, which amounted in all to the number of four thouſand five hundred horſe, and almoſt twenty thouſand foot, the Duke, being furniſhed with proviſions and all things neceſſary, made a general and ſtrict review of his army, on the 9th of *March*, and having given his ſoldiers leave to reſt all the next day, he moved on the 11th in the morning toward *Dreux*, which town was ſtill furiouſly battered and aſſaulted by the King.

But when his Majeſty received intelligence, that the Duke of *Mayenne* had been reinforced, and was advancing with a reſolution to attack him: and being diſappointed by the obſtinacy of the beſieged, from whom he met with a more vigorous reſiſtance than he expected, and by the celerity of the Duke, who, he did not imagine could ſo ſoon have joined the ſupplies of the confederates, he determined to raiſe the ſiege, as he was not thoroughly reſolved whether he ſhould hazard a battle or not, when he conſidered the inferiority of his forces; yet, with an intention, if he ſhould engage, to chuſe the moſt convenient and advantageous ground that he could for his army. The artillery was drawn off on *Monday* the 12th of *March*, in the morning. But as the King would have the baggage to go firſt, and the army to march in order of battle, the day was already far ſpent when the camp moved, and they did not arrive at *Nonancourt*, their appointed quarters, till late in the night. At which time a heavy ſtorm of rain falling from the heavens, with dreadful thunder and lightning, threw the whole army into a terrible panick: not only becauſe retreats have an ill aſpect to thoſe that are not acquainted with the ſecret motives of their

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commanders, but on account of the fame that was spread abroad of the prodigious strength of the enemy's forces, and because both fortune and the weather seemed to conspire against their own army, which was almost half drowned, and marched as if it was flying under the favour of the night, though close drawn up, and in good order. The terror of the rawer men was increased by a frightful phænomenon, which, as the rain ceased, appeared in the middle of the sky: for there were seen two large armies of a blood red colour, which visibly rushed together in the air, amidst horrible claps of thunder; and soon after disappeared, leaving the event uncertain, and were covered again with exceeding thick and dark clouds. This spectacle, though diversly interpreted by many, seemed most probably, as they thought, to portend the ruin and destruction of their army, which being inferior in strength, and entirely destitute of any other assistance than that of their own forces, retired, as if it was already conquered, whilst the enemy kept advancing: and the rather, because these were the very places where the King's predecessors, and his faction of the *Hugonots*, lost the first battle against the Duke of *Guise* in the late civil wars, and in which the Prince of *Condé* was both wounded and taken prisoner in the midst of a terrible slaughter of his men.

1590.

But when the army arrived at *Nonancourt* (a town which had been taken two days before) and was refreshed both with good fires lighted in every place, and with plenty of provisions, which the Marshal *De Biron* caused to be distributed in regular order through all the quarters, the men began to recover their strength and spirits; and the King, being come to his lodgings with the Marshals *De Biron* and *D'Aumont*, immediately entered into a consultation with them, whether he should risque a battle or not. One thing alone dissuaded him from it, which was the inequality of numbers in the two armies. For in the King's there were not above eight thousand foot and three thousand horse, which were not half so many as those of the League, and if he had a mind to avoid an engagement, there was yet an opportunity of retiring beyond the river *Eure* into the places of *Lower Normandy*, all abounding with provisions, and all reduced to the King's devotion, where he might oppose the attempts of the enemy many different ways, and hinder their further progress. But not only his courage and the generosity of his nature, always inclined to magnanimous enterprises, but the present situation of affairs, prevented that resolution. For as his strength consisted in the union of the Noblesse, who served at their own charge, without pay or reward, it was necessary to avail himself of their present alacrity, and not suffer their first ardour to be damped by expences and hardships. To this was added, the want of money to pay the *Swiss* and other foreign troops, which indeed was very great, and not to be remedied; so that they could not be long supported and kept together.

1590. together. Whereas on the other side, the enemy would never want certain means, not only to maintain but augment their forces, whenever the Pope and the King of *Spain* pleased. And lastly, as the King's own valour and resolution was the only foundation he had to depend upon, and prompted him to hazard a small stake in order to gain a much larger, all other hopes being vain, it was necessary to put the whole to the decision of the sword: since it would seem downright cowardice and pusillanimity, not to pursue the prosperous beginning, with which fortune had favoured his undertakings. To these motives was added the opinion of the Marshal *De Biron*, whose advice, on account of his wisdom and experience, was observed by the King upon all occasions as an oracle. He thought it not only difficult but in a manner impossible to avoid a battle, and to retire, without sustaining considerable loss, or perhaps a total defeat, in passing the rivers, if the Duke of *Mayenne* should follow them in the rear: and was of opinion, that it would be more adviseable to proceed resolutely to an engagement, whilst the army was in vigour and spirits, than to be destroyed peace-meal, without the least hopes of doing any good. The King therefore being determined to fight the enemy, planned out the form and order of the battle with his own hand, and having asked the opinions of the oldest officers about it, they all approved his draught, without any contradiction or alteration.

The King knew very well there was a great number of lances in the enemy's army, which being extended to a great length along the field, would endeavour to break into and disorder his cavalry, which was wholly composed of Gentlemen voluntiers that served at their own expence, without any pay or reward, and had in the course of the civil wars laid aside the use of lances for their own conveniency, and taken up pistols in their room, as more handy, in imitation of the Reiters. So that in order to remedy that loss, which both he and the most experienced commanders were wont to lament, he divided his cavalry into many squadrons, to render the encounter of the lances less effectual, as two or three smaller bodies might charge them on all sides in their career, and not receive the shock of their front, in one firm and continued array. To every squadron of horse he joined some bodies of foot, that their vollies of small shot might not only protect his own men in the encounter, but by wounding and killing many in the first ranks of the enemy, might thin them, and make their onset less furious; an expedient, which having been often recommended and approved of in conversation, in cases of necessity and inequality of forces, manifestly shewed that day of what service it was. The King having sketched out the order in which the army was to be drawn up, gave it to the Baron *De Biron*, his first Marshal *du Camp*; and appointed Monsieur *De Vic*, an old Colonel of the

French

1590.

French infantry, and a man of great valour and experience, to be Serjeant-major-general of the army, which is an office, that for the great importance of it, is never conferred upon any, but ſuch perſons as have acquired the higheſt credit and reputation by their long experience and approved behaviour upon remarkable occaſions, and conſequently both know and are known by every one. The remainder of the night was ſpent in repoſe, till the drums and trumpets, at the firſt dawn of light, gave notice of the approach of day: at the beginning of which, maſs was celebrated in all the quarters of the Catholicks, and the *Hugonots* offered up their devotions apart. After this, the whole army being drawn out into the field, the carriages with proviſion paſſed without tumult or confuſion through all the files, by the care of the Marſhal *De Biron*, who fully ſhewed his great experience in the art of war, by the excellent order that he eſtabliſhed, with the general approbation of the camp.

The army having been refreſhed with reſt and proviſions, began its march, tho' with leſs expedition than the evening before, toward the plain of *Yvry*, which the King had pitched upon for the field of battle, not only becauſe it was large and roomy, but on account of many places of advantage, which he deſigned to take poſſeſſion of before the arrival of the enemy. This plain including a ſpace of many miles, in a circular form, is bounded on the left ſide (by which the King's army approached it) by two great and commodious villages, one called *Tourcanville*, the other *St. Andrew*: and on the oppoſite ſide, whither the army of the League was marching, by a wood of very large trees, commonly called by the country people, *Le clos de la prairie*, *The lodge*, or *encloſure of the meadow*. On the weſt ſide, to which both armies bent their march, it ends in a deep valley, down which runs the *Eure*, a river of a moderate breadth; upon the banks of which are two large bourgs, *Anet* toward the ſouth, and *Yvry*, ſituated on the other ſide towards, the north. The river below *Anet* is commonly very eaſy to be forded without danger: But a large bridge, made of planks, laid over ſtrong piles of wood, leads from the further ſide into *Yvry*. The field is flat and open on all ſides, not embarraſſed with hedges or banks and ditches, and has only a ſort of a ſmall natural concavity, almoſt in the middle of it, which extends itſelf but little way, right over againſt *Fourcanville*. Monſieur *De Vic* and the Baron *De Biron*, together with the Sieur *De Surene* and Captain *Favas*, who acted as Adjutants that day, having rode forwards to this place, formed the army as it came up, in ſuch a diſpoſition, that the village of *St. Andrew* flanked it on the right and *Fourcanville* on the left; in which, if the bad weather ſhould continue, they might quarter upon all occaſions with convenience and under cover. The hollow of the plain was in the front of the army, where the forlorn hope (or the *Les enfans perdus*, as they

1590. they call them) was to be placed: the Duke of *Montpensier* led the van: the King commanded the main battle: and the Marshal *De Biron* the rear. The cavalry was drawn up in five squadrons, of which the first, led by the Marshal *D'Armont*, with two regiments of musketiers by it, stood on the left hand, at the extremity of the field. Next to it was the second, commanded by the Duke of *Montpensier*, flanked on the right by a body of *Swiss* infantry, and on the left by another of the *Germans*. The third, larger than all the rest, in which the King himself was, with the Prince of *Conti*, the Count *De St. Paul*, and the flower of the Nobility and Gentlemen, was flanked by the *Swiss* guards on the right, and by those of Colonel *Balthazzar* on the left. The fourth, conducted by Marshal *De Biron*, was placed on the right of this, and had with it two regiments of *French* firelocks. The fifth and last, composed of *German* horse, under Count *Theodoric* of *Schomberg*, extended itself to the houses of the village of *St. Andrew*. Two other squadrons of horse, besides these, were stationed in the front of the main battle, about fifty paces before all the rest: one commanded by the Baron *De Givry*, in which were four hundred light horse: and the other by the Baron *De Biron*, consisting of three hundred Cuirassiers. And in the midst, betwixt these two squadrons, the artillery was placed, under the direction of the Sieur *Philibert de la Guiche*, with * fifty harquebusiers on horseback, two hundred pioneers, and a company of canoniers as usual. The forlorn hope, led by three Colonels, *St. Dennis*, *Brignolet*, and *Parabiere*, lay close in that hollow that was in the middle of the plain, about fifty paces before the artillery: so that it could not be hurt by the enemy's cannon, and kneeling with one knee upon the ground, could hardly be discovered by those that did not know of its being there. In this disposition the army, not having it wings contracted into the shape of a half moon, but extending itself in a strait line, had an even front, except that the Grand Prior and the Baron *De Biron*, with their squadrons and the artillery, had advanced forwarder than the rest, to cover the main body. They had not yet made an end of drawing up the army, when two supplies, from different parts, arrived: for the Sieurs *Du Plessis*, *De Moüy*, and *De la Tremoüille*, came out of *Poictou*, with about two hundred horse. And the Sieur *De Humieres*, with about † fourscore Gentlemen out of *Picardy*, drawn thither by a report which was spread abroad, that there was likely to be a battle about that time. Which supplies, though small, yet coming so opportunely, and being magnified by common fame, gave wonderful spirits and courage to every one; all being of opinion, that the hand of heaven visibly distinguished itself in favour of the King, by sending those succours so unexpectedly in a time of such exigency. So

* The *French* translation says *five hundred*.
† The *French* translation says *four hundred*.

that,

that, as more account was made of the happineſs of the omen, than the number of their forces, they were welcomed with loud and joyful acclamations: and that they might not diſturb the order of the army, they joined the King's ſquadron that had taken poſt in the center of the main battle.

1590.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, on the other hand, having intelligence that the King was riſen from the ſiege of *Dreux*, and that, without any regard either to the heavineſs of the rain or the darkneſs of the night, he had marched with very great haſte towards *Normandy*, imagined, that his Majeſty was deſirous of avoiding the hazard of a battle, on account of the inferiority of his forces. For which reaſon, he preſſed forward his march, in hopes, that the uſual diſorder of all retreats, eſpecially as there were ſo many rivers to paſs, would afford him an opportunity of routing, or at leaſt of gaining ſome conſiderable advantage, over the enemy. And this being not only the General's opinion, but that of the whole army, every man chearfully quickened his pace, in full aſſurance of a very eaſy and ſecure victory, without loſs of blood. From which precipitation it came to paſs, that though the army marched in ſeveral diviſions, yet they were greatly conſuſed and diſordered by the roughneſs of the roads. Proceeding, however, in this manner towards *Yvry*, with an intention to come upon the King as he was paſſing the river, the Sieurs *De Rhoſnè* and *Geſſan*, who led the firſt diviſions, had no ſooner entered the plain, but they diſcovered the King's army ready drawn up, with the advantage of the ground, and waiting to fight them. This news, which ſoon paſſed from van to rear, in a great meaſure abated the ardour of many, who had already inconſiderately made themſelves ſure of a victory without any reſiſtance, and cauſed the army to make a halt, to draw up again and recover their order.

The army of the League was divided into two wings, the right led by the Duke of *Nemours*, and the left by the Chevalier *D'Aumale*. At the extremity of the right wing was the Count of *Egmont*, with the lances that he had brought out of *Flanders*: next to which was a body of *Swiſs*, commanded by their Colonels *Fiſer* and *Berling*, and flanked with the regiments of *Ponſenac*, *Diſemieux*, and *Chaſtiliere*. Betwixt the *Swiſs* and the regiment commanded by the Duke of *Nemours*, which conſiſted of four hundred horſe, the artillery was placed. At the point of the left wing, four hundred light horſe, compoſed of *Bourguignons* and *Spaniards*, extended themſelves to the very edge of the field; by the ſide of whom was poſted the body of *German* foot, commanded by Colonel *St. Paul*, and flanked by the *French* and *Lorrain* regiments of *Tremblecourt*, *Teniſſay*, and *Chaſtaigneraye*: and next to theſe ſtood the Chevalier *D'Aumale's* ſquadron, in which were the troops of the Sieurs *De Longchamp*, *De Perdriel*, and

1590. *De Fountain Martel.* The Duke of *Mayenne*, with his troop, and four hundred Gentlemen, which in all made seven hundred horse, was in the midst, betwixt the two wings, flanked by the *Flemish* carbineers. And before all, were two squadrons of Reiters, under the command of the Duke of *Brunswick* and the Sieur *De Bassompierre*, which were to charge and wheel off in their wonted manner, and then pass betwixt the two wings, to rally in the rear, that they might return with more vigour into the battle.

In this order, the army proceeding gently toward the plain, and by degrees turning their backs to *Yvry* and the banks of the river, came up to face the King's army, when the day was now almost spent. For having marched in a disorderly manner, they had been forced to waste a great deal of time in forming again. So that the near approach of night, together with a continuance of heavy rain, determined both Generals not to come to an engagement. But after they had stood in this posture about two hours, without any action, except some faint skirmishes, as each took care not to engage with their main body, the day-light being already at an end, the King withdrew with his army into *Fourconville* and *St. Andrew*, to their great convenience; whilst the Duke of *Mayenne*, with as much inconvenience, was obliged to quarter his men as well as he could, having but very few houses at his command: which want he endeavoured to remedy, by setting up tents and pavilions within the descent of the valley, towards the bank of the river. The night was full of disturbance and alarm on both sides, each of them lighting up great fires very thick in their camp, and placing sentinels all over the field, which were changed every half hour, by the officers that went the rounds: though the King's army, on account of the abundance of provisions, the conveniency of houses, and because the infantry was secured on all sides by barricadoes, rested more quietly, and received greater refreshment. The Duke of *Mayenne* would willingly have declined the battle, in order to spin out the war, that so he might damp the ardour of the Nobility that followed the King, by reducing them to want of money, and making them consume their warlike provisions, of which he knew they had no very great plenty; hoping by these arts at least to accomplish his designs. But on one side, the Count of *Egmont* vehemently protested against that manner of proceeding, and declared, that he was not come thither to throw away the King of *Spain's* forces in doing nothing: as his Majesty had deprived his own dominions in the Low Countries of their proper defence, for the support of religion in *France*, and was desirous that an end might be put to the war by one bold effort. And on the other, it was opposed, though with more modesty, by Monsignor *Girolamo di Portia*; who attending the camp in the Legate's name, endeavoured to spur the Duke

Duke up to ſome generous reſolution, by repreſenting, that the confederate Princes were tired out, and that his army was now greatly ſuperior to that of the enemy. The Duke himſelf likewiſe conſidered the circumſtances of the *Pariſians*, who he knew were not only exhauſted by contributions, and diſtreſſed by famine, but diſpleaſed at his proceedings, and ready (if things ſhould be any longer protracted) to embrace the firſt opportunity of revolting: upon which conſiderations, he at laſt reſolved to defer an engagement no longer. The next morning therefore (which was *Wedneſday*) the drums beating, and the trumpets ſounding, at the firſt appearance of day, the armies were drawn up in the ſame place and order that they had been the night before. But the Viſcount *De Tavannes*, who formed the horſe, as the Sieur *De Rhoſnè* did the foot, being extremely ſhort ſighted, had placed the ſeveral diviſions ſo cloſe to one another, that there was not only no ſpace left through which the Reiters might retire to rally in the rear of the army, after they had wheeled according to their orders: but even the very diviſions themſelves had no intervals, by means of which they might extend themſelves when they moved. So that if they ſtirred never ſo little, they juſtled and crowded each other. An error, which, not being obſerved by any body, and therefore left without remedy, very much diſtreſſed the army of the League, and put it into great confuſion.

The King's forces, on the other hand, on account of the ſmallneſs of their number, were ſooner drawn up, and put in order of battle without confuſion. After which, the Marſhal *De Biron* firſt, and then the King himſelf, viſited every diviſion with the greateſt diligence, and moſt carefully reviewed every thing. His Majeſty being mounted upon a large bay charger, and armed at all points, except his head and face, rode through all the ſeveral ſquadrons, and recommended his own fortune and the common ſafety to his army, more by looks and geſtures than by his words, which could ſcarcely be diſtinguiſhed by the multitude; telling them, that his whole ſtrength and hopes conſiſted in them: reminding the commanders, and all thoſe that could hear him, with an undaunted countenance, yet ſometimes with tears in his eyes, that not only the preſervation of the Crown of *France*, but every particular man's ſafety, ſolely depended upon the point of the ſword, and the valour of their own arms. That there were no freſh armies to be got together, no more Nobility left to take up arms, nor any other way to ſecure themſelves, than to fight manfully for their lives. After theſe exhortations, he ſtopped at the head of the main battle, and joining his hands together, lift up his eyes to heaven, and ſaid, ſo loud that he was heard by many: " O Lord, thou knoweſt the " intentions of my heart, and pierceſt into the moſt ſecret of my thoughts " with the eye of thy providence. If it be for the good of this people

1590. " that I should attain the Crown which lawfully belongs to me, I beseech " thee to favour and protect the justice of my arms. But if thy will hath " ordained the contrary, if thou takest away my kingdom, take away my " life also at the same time, that I may shed my blood fighting at the " head of these men, who expose themselves to such dangers for my sake." He had no sooner finished his prayer, than there arose a loud acclamation in the front of the main body, from those that heard him, with chearful shouts of, *Long live the King*; which being caught and re-echoed from squadron to squadron, gave a most happy beginning to the battle.

The King therefore having put on his helmet, on the top of which there was a large crest of white feathers, that he might be the better distinguished by his followers, and perceiving that the wind was in his face, which would have covered and blinded all his army with the smoak of the small arms and artillery, began with great dexterity to make his squadrons wheel to the left, though but a few paces, to remedy this inconvenience, by getting the wind in flank: which the Duke of *Mayenne*, who likewise stood in the front of his main body, and being desirous to defeat the King's intention, immediately ordered the signal to be given for battle by his Trumpet-major; at the sound of which, the artillery on both sides made a terrible fire, but with very different skill and execution. For the Duke's were all pointed too low, and killed no-body at all, but one Gentleman belonging to the Duke of *Montpensier*: whereas the King's, by the readiness and expertness of the Sieur *De la Guiche*, and being loaded and discharged a second time, made a very great slaughter in the two squadrons of Reiters that were in the front of the army, and put them in disorder, and at the same time did no small damage to Count *Egmont*, who stood with his squadron of lances at the extremity of the right wing; and being unwilling to stay till they made a third fire, which would utterly rout his men, was the first that gave the onset, falling upon the Grand Prior's light horse with so much impetuosity, that they, not being able to sustain the violence of the lances, and the furious shock of horses, so much heavier than their own, were broken into, and charged quite through the very middle of their squadron. So that the *Flemings* rushed in upon the King's artillery, and turning their horses tails upon it, by way of contempt, killed many of the cannoneers and pioneers that attended it. But having in some measure disordered themselves by this piece of vanity, they were at the same time attacked, with very great fury, on the right hand by the Marshal *D'Aumont*, on the left by the Baron *De Biron*; and the Grand Prior, with the Baron *De Givry*, having rallied their horse again, returned full of anger and revenge, and gave them so desperate a charge in the front, that being surrounded on every side, they were all soon cut to pieces, together with the Count that commanded them. At the same

 time

time the ſquadrons of the Duke of *Montpenſier*, and that of the Duke of *Nemours* in the vanguard; and the Count of *Schomberg's* and the Chevalier *D'Aumale's* in the rear guard, charged one another with ſo much courage and reſolution on both ſides, that it was hard to know which would have the advantage at laſt. For the Duke of *Montpenſier*, whoſe horſe was killed under him in the firſt encounter, and who by a reſolute effort of his men was mounted upon another, being ſupported by the Nobleſſe of *Normandy*, fought with exceeding great valour. And the Duke of *Nemours*, a very young man indeed, but of a generous ſpirit, and elated by the ſuperiority of his party, had fiercely ruſhed with ſhort weapons, after the encounter of the lances, into the middle of the battle. On the other ſide, the Count *De Schomberg* with the *German* horſe, not wheeling off, but charging home into the very body of the enemy, did great execution, with famous diſcharges of piſtol-ſhot, upon the Chevalier *D'Aumale's* ſquadron: who, being no leſs valiant than fame had reported him, and ſupported by a ſtrong body of men, made the conflict very hot and bloody. The Reiters, who were poſted in the Duke of *Mayenne's* front, having ſuſtained conſiderable damage from the artillery, advanced, nevertheleſs, wheeling, to make their attack. But when they came to the hollow of the field, they met with the forlorn hope, who riſing courageouſly from their knees, received them with a terrible fire from their ſmall arms; by which the Duke of *Brunſwick*, one of their principal commanders, being ſlain, and many others wounded and beat to the ground, as ſoon as ever they had diſcharged their piſtols, they wheeled off according to their manner of fighting, and endeavoured to retire into the rear of the army, as they had received orders from their General: but not finding any paſſage ſufficient to receive them (as there ought to have been) on account of the narrowneſs of the intervals betwixt the ſquadrons, they recoiled upon, and ſomewhat diſordered that great body of lances, with which the Duke of *Mayenne* was following them to charge the enemy's main battle: ſo that he was obliged to ſtop ſhort, and make his men couch their lances to keep off the Reiters and diſengage himſelf from them, for fear of being totally broke by their precipitate retreat. The King obſerving this, and laying hold of the opportunity which this diſorder of the enemy afforded him, ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and being bravely ſeconded by the flower of the Nobility that followed his ſtandard, fell furiouſly upon the Duke's main body, before he could clear himſelf from the embarraſſment of the Reiters, and make his lances take their career: by which their weapons becoming entirely uſeleſs, as they owe all their weight and force to the impetuoſity of their career, it was neceſſary to throw them away, and engage with their ſwords only againſt the King's ſquadron, which conſiſted altogether of Lords and

Gentlemen

1590. Gentlemen, who besides their tucks, were provided with excellent armour, and had each man a case of pistols before him. Yet all this did not dismay the Duke, nor abate the courage of those that followed him: but after a furious volley of carbines, they boldly rushed on with their cavalry, which were excellent, and made the victory first doubtful, and then bloody to the enemy. For at the very first onset, the Sieur *De Rhodes*, a young Gentleman of exceeding great hopes, who carried the Royal white standard, being slain by a thrust through the vizor of his helmet; and a Page falling in the same place, who wore a great plume like the King's, every body thought the King himself had been killed. Upon which mistake, the squadron began to break, some giving way to the right, and others to the left. But the King's horse and plume being distinguished afterwards, as he himself was fighting desperately, sword in hand, in the first rank, and loudly calling upon his friends to follow him, they rallied, and having knit themselves close together in one compact body, discharged their second pistols, and fought with the usual valour of the *French* Nobility. So that all obstacles being removed, and all difficulties surmounted, they at last overthrew the enemy, and put them to flight, with exceeding great slaughter. For pursuing them very close, they killed and miserably wounded vast numbers, till they came to the very entrance of the wood; into which the Reiters also had retired in confusion, having been disordered by recoiling first upon their own artillery, and then sometimes upon one squadron, sometimes upon another, without ever returning into the battle, to their own infinite disgrace, and the no less prejudice of their army. Almost at the same instant, the Duke of *Montpensier*, being relieved by the Marshal *D'Aumont*, who fell in upon the flank, had routed the vanguard commanded by the Duke of *Nemours*: And the Count *De Schomberg*, relieved by the Baron *De Biron*, had also defeated the rear-guard, conducted by the Chevalier *D'Aumale*. And the Grand Prior, having rallied his light horse, had broken and done great execution amongst the *Spaniards* and *Bourguignons*, who closed the rear-guard at the extremity of the left wing. So that all the cavalry of the League being disordered and put to flight, had left the field open to the enemy, and retreating with the utmost precipitation towards *Yvry*, endeavoured to save themselves by passing the river.

But the victory was neither compleat nor satisfactory on the King's side, as they did not yet see his Majesty's person: and the rumour of his death, that had been dispersed at the beginning, was still thought true by many: so that there was a general damp in the army, till he returned at the head of his squadron, with which he had routed and pursued the enemy. But at his appearance, after he had pulled off his helmet, that he might be the better known, the joyful shouts of *Long live the King* were reiterated, which

1590.

which in the beginning had given ſo happy an omen of the ſucceſs of the battle. The infantry of the League remained entire, but ſurrounded on all ſides by the King's forces. The *Swiſs* ſeemed as if they were reſolved to deſend themſelves, but perceiving that the cannon were coming up to rake them, they thought proper to ſurrender: which the King ſeeing, as he was not willing to exaſperate the Cantons, whoſe friendſhip was highly to be valued, as ſoon as they had ſtruck their colours and laid down their arms upon the ground, they were received to mercy, and had quarter given them by the Marſhal *De Biron.* The *Germans* expected to have met with the like treatment: but as they were the ſame that revolted to the Duke of *Lorrain*, though they had been raiſed with the King's money, and then were ſo mercenary as to bear arms in favour of the League, after they had reared their pikes and lowered their colours, were all cut to pieces by the King's command, as a puniſhment for their perfidy. The *French* that ſubmitted had their lives granted them. For the King, from the very beginning of the victory, to gain the affections of his people had often called out aloud to ſpare the *French*, and put the foreigners to the ſword; which orders being diſperſed through the whole army, in all parts of the field, every one, even in the heat of the battle, enjoyed the benefit of this remarkable clemency, and all the *French* that ſurrendered were immediately received to mercy. Theſe things being diſpatched with the utmoſt expedition, and the army remaining in poſſeſſion of the whole field, the King put his men in order again and proceeded towards *Ivry*, whither the enemy had retreated. At which place the tumult and confuſion were dreadful indeed; for the Duke of *Mayenne* having paſſed the bridge, ordered it to be broke down, to prevent the enemy from purſuing him. So that great numbers of thoſe that ran away, being crowded and ſtopped by the narrowneſs of the paſs, and the depth of the mire which they found there, were ſo entangled and in ſuch diſorder, that they could not get any further. And whilſt they were embarraſſed in this manner, the King's infantry being come up, fluſhed with the ſlaughter of the *Germans*, and eager to deſtroy the reſt of their enemies, many out of fear reſolved to attempt to ford the river, which being always deep and now ſwelled by the abundance of rain, the greater part of them were miſerably drowned. But the Reiters, being afraid to venture into the water, cut off their horſes legs to make a breaſt-work of them, and reſolved now to give that proof of their valour, which they might have done, much more to the purpoſe, in the battle. This execution, rather than fight, laſted above an hour; for the ſmall arms playing upon them on all ſides from the higher ground and places of advantage, deſtroyed thoſe reliques in ſuch a manner, that very few of them were left alive, though not without much loſs; as many of the conquerors, out of

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1590. too much eagerneſs to get at them, were either ſtifled in the mud and heaps of dead bodies, or ſlain by the Reiters with their piſtols. The Duke of *Nemours*, the Chevalier *D'Aumale*, *Baſſompierre*, *Rhoſnè*, the Viſcount *De Tavannes*, and others, took a different way, and paſſing by the wood-ſide, by a more round-about but ſafer road, retired to *Chartres* without being purſued. The Duke of *Mayenne*, Colonel *St. Paul*, Monſignor *Di Portia*, and a great many Gentlemen that eſcaped from the battle, having fled ſeven leagues with the utmoſt haſte, came to *Mante*, into which town they were received the ſame evening, though the people at firſt made a ſcruple of admitting them. The King, however, purſued them immediately; but not being able to paſs at the bridge of *Yvry*, which was already broke down and demoliſhed, to avoid the danger of deep holes and quickſands that were in the river at that place, was forced to go about and ford it at *Anet*: by which delay he loſt above two hours, and could not poſſibly overtake the enemy, but took up his quarters in a village called *Rhoſny*, a league diſtant from *Mante*, where the Marſhal *D'Aumont*, the Grand Prior, and the Duke of *Montpenſier* arrived alſo; the Marſhal *De Biron* ſtaying behind with the infantry and the remainder of the army.

There died that day by the ſword, and in paſſing the river, above ſix thouſand of the army of the League; amongſt whom were, the Count of *Egmont*, the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and the Sieur *De la Chaſtaigneraye*. The Sieur *De Cigoigne*, who carried the Duke's white ſtandard, the Count of *Anfriſt*, a *German*, the Marquis *De Menelay*, the Sieurs *De Bois-dauphin*, *De Medauid*, *De Long-champ*, *De Falandre*, *De Fountain Martel*, and the Colonels *Tenniſſay*, *Diſemieux*, and *Chaſteliere*, were taken priſoners. Twenty Cornets of horſe, the ſtandard of the *Flemiſh* lances, the banner of the commanding officer of the Reiters, twenty-four enſigns of the *Swiſs*, ſixty pair of *French* colours, eight pieces of cannon, with all the baggage and ammunition that followed the camp, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The number of the dead on the King's ſide did not amount to above five hundred; amongſt whom were the Sieur *De Clermont*, Captain of his guards, one of the *German* Colonels, the Sieur *De Crenay*, who carried the Duke of *Montpenſier's* Cornet, the Sieur *De Loncaunay*, a *Norman* Gentleman, who was killed valiantly fighting in the heat of the battle at the age of ſeventy-two, and the Marquis *De Neſle*, who being left wounded on the ground, died ſoon after. Amongſt the wounded, who in all were not quite two hundred, were the Baron *De Biron*, the Counts *De Choiſy* and *De Lude*, *Maximilian de Bethune*, Lord of *Rhoſny*, the Sieurs *De Montlouet*, *D'O*, and *De Lavergne*, who were happily cured of their wounds in a few days.

Such was the battle fought on the plain of *Yvry* upon the 14th of

March.

March. In which, if the singular valour and conduct of the King claimed 1590. the highest degree of applause, there is no doubt but the next belonged to the Marshal *D'Aumont*, the Baron *De Biron*, and the Duke of *Montpensier*: as the two first, at the very beginning of the action, fought most gallantly, and repelled the fury of the *Flemish* lances, that had victoriously advanced up to the very cannon; and at the latter end of the battle utterly defeated the carbineers, who having greatly disordered the King's squadron, afterwards wheeled upon and down the plain, and harrassed the other squadrons to such a degree, that it made the fortune of the day for a long time dubious. And the Duke of *Montpensier* having charged the enemy's right wing, which consisted of the flower of their troops, after his horse was killed under him, and he had bravely forced his way through the utmost danger to mount another, and saw the Sieur *De Crenay* laid dead upon the ground, who carried his colours (which he bravely recovered with extreme peril of his life) still fought with so great resolution that he defeated and routed the enemy, and was one of the first that followed the King in the pursuit of those that fled.

But in all the various turns and changes of the battle, which was chiefly betwixt the cavalry on both sides, the bravery of the *French* Noblesse was very great; who fighting for no other reward but honour, and being excellently mounted and armed, had constantly the advantage in every encounter, though they often engaged with swords and pistols only against the fury of the lances, and sometimes found the disadvantage of those weapons, which their own convenience, and not any order or approbation of their commanders, had induced them to make use of. On the other side, the error of the Count *De Tavannes* was very remarkable, in placing the divisions so near and close together, that they could hardly move without falling foul upon one another. So that not only the Reiters, who were much dreaded, became entirely useless, but even the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had disengaged himself with admirable conduct from the terrible disorder they had thrown him into, was deprived of the effect and advantage of his lances: by which memorable example, we may learn how necessary it is, that courage and conduct in a commander, should also be accompanied with a strong and perfect constitution of body, and free from all defects. Nor was the vanity of the *Flemings* less prejudicial, who, by insolently turning their horses tails upon the cannon, disordered themselves in such a manner, that they were soon broken and repulsed. Whereas, if they had fallen directly upon the Duke of *Montpensier*, with the same fury that they had charged quite through the Grand Prior's squadron, which stood in his front, and had been seconded by the Duke of *Nemours*, who might have attacked him at the same time, the victory would have been very easily secured in favour of the League. The King's

1590. justice and clemency were likewise conspicuous upon this occasion, and worthy of eternal glory. For with a necessary example of severity, he ordered, that the *Germans*, who had violated their engagements, should be put to the sword to the last man: and on the other side, he spared not only such as voluntarily surrendered, but even those that fought desperately till they were taken prisoners. His policy and prudent conduct were also much to be admired: for as he knew there was a natural respect and affection in the *French* Nobility and Gentlemen towards their equals, and how nearly those very men are often allied either by blood or friendship, who engage against each other in the course of civil wars, he seemed exceedingly anxious and concerned for their safety, continually calling out aloud through the field, till he was quite hoarse, *to spare the French Noblesse*: which behaviour was so popular and endearing, that it gained him infinite love amongst his own soldiers, and no small praise from his very enemies: every one revering him not only as a great Prince, but an affectionate father, who had so tenderly spared the blood of his subjects and children, though they were rebellious and disobedient. His affability likewise gave the highest satisfaction; for as he supped in publick at *Rhosny*, the night after the battle, he made his commanders sit down with him at the same table, telling them, in a gracious manner, "That as they had partaken in the same dangers with him, it was but "just that they should likewise partake in the same conveniencies and "honours." And whilst supper lasted, he spoke to every one that was present, and called them by their names, praising, caressing, and thanking even the meanest soldier, telling them, that he should ever remember their services with gratitude, and reward them as soon as he was able, though he was not at that time. By which arts he filled them all with wonderful hopes and eagerness to follow him, as indeed it was highly necessary, considering his circumstances, and the urgent occasion he had for the assistance of every particular man.

An account of this defeat was brought the next day to *Paris*, by the the Sieur *De Tremblay*, who being a prisoner upon his parole, had not been engaged in the battle, and had an opportunity of retiring with the first. Which news being carried by him directly to the Archbishop of *Lions*, deputed Chancellor and President of the Council of the League, was afterwards communicated to the Legate and the *Spanish* Ambassadors; who being all exceedingly dismayed, justly apprehended that this intelligence would make the people rise, and very much endanger the city: for as they expected every hour to be relieved from their distresses by a victory, now they were deprived of all hopes of delivering themselves out of their present extremities by dint of arms, he thought they would not fail to attempt it by composition and agreement: hunger be-

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ing the ſharpeſt and moſt effectual incitement to inſurrections amongſt the common people, who not being reſtrained by any motives of decency or generoſity, are always determined by the preſent advantage. In order therefore to remedy this evil, in the beſt manner that lay in their power, after long conſultation, they reſolved that the preachers, in whom the people had always very great confidence, ſhould be the firſt to break this matter to them in their ſermons, and endeavour to encourage them, by the uſual effects of eloquence, manfully to bear up againſt the adverſity of their preſent fortune. The firſt of them that undertook this office was Don *Chriſtino de Nizza*, who preaching to the people on the 16th of *March*, which was one of the *Fridays* in *Lent*, took an occaſion, in the firſt part of his diſcourſe, to introduce theſe words out of the third chapter of the *Revelations*, *Whom I love I rebuke and chaſten*. Upon which he expatiated very largely, foretelling that God would not fail to prove the faith and conſtancy of the *Pariſians*, as by numberleſs examples in the Scripture he clearly ſhewed he was wont to try the patience of his children: after which, in the evening ſervice, being come into the pulpit, with letters in his hand, which he ſeemed to have received but juſt before, he lamented that he had that day performed the office, not only of a preacher but of a prophet; and that God had been pleaſed, by his mouth, to warn the people of *Paris* of the trial that was to befall them, which it concerned him to let them know, was now actually come to paſs; for that the Catholick army having engaged the enemy but two days before, had come off with ſome diſadvantage. To this news he added ſo many earneſt prayers and pathetick exhortations, that the people, who had liſtened to him with great attention, not only did not offer to raiſe any commotion at all, but ſeemed reſolved to perſevere in the defence of themſelves and their religion, without any regard to the ſeverity of famine and the afflictions of a future ſiege. The ſame was done by *Guillaume Roſe*, *Boucher*, *Prevôt*, and all the other preachers; and, laſtly, by Monſignor *Franciſco Panigarola*, who, though he preached in the *Italian* tongue, was followed by a vaſt concourſe of people, on account of his ſingular eloquence.

1590.

The Duke of *Mayenne* arrived three days after; but as he did not know how to face the *Pariſians*, and feared thoſe tragical events which had been ſo frequent amongſt the people of late years, he ſtaid at *St. Dennis*, whither the Cardinal Legate, the Ambaſſador *Mendozza*, the Commendatory *Morrea*, the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, and the Sieur *De Villeroy* came to him, and at laſt the principal Deputies of the *Pariſians*, by whom (but more particularly by his ſiſter Madam *De Montpenſier*, who greatly ſupported the affairs of the League by her courage and preſence of mind) being informed of the good diſpoſition of the people, to perſevere

1590. with constancy in their defence, he first commended them for so generous a resolution, and afterwards conferred with them concerning the present state of affairs, representing to them, "That as the loss of the "battle proceeded rather from the disorder of the Reiters, and several "other concurring accidents, than from the strength of the enemy; "and his army, especially the cavalry, was rather broke than defeated, "he hoped, in a short time, to assemble a body of forces more powerful than the former: That he was well assured, both the Pope and the "King of *Spain* would be ready to support the Catholick religion, and "exert themselves for the preservation of the kingdom; and so much "the more, as the occasion was more urgent and manifest. So that "they would in a few weeks see a greater army on foot, with which, "whilst it was fresh and in full vigour, he made no doubt of destroying "the *Navarrese* troops, now worn out and wasted with their late losses "and hardships. That all consisted in resisting the first attacks, and in "bravely sustaining the first fury of the siege, which he was confident "was preparing against *Paris*: for the defence whereof he would willingly have shut himself up in the city, to teach them how to endure "hunger by his example, as nothing else was to be feared from the "enemy; but that it was more for the general good, and absolutely necessary for the relief of the *Parisians* in particular, that he should march "directly to the confines of *Picardy*, to assemble an army with the utmost expedition and receive supplies from *Flanders* and *Lorrain*, that "he might return from thence with sufficient forces to raise the siege, "which, he was certain, if they had but patience to suffer a little inconveniency, would at last prove vain and fruitless. That in his stead, he "would leave his brother the Duke of *Nemours*, a young man of great "courage and resolution, and his cousin, the Chevalier *D'Aumale*, to "command the garrison, and provide for the military part of their defence: and for the rest, the Cardinal Legate, and the ministers of his "Catholick Majesty being present, and firmly supported by the zeal of "*The council of sixteen*, he made no doubt but every thing would be conducted with that prudence which the occasion required. That to shew "how little he apprehended the city would fall into the enemy's hands, "and for a pledge of the speedy relief he designed to bring them, he "would leave his mother, wife, sister, and children in the city, to share "in the fortune of the citizens. That, finally, as there was nothing "else requisite, but to keep the people in good temper, and to resist the "importunities of hunger, he had the greatest reason to hope for a happy "issue, to the exaltation of the League, and the total subversion of his "enemies." This advice was commended and approved of by them all, and the heads of the people promised to keep united and constant in defending

fending the place to the laſt man; beſeeching him only to make all the haſte he poſſibly could, to deliver the people from their extremities, who, for the ſake of religion, and confiding in his promiſes, had boldly reſolved to encounter all thoſe difficulties and dangers which they ſaw approaching. The next day the Duke departed towards *Picardy* to meet the Duke of *Parma*, his Catholick Majeſty's General in the Low Countries, as he knew every thing now depended upon his aſſiſtance: and that if the *Spaniards* did not furniſh him with ſupplies, and conſiderable ones too, it would be a very difficult matter to raiſe an army ſufficient to raiſe the ſiege and relieve *Paris*. And within the city they began, with infinite diligence, to repair the walls, to ſcour the moats, to caſt up works, to plant their artillery, to arm the people, but above all, to make the beſt proviſion they could againſt the dreadful proſpect of famine.

1590.

In the mean time, *Mante* and *Vernon* had ſurrendered to the King ſince the victory, in which places he was obliged to ſtay longer than he intended: for the badneſs of the weather and continual heavy rains had not only overflowed the country, and made the roads exceeding deep, but had rendered it impoſſible to lie in the field, or to march with cannon and baggage, and the men and horſes could hardly find ſufficient ſhelter elſewhere. In this interval the King received advice of another encounter that had happened in the province of *Auvergne*, near the walls of *Iſſoire*, where the Sieurs *De Florat* and *Chaſeron*, who were of his party, had routed and ſlain the Count *De Randan*, commander for the League, and had made themſelves maſters of the place, with the ſlaughter of above two hundred of the enemy. Nor was it long before other intelligence arrived from the county of *Maine*, where *Guy de Lanſac*, who commanded the party of the League, and the Sieur *D'Hertrè*, Governor of *Alançon* and chief of the King's forces, had an engagement, which likewiſe ended in favour of his Majeſty: for *Lanſac* was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight, after three hundred of his men were ſlain and the reſt diſperſed, leaving the King's forces maſters of the field in thoſe parts.

The advices of theſe ſeveral diſaſters coming to *Paris*, cloſe upon the back of one another, very much perplexed thoſe that had the government of affairs, but eſpecially the Legate, upon whoſe ſhoulders the blame of all the preſent miſcarriages was laid; every one thinking that, as he repreſented the Pope's perſon, he ought to have furniſhed ſupplies both of men and money, in a cauſe where religion was the principal object, for the relief of thoſe diſtreſſes which the League was involved in at that time: and the Duke of *Mayenne* complained publickly of it, and wrote to the Pope in plain terms, that his backwardneſs in ſupporting ſo neceſſary an undertaking, was the chief occaſion of all thoſe evils. The *Spaniſh* miniſters made the ſame remonſtrances, being of opinion, that the

1590. the Legate had prevented the King their master from being satisfied in his demands; and that whilst his Catholick Majesty neglected his own affairs, to deliver religion from the danger it was in, with his men and money, the Pope kept his purse shut, and acting in an ambiguous manner, would neither send the supplies which he had often promised, nor consent that his Catholick Majesty should have satisfaction given him; who, if his just demands had been complied with, would have employed his whole forces for the common benefit. Nor were the *Parisians* less modest in their complaints than the rest; for, groaning under the burden of their present distresses, and the extreme scarcity of provisions, they importunately required assistance from the Legate and relief from the Pope; since all that they had done and suffered, was for the preservation of the Catholick faith, and the service of the holy church. So that the Legate, being surrounded with all these troubles, was in very great anxiety of mind; which was increased to the utmost, when he found that the Pope was almost utterly alienated from the interests of the League, by the Duke of *Luxembourg's* arrival and negociation at *Rome*; and further, that his Holiness seemed highly dissatisfied at his going to *Paris*, and that he had not rather stayed at some neutral place, as a disinterested mediator betwixt both parties, that he might endeavour to bring about such a peace as could be concluded without danger or prejudice to the Catholick religion.

The Duke of *Luxembourg* was gone to *Rome*, under the name of Ambassador from the Catholicks that followed the King's party, but in reality to try if he could reconcile his Majesty himself to the Pope and the holy church, and to refute those calumnies which had been industriously spread abroad by the friends of the League, that he was an obdurate heretick, a persecutor of the Catholicks, contumacious and disobedient to the Apostolick See, and a perverse enemy to the church. Wherefore, having first made some stay at *Venice*, to consult with that Senate what measures were best to be taken; after all things had been settled with the most mature deliberation, he pursued his journey to *Rome*: where, at his first audience, he, with his usual address, introduced the conduct of the Catholicks in *France*, excusing them for following the King, by shewing the advantages that would accrue to the Catholick religion, by not leaving him in the hands of the *Hugonots*, but by engaging him with professions of duty and service, and by endeavouring to prevail upon him, by modest and well-timed sollicitations, to return into the bosom of the church: which was absolutely to be despaired of, if he had been deserted by them, and necessitated to throw himself into the arms of hereticks. He then proceeded to acquaint the Pope with those private interests, which, under the mask of piety and religion, entirely governed and influenced the Lords

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of the League: how, under that pretence, they endeavoured to deprive the lawful successor of the kingdom, and either to bring it into subjection to a foreign Prince, or to dismember and divide it into many parts. which, as it was utterly repugnant to all laws both human and divine, so it would be attended with exceeding great prejudice to religion itself, and the See of *Rome*, which would thereby lose the support of a Crown, that had at all times gloried in the protection of the church, and would deliver it into the hands of petty and impotent Princes and Tyrants, or else unite it with the overgrown power of the *Spaniards*, to the general oppression of Christendom. That it was much more equitable, much more easy, and infinitely more conducive to the benefit of all *Europe*, to invite and persuade the King to his conversion, which he not only shewed himself inclined to, provided it could be brought about in such a manner as was consistent with his honour, and becoming a King of *France*, but to which he was also reduced by the necessity of his affairs, being daily more and more convinced, how little he had to expect from the *Hugonots* towards the attainment of the Crown, since he had been, for the most part, followed and supported, in all his most pressing occasions, by the forces of the Catholick Lords, who would all desert him at last, if he should not resolve to return into the church. These considerations, set forth with all their circumstances, and amplified by the Duke's eloquence, made a deep impression upon the Pope: which was not a little strengthened by the Ambassador's adding, that his Holiness had been imposed upon, if he was made to believe that the Catholicks who adhered to the King were either few or weak; since the best, the soundest, and by far the most considerable part of *France*, was on his side: whilst a very small number of the better sort, and only a rabble of mean, disorderly plebeians, took the part of the League: and that not only persons of the highest distinction amongst the laity, but also all the chief Prelates of the kingdom had gone over to his Majesty, upon the strength and security of a promise he had made them to turn Catholick, and forsake the doctrines of *Calvin*. So that his Holiness was not a little moved by the force of these arguments, especially when he reflected upon the danger of losing the support of the kingdom of *France*, and of increasing the too formidable power of the *Spaniard*; besides the weighty consideration of so much exasperating the generality of the Catholick Nobility, whom it would be exceeding difficult to overcome by force of arms. He therefore resolved to try mild and gentle methods to gain the King, and to endeavour the union of the kingdom by pacifick measures. And the Ambassador having assured him, that the Cardinals of *Bourbon*, *Lenoncourt*, and *Gondi*, together with the Archbishop of *Bourges*, and other Prelates, had proposed the same things to the consideration of the Legate, earnestly intreating and exhorting him to stand

1590.

1590. ſtand neuter, till his Holineſs had been ſo perfectly informed of the preſent ſituation of affairs, that he might give him ſuch further inſtructions as he thought proper: The Pope began to ſuſpect, as well as others, that his Legate *Caietano*, was too much inclined to favour the *Spaniards*, and for that reaſon, no longer gave any great degree of credit to his letters, but ſtopped his hand, and would not furniſh him with any more money.

The Legate therefore, being embarraſſed with all theſe difficulties, and either deſirous to wipe off the ſuſpicion of being too nearly dependent on the King of *Spain*, or to recover the character of a neutral and diſintereſted perſon, which perhaps he might more wiſely have maintained from the beginning: or with a view to prevent the ſiege of *Paris* (as he himſelf affirmed and told the *Spaniſh* Miniſters) thought it the moſt prudent ſtep to invite the Marſhal *De Biron* to a conference with him at *Noiſy*, a caſtle belonging to Cardinal *Gondi*, but a little day's journey from *Paris*, in order to concert ſome means of putting an end to the preſent diſtractions. Which not being diſagreeable to the King, whoſe intereſt it was, by all means, to ſhew his deference to the Holy See, and that he was inclined, to the utmoſt of his power, to bring the war to a concluſion, a meeting was appointed, and actually enſued in a few days.

The Marſhal *De Biron*, the Baron *De Givry*, Secretary *Revol*, the Sieurs *De Liancourt* and *De la Verriere*, met there on the King's ſide: and the Cardinal Legate, the Sieur *De Villeroy*, the Marquis *De Belin*, and other Lords of the League, in behalf of their party. There was much reſpect ſhewn on both ſides at this conference, but the event proved fruitleſs. For as the Legate made it his chief endeavour to prevail upon the Catholicks, either to abandon the King, or to defer the ſiege that was preparing againſt *Paris*, without any certainty of an accommodation: and on the other ſide, as the Marſhal laboured hard to perſuade the Cardinal Legate to come to the King, and exhort him to embrace the Catholick religion, with a promiſe to reduce all his ſubjects to their obedience, who had alienated themſelves from him on account of religion: intentions ſo different could not be reconciled, and they parted again without doing any good, or coming to any concluſion, the Legate having behaved in ſuch a manner, that he neither gained the character of a neutral and diſintereſted perſon, nor was able to diſunite the Catholicks from the King, nor to divert the ſiege, which moſt likely was his chief end in procuring that meeting. Yet the treaty was not abſolutely dropped upon the breaking up of this conference: for the Sieur *De Villeroy*, either in hopes of bringing about an advantageous accommodation, or for the ſame purpoſe of delaying the King's coming, ſet a negotiation on foot for theſe ends, by the Duke of *Mayenne's* conſent, with the Sieur *Du Pleſſis Mornay*, a great

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confidant and ancient servant of the King's, but a very improper person, as he was a *Hugonot*, to be concerned in such an undertaking. 1590.

But the King without losing time, notwithstanding this treaty, and knowing very well that the more the enemy was distressed, the more advantageous the terms of agreement would be on his side, was wholly intent upon taking those places near the city, upon making himself master of all those avenues by which provisions were brought thither, upon shutting up the passages of the rivers, and cutting off the ways into the country, in order to carry that by dint of hunger, which he could not possibly expect to do by force of arms. For which purpose, he marched with his army from *Mante* on the twenty-ninth of *March*, and took *Chevreuse*, *Mont l'hery*, *Lagny*, and *Corbeil*, without any difficulty; all places necessary to be possessed of in order to block up the city; and on the fifth of *April* sat down before *Melun*. *Melun* is a little town, but well fortified, seven leagues distant from *Paris*. Two currents of the river *Seine* run through it, and divide it into three parts, which have a communication with each other by bridges. Monsieur *De Forone* was in it, with sixty horse, and five hundred foot, but with no great quantity of provisions, or things necessary for their defence, and a little dismayed by the late victory. Yet they seemed as if they intended to make a vigorous resistance, especially as they had the assistance of five hundred townsmen, all well armed and disciplined. But the raveline of the gate being battered with seven pieces of cannon, and two very large culverines; the King's infantry, now accustomed to despise all dangers, assaulted it with so much fury, that, though the breach was very narrow and a great height from the ground, yet they entered both the raveline and the gate with the slaughter of above sixty of the besieged, which obliged the rest to retire to the furthest part of the town, beyond the second bridge, after they had set fire to the place which they quitted, to prevent the besiegers, who pressed hard upon them, from being able to follow them any further: so that many houses were burnt down, and the others furiously sacked by the soldiers. But the other part, whither the besieged had retired, being altogether deprived of the means of making any defence, agreed to surrender (as it did) if they were not relieved in two days.

After the King had taken up his quarters in the town, the Sieur *De Villeroy*, having obtained a safe conduct, came to him there: and perceiving that *Du Plessis* did not proceed heartily in the treaty of agreement, for fear the King should change his religion, he had got leave, by means of the Sieur *De la Verriere*, to be introduced to the King himself, and for that purpose was come thither to him. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who was already arrived at *Soissons*, at first refused to consent that *Villeroy* should enter into this treaty, apprehending it might be imputed to want of courage in

1590. their present circumstances. But afterwards, whether he thought to awe the *Spaniards* with the apprehensions of a peace, and so induce them to furnish him with greater and more effectual supplies, or that he proposed to delay the siege of *Paris* by the hopes of an accommodation, or endeavoured by these means to penetrate into the King's intentions, or that all these ends together prevailed upon him, he gave *Villeroy* leave to go to the King to renew the negotiation. With which design being come to *Melun*, and there kindly received by his Majesty, he began, with his usual eloquence, as he had naturally a copious and powerful manner of speaking, though he was not a man of much learning, to represent to him, "That being grieved for the dangers and calamities of his country, and anxious to see it delivered out of those miserable distractions by which it was daily consumed, he had obtained leave from the Duke of *Mayenne*, head of the party of the League, to wait upon his Majesty, to see if any means could be found to compose and extinguish all discords, and to establish a happy peace. That he hoped, nay was certain, that his Majesty was no less desirous to put an end to the civil wars, and restore the quiet and tranquillity of that kingdom, to which both God and nature, and his own valour, had destined him. That the means of attaining so desirable a benefit were very easy, and depended entirely upon his own will. For as the whole consisted only in the point of religion, the Duke of *Mayenne* proffered to acknowledge and obey him as soon as he should resolve to return into the bosom of the church, not out of fear or compulsion, but at the humble petition of the Catholicks; so that it was in his own power, not only to re-establish the peace of the kingdom, but also to make himself the most flourishing, the most powerful, and the most revered Prince that *France* had seen of many years. That the present conjuncture was very opportune for such a resolution; for as he had conquered his enemies, it could not be said that his conversion was owing to fear, or that he had embraced the Catholick religion by force, but that happy event would be entirely attributed to his own will, to his own conscience, and to his own election. That so healing and necessary a measure would crown his victory with as much felicity and real advantage, as his valour had done with glory and honour; and that he might thereby enjoy the blessing of peace, which ought to be the sole end of all victories, especially in civil wars: for so great an example of his goodness and generosity, would bring over more cities to his interest in one day, than he could hope to take by the force of his arms, though victorious, in the course of his whole life. That the prosecution of his victory by the sword would be attended with numberless evils and calamities, as the demolition of fortresses, the sacking of cities, the desolation of the kingdom, and the slaughter of the inhabitants; all which would redound to his own loss, as he was their natural sovereign. But

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if the war was ended by his converſion, the victory would tend to the general tranquillity, ſafety, and happineſs, which ought to be more dear to him, that was their lawful Prince, than all the victories in the world. That his Majeſty ought to conſider, that though the late victory been great and remarkable, yet it had neither daunted the cities, nor intimidated the followers of the League, in ſuch manner that any of them had been induced by it to ſubmit to him: the ſole reaſon of which was, the powerful influence that religion hath in the hearts of men, which encouraged every one to undergo all the ſufferings that could be preſented to the imagination, rather than expoſe their ſouls and conſciences to perdition. And if the common people, on their ſide, were ſo reſolute and inflexible, he might naturally imagine, that the Pope and his Catholick Majeſty would be much more conſtant, as they were both determined to employ all their forces for the ſecurity of the Catholick religion. That he very well knew, and had often experienced amongſt the *Hugonots*, that the power of religion is ſo great, that it makes men's minds invincible, and can neither be ſubdued by art nor force. That it would be prudent to conſider, that foreigners might artfully turn the pretext of religion to their advantage: for if, in former times, it had prevailed upon the *Hugonots* to enter into alliances with the *Engliſh*, it would be no wonder if the urgency of the preſent affairs ſhould now oblige the Catholicks to comply with the demands of the *Spaniards*. That this danger ought to be foreſeen and prevented, by ſatisfying men's conſciences, and not to be precipitated by reducing them to deſpair. That his Majeſty would do well to reflect, how many cities he muſt of neceſſity beſiege, how many provinces he muſt ſubdue, how many fortreſſes he muſt take, and how many other armies he had to conquer, before he could eſtabliſh himſelf in peace, by means of war: and that he might overcome all theſe difficulties in one day, by giving his ſubjects ſatisfaction in point of religion. That his ſucceſs indeed had been very conſiderable, but that it was neceſſary to ſecure it from the inconſtancy of fortune: which he might eaſily do without any further riſk, by ſhewing moderation, and complying with the deſires of his ſubjects. That as the time and opportunity invited him to ſo laudable and pious a reſolution, it would be highly imprudent to ſtay till the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other heads of the League, ſhould be ſo ſtrictly engaged with his Catholick Majeſty (whoſe aſſiſtance was neceſſary whilſt the war continued) that they would no longer have it in their power to diſpoſe of themſelves as they pleaſed. In ſhort, that both duty to God, and temporal advantage, conſpired to promote ſuch a reſolution: for as he had received ſo great a bleſſing from the Almighty, he could not in gratitude defer his converſion any longer, ſince by the favour of his Divine Majeſty, he might now return into the church with glory and

1590.

reputation

1590. reputation, and without ſuſpicion of compulſion or meanneſs of ſpirit."

To this the King anſwered in a gracious manner, "That he much commended the Sieur *De Villeroy's* good offices, in endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh the peace of the kingdom, and was very glad to hear that the Duke of *Mayenne* was ſo well diſpoſed to it. That he acknowledged the victory which he had obtained, firſt, from the hand of the Almighty, and in the next place, from the valour of the *French* Nobility. That God, the eternal protector of right and juſtice, had favoured his cauſe, and that thoſe invincible Lords and Gentlemen, who followed him, had been the inſtruments of his divine mercy. That the kingdom juſtly belonged to him, by a direct and natural ſucceſſion, and by laws that were well known to all men; ſo that foreign Princes were evidently guilty of injuſtice, for endeavouring to deprive him of the poſſeſſion of it, and much more his own ſubjects, for denying him their due obedience. That he had never offended any one, nor deſerved ſo unreaſonable an oppoſition. That he had always acted the defenſive part, and, as he hoped, with modeſty and moderation, and had neither injured nor violated the rights of any foreign Prince, or of the ſubjects of the Crown: So that there could be no juſt reaſon for revenge. But that when he called to mind the wonderful power and mercy of God, by which he had been pleaſed to preſerve him in times of his greateſt weakneſs and diſtreſs, and to defend him in the midſt of ſo many and violent perſecutions, when the whole world ſeemed to have conſpired againſt him, he could not believe his Divine Majeſty would leave ſo great a work imperfect, but was aſſured in his own breaſt, that he would regard the juſtice of his cauſe, and thoſe prayers which he continually offered up to him for that purpoſe, from the very bottom of his heart; and therefore, he neither feared the arms of *Spain*, nor the forces of the rebels, but truſted, that by the aſſiſtance of God, and the fidelity of his Nobles, he ſhould at laſt defeat them. That he very well knew moderation was more neceſſary after a victory, than at any other time: but that he never deſigned to oppreſs or wrong any man, and only to cauſe himſelf to be duly obeyed by thoſe who were his natural ſubjects and under his legal authority. That his endeavours were to be King in fact, as he was by right: and that the only aim and intention of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and thoſe that followed his party, ought to be, to live in peace, ſafety, and honour, and in due obedience to that King whom God and Nature had appointed to reign over them, by lawful ſucceſſion. That he was ready to give them any ſecurity for this, as well as ſatisfaction in other reſpects, and to receive them into his favour, without ever recalling to mind what was paſt. That it was his deſire to conquer by clemency, benevolence, and generoſity, rather than by the ſword, not only becauſe it was the ſhorter way, but becauſe it was agreeable to his

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own temper and disposition, which was naturally averse to bloodshed and revenge, inclined to do good to his subjects, and to compose the distractions of the kingdom. That it was his province to give laws to his subjects, and not to receive conditions from them. Yet nevertheless, if they had any apprehensions, that their religion or consciences would be in any wise violated, and desired security in that point, he would give them any reasonable satisfaction. That his candour and integrity were already sufficiently known to every one by many proofs, and as he had never broken his word in times past, so he was firmly determined never to break it for the time to come. That the Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen, that followed him, and were much more numerous than those that adhered to the Duke, had contented themselves with the promise he had made, and the security he had given them, that they should live peaceably in their consciences, liberties, and religion: that others therefore ought to be content with the same, and being secured in their own particular concerns, to give him leave also to attend to his salvation, and to take such resolutions, at a proper time, and in a convenient manner, as it should please God to inspire him with." He then asked the Sieur *De Villeroy*, "Whether he had ever seen the promise and declaration that he had made immediately after the death of the late King?" Who answered, "That he had, and that the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Lords of his party, had likewise seen it: but that they were unanimously of opinion, that they could not in conscience, upon any conditions whatsoever, obey a King that was not a Catholick, but of a different religion from that which was derived down to them by succession from their ancestors." To which the King replied, "That he was neither infidel, pagan, nor idolater; that he adored and served the same God with the Catholicks, and thought the religion in which he had been educated, was not incompatible with the *Roman*. That in a case which concerned his conscience and salvation, God was to work and not men: and that his conversion ought to be attempted by kind and gentle instructions, and not with fire and sword. That if he had not consented to embrace the Catholick religion in the late King's life, when ruin and destruction threatened him on every side, much less would he now do it at the request of those that rebelled against him, when he, by the favour of God, had the advantage over them. That he was not obstinate, but would submit to truth, and desired to be informed and instructed; but that after all, he would act according to his conscience, and if he left his subjects at liberty in their faith, it was neither fit nor becoming that he should be compelled by them to do that in a rash and inconsiderate manner, which ought to be done with maturity of deliberation, and at the time prefixed by God's divine will and pleasure. That he valued a good conscience, and regarded the salvation of his soul, infinitely more than any

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1590. earthly thing; and therefore ſhould go very circumſpectly about that affair, and, as he ought, with due caution and conſideration."

The Sieur *De Villeroy* replied to this, "That as his Majeſty was generally eſteemed a conſcientious Prince, and zealous for his religion, every one was ſo much the more apprehenſive, that when he was once eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, he would not ſuffer his ſubjects to live in a religion different from his own, and which he held to be falſe and damnable. That he had often heard it ſaid, and even by *Theodore Beza* himſelf, in the conference at *Poiſſy*, That the difference betwixt theſe two religions was wider than the diſtance betwixt heaven and earth. But that theſe diſputes were not to be decided by arms. That his Majeſty had very often promiſed he would cauſe himſelf to be inſtructed, but had never performed his promiſe. That there were Prelates and learned Doctors ready at all times to reſolve his doubts and inſtruct him in the truth. That inſtead of fomenting the war any longer, and ſuffering diſcords to continue without end, it would be much better to fulfil his engagements, to the great comfort, not only of thoſe ſubjects by whoſe aſſiſtance he had obtained the victory, but of all the reſt, whom zeal for their religion had alienated from him. Finally, that it could no longer be ſaid, that either contumacious or ſeditious perſons were the cauſe of the war, ſince things were now reduced to ſuch a point, that it was in his Majeſty's power to reſtore peace by his converſion: which if he ſhould not do after ſo many promiſes, all future evils and calamities would be imputed to him and no other perſon."

Theſe laſt words affected the King in ſuch a manner, that he ſaid, "He would take the opinions of his good and faithful ſubjects that followed him; for which purpoſe it was neceſſary to have a conference with them; and that he would give him his final anſwer the next day." At which time, juſt before he left *Melun*, he ſent for the Sieur *De Villeroy*, and deſired him to return to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and let him know, in his name, "That he took his overtures in good part; that he was deſirous to be reconciled to him, to do good to every one, and particularly to the Duke of *Mayenne* and all the reſt of his family, provided they would lend him their aſſiſtance to eſtabliſh the peace of his kingdom, which might eaſily be done, as he was ready, on his part, to do every thing that lay in his power to give them all reaſonable ſatisfaction. That, in point of religion, he had already contented thoſe Catholicks that followed him, who were numerous, of high quality, and great ſtrength, as well as conſummate wiſdom and diſcretion, and in whoſe determination he thought all the reſt might very well acquieſce. That if they deſired to have any further ſecurity

1590.

for the preſervation of their religion and ſafety of their conſciences, he was willing to give it in the moſt ample manner, as he had thoroughly conſidered all that had been repreſented to him." After which, he told Monſieur *Villeroy*, "That he could not proceed to treat any further with him at that time, as he had no power nor authority at all from the Duke of *Mayenne* to conclude upon any thing: but if Deputies and Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to him with ſufficient powers, he would receive them with reſpect, and endeavour to give the Duke's party the fulleſt and moſt compleat ſatisfaction that was poſſible; out of his great deſire to deliver his people from the miſeries and afflictions of civil war." The Sieur *De Villeroy* made anſwer to this, "That what his Majeſty had ſaid of not treating any further, except with ſuch as had power to conclude, was very juſt and reaſonable: but that he muſt conſider, the Duke of *Mayenne* was not abſolute maſter, but only head of his party, and as ſuch, acted in concert with the other members, without whoſe conſent he could not acknowledge his Majeſty to be King of *France*, nor determine upon any thing in matters religion. That it was neceſſary for him to confer with them, and that they ſhould conſult together: and that his Majeſty, who had been head of his party ſo many years, muſt be ſufficiently convinced from experience, that ſuch a thing could not be done immediately, as it would require ſome time to aſſemble thoſe that were intereſted, from ſo many different and remote provinces. That whilſt the war was carried on with ſuch fury, it was in a manner impoſſible that ſuch an aſſembly ſhould meet; ſo that a ceſſation of arms was abſolutely neceſſary, or at leaſt a ſufficient number of paſſports, for the ſecurity of thoſe that ſhould be ſummoned to deliberate upon affairs of ſo great importance." At the mention of a ceſſation of arms, the King ſharply replied, "There was no occaſion to ſay any more of that, for he was determined not to loſe the fruits of his victory by delay, nor to retard the progreſs of his arms, as he knew, by experience, how fatal that might be to his affairs; but for the manner of aſſembling his party, he left the care of that to the Duke of *Mayenne*, being reſolved not to ſtop his own proceedings ſo much as one moment." With this anſwer, and after other conferences to the ſame purpoſe with the Marſhal *De Biron*, *Villeroy* took his leave, without having concluded any agreement of peace, or even a truce; and all the endeavours uſed to divert the ſiege of *Paris* proved vain and ineffectual.

The King, therefore, having taken poſſeſſion of *Creſſy* and *Moret*, two weak places, which ſurrendered to him, and alſo of *Provins*, a rich town, but not ſtrong, though it is the capital of the province of *Brie*, and but twenty leagues diſtant from *Paris*, marched directly to *Nangy*, where he reunited

1590. reunited his army, which had been divided in order to take theſe places, and advanced, on the 15th of *April*, to make himſelf maſter of other towns that might ſerve to ſtraiten and block up *Paris*. *Montereau*, *Bray*, *Comte-Robert*, and *Nogent* upon the *Seine*, all ſubmitted without reſiſtance: but *Mery*, a little place, having the courage to make a defence, was furiouſly ſtormed and ſacked by the ſoldiers. *Sens* ſtill remained to be taken, on that ſide, a large town, ſituated upon the confines of *Brie* and *Burgundy*, and well affected to the League; in which were the Sieur *De Chanvalon* and the Marquis *Fortunato Malvicino*, betwixt whom there was no very good underſtanding. For *Chanvalon* wanted an opportunity of going over to the King's ſide, and to make his peace by delivering up the town into his hands. But the Marquis, on the contrary, was reſolved to defend it, as his honour obliged him. For being a foreigner and Lieutenant to the troop of gens d'armes commanded by the Duke of *Nemours*, he was deſirous to recommend himſelf to the Duke, by behaving like a gallant ſoldier. *Chanvalon*, therefore, having ſecretly correſponded with the Marſhal *D'Aumont*, and encouraged the King to come before the town, ſiege was immediately laid to it, the artillery was planted, and began to batter the wall, in hopes that ſome inſurrection might happen amongſt the citizens in favour of the King. But after an aſſault had been made to try the reſolution of the beſieged, and ſuſtained with great courage by the Marquis and thoſe in the town, as the King thought it would be imprudent to throw away his time on a place that was of no very great conſequence, and to delay his deſign upon *Paris*, which was of the laſt importance to him, he inſtantly raiſed the ſiege, and employed his forces in taking and fortifying other places that might cut off the conveyance of proviſions to that city.

In the mean time the Cardinal Legate was exceedingly anxious, both on account of his own danger and the approaching ſiege of the *Pariſians*; and had cauſed a new treaty of agreement to be ſet on foot betwixt *Marco Antonio Mocenigo*, Biſhop of *Ceneda*, and the Marſhal *De Biron*. For which purpoſe, the Biſhop came to *Bray* to confer with the Marſhal. And as he was a *Venetian*, and conſequently ſuppoſed to be favourably inclined to the King's affairs, he was received with more reſpect than any other perſon could have expected, and began to treat with a great deal of openneſs concerning the King's converſion. After which, he deſcended to other particulars, and propoſed a ceſſation of arms, that both ſides might have ſufficient leiſure and ſecurity to negociate a peace, with all neceſſary deliberation. But this attempt proved no leſs ineffectual than the others. For the King was reſolutely determined not to ſlacken his proceedings; and the more earneſtly the enemy endeavoured to diſſuade him, the more unwilling he was to give them an opportunity of taking breath:

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and the more sollicitous he saw the Lords of the League to gain time 1590. to draw other armies and supplies together, the more he was encouraged to hope, that within a little while he should be able to reduce the city of *Paris*, without either bloodshed or danger. But as the issue of this conference proved contrary to the Bishop's expectation, he was desirous to have a personal interview with the King himself, but yet in such a manner as should seem to have happened by chance, and not by any endeavour of his own. This being proposed to the Abbé *Del Bene*, he contrived that the King should go out early in the morning to hunt, and that the Bishop should set out something later, on his return to *Paris*. So that they met, as it were accidentally, upon the road, and after very respectful salutations on both sides, rode together a long way; during which time, the Bishop had an opportunity, as he desired, of introducing the same subject, and exhorted the King to be converted and return into the bosom of the church. To which the King having made his usual answers, " That he was not obstinate, but should always be open to conviction by proper persons, when the circumstances of time and place would admit of it with decency: that, however, he would not be compelled by force or the threats of his enemies, but led by the grace and inspiration of God." The Bishop replied, " That the best means for so desirable a change would be a truce; in which men's passions, that were then enflamed by war, would soon subside, and he might have an opportunity of receiving instruction, and doing whatsoever should seem necessary, with honour and deliberation." But as soon as the word *truce* was mentioned, the King answered, with some emotion, " That if he had been a good *Venetian*, he would not have given him such advice; for that these were the contrivances of Cardinal *Caietano*, who shewed himself a much better *Spaniard* than Ecclesiastick." Upon which, he began to complain bitterly of the Legate, and said, " That he behaved himself very differently from the Pope's instructions, and had not only declared himself his enemy at his entrance into the kingdom, but had taken up his residence in that city which was the chief seat of the contrary party: whereas it would have much better become him, who represented the Apostolick See, to have stood neuter, and to have endeavoured to bring about a peace, by his good advice, and actions conformable to justice and the sanctity of his profession, which would then have had more weight. But that now he was terrified at the prospect of impending danger, or else with a view to promote the designs of the *Spaniards*, he wanted not to establish a peace, but to frustrate the effects of his labours and the fruits of his victories, and to gain time for the League to recover their strength and spirits: and therefore he was not disposed to listen to any proposals of

1590. that kind." After which they immediately parted, and the Bishop returned with this final answer to *Paris*.

But at his return, all hopes of a truce being at an end, they began, with so much the more diligence, to make necessary provisions to sustain the rigour of the siege they were threatened with. The people had already been prepared, by the earnest exhortations of their preachers and the repeated intreaties of those that conducted their affairs, to undergo any hardships, and hazard their lives rather than their consciences. They had likewise been taught to believe, by frequent decrees of the *Sorbonne*, and by the declarations and protests of the Cardinal Legate, that an agreement with hereticks could not even be treated of without danger of damnation: and that a King of a different religion, obstinate in his errors, a persecutor of the church, and an implacable enemy to the Apostolick See, was not, on any account, to be acknowledged. By these doctrines, which were hourly thundred out of the pulpits, and industriously inculcated at other meetings, the people were become so hardened and determined, that they were not only ready to undergo the danger and fatigue of bearing arms, and the miseries of extreme famine, which were still more terrible and near at hand, but they could not so much as bear that any one should suspect or affirm the contrary. So that many, who hinted that it was better to come to an accommodation, than to perish by hunger, and that peace was more eligible than a siege, were either publickly executed, to satisfy the fury of the people, or thrown headlong into the river, as worthy of damnation, enemies of the Catholick faith, and infected with the poison of heresy. This resolute disposition was encouraged by the presence of the Cardinal Legate, the residence of the duchesses of *Nemours*, *Montpensier*, and *Mayenne*, the vigour and alacrity of the Duke of *Nemours* and the Chevalier *D'Aumale*, and much more by the hopes which the Duke of *Mayenne* gave them every day by his letters, that he would not fail to relieve the city effectually in a very few weeks. The heads, therefore, being desirous to increase and confirm this disposition in the people by some outward acts, a great and solemn procession was made, by order of the Cardinal Legate, to implore the divine assistance in their present necessities: in which procession, the Prelates, Priests, and Monks of the several religious orders, all walked in their proper habits, yet openly armed with corslets, guns, swords, partisans, and all kinds of arms offensive and defensive, in order to shew, at the same time, both their devotion and firm resolution to defend themselves. This ceremony, though it seemed indecent and ridiculous to many, was yet of great use in animating the common people, when they saw the same persons, that exhorted them in their discourses to behave like men, now armed themselves, and unanimously determined to

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undergo the ſame hardſhips and dangers. Thus ſometimes, things that appear trifling and inſignificant, ſerve to promote the moſt weighty and important deſigns.

1590.

After this proceſſion, there was another of all the magiſtrates in the city; and, amongſt the reſt of the ceremonies, the Duke of *Nemours*, their Governor, and other commanders of the ſoldiers and chiefs of the people, publickly took a ſolemn oath in the great church to defend the city to the laſt drop of their blood, and never be prevailed upon to ſubmit to, or make any agreement with, a heretick Prince, by any danger, calamity, ſuffering, or diſtreſs whatſoever, that ſhould befall them. There were two hundred choſen horſe in the city, commanded by the Sieur *De Vitry*, the Duke of *Nemours's* company of gens d'armes, and that of the Chevalier *D'Aumale*, one hundred harquebuſiers on horſeback, and eight hundred *French* foot, part of which had been in *Melun* with the Sieur *De Vorone*, beſides five hundred *Swiſs*, and twelve hundred of thoſe *German* foot that had been raiſed by the Count *De Collalto*, commanded by the Baron of *Erbeſtein*. But their chief dependence was upon the union, and reſolution, and exceeding great number of the people, who being now long accuſtomed to bear arms, put themſelves under the command of their reſpective magiſtrates, by whom they were divided into ſeveral bodies, according to the wards they lived in, and now voluntarily offered themſelves to undertake any ſervice: to which they were not a little encouraged by the example of the Prieſts and Friars, who went armed to the works, and refuſed no labour, nor failed in any duty, that was neceſſary for their defence. Double chains were drawn over the river, both where it enters, and where it runs out of the city. The walls and breaſt-works were repaired in thoſe parts that ſeemed weakened; platforms were made in convenient places, and new parapets raiſed where it was neceſſary; the artillery was planted in good order, where it could do moſt execution; and in every reſpect, the readineſs and alacrity of the citizens was very great. But thoſe that bore the chief ſway in the government were not in much pain about their defence; for they were all certain the King would never attempt to take a city by force, in which there were ſuch numbers of people; that their walls and fortifications were the leaſt part of their ſtrength; but that he would endeavour to reduce it by famine, which ſeemed to be very eaſy, as there were ſo many people in it, accuſtomed to live in plenty and upon delicacies, who were now in great want, and being deprived of all other ſuſtenance, were forced to feed upon bread only, and that purchaſed at an incredible price. So that there was no doubt to be made, but, if the King ſhould lay cloſe ſiege to the city, and they were not ſpeedily relieved, it muſt inevitably be reduced to the laſt degree of ſcarcity and diſtreſs. Which they plainly

 foreſeeing,

1590. foreseeing, were exceedingly importunate with the Duke of *Mayenne* to draw his forces together for their relief as soon as possible. The Cardinal Legate also dispatched his nephew *Pietro Caietano* into *Flanders*, to exhort the Duke of *Parma* to send them immediate succours, according to the instructions which he had received from his Catholick Majesty; and the Commendatory *Morrea*, Pay-master and Commissary of the King of *Spain's* forces in *France*, was gone thither for the same purpose. Nor were they less diligent in making all possible provisions at home, than they had been in solliciting supplies from abroad: for the chief Governors, being very desirous to relieve the necessities of the people as much as lay in their power, caused all the corn that could be found in the city to be equally divided amongst them. And as the price of it was so exorbitant, that the lower sort had no means to support their families, Cardinal *Gondi*, Archbishop of *Paris*, not so much out of any inclination that he had to favour the League, as out of compassion to the poor, whom he saw miserably starving for want of money to relieve themselves, now all manner of commerce and trade was at an end in the city, consented that the plate, which had been given to the several churches, should be taken out and converted into money to supply the necessities of the common people, upon security given to restore it when the present calamities were at an end. The Cardinal Legate likewise took great pains to remedy their distresses, and not only distributed fifty thousand crowns amongst the poor, which he had extorted from the Pope with much difficulty; but caused his own plate to be melted down and coined, and, to his great praise, gave it all away to those that stood in most need. The *Spanish* Ambassador *Mendozza* promised six score crowns a day in bread; and the Duchesses and richest of the Nobility contributed to the utmost of their abilities, selling their houshold furniture, their jewels, and ornaments, in compassion to the miseries of the populace.

But these resources were soon exhausted, by the infinite number of people that were to be fed, and the continual consumption of corn; and the King still advancing, and making himself master of the neighbouring towns, every day more and more distressed the city. Nor was there any kind of provisions brought thither by the rivers: for *Lagny*, *St. Maur*, and the bridge of *Charenton* (which places were committed to the care of the Baron *De Givry*) shut up the passage of the river *Marne*. That of the river *Yonne* was blocked up by *Montereau*, where there was a strong garrison under the command of Monsieur *De Chanliot*. The garrisons of *Moret*, *Melun*, *Bray*, and *Corbeil*, prevented any thing from coming down the *Seine* to *Paris*; and the Marshal *D'Aumont*, who quartered at the bridge of *St. Cloud*, about a league below it, together with the garrisons of *Poissy* and *Conflans*, wholly interrupted all passage up the river: as

4 *Beaumont*,

Beaumont, which town was alſo full of ſoldiers, hindered all navigation 1590. upon the *Oyſe*. So that the rivers, which are generally called *the nurſes of Paris*, being thus ſhut up, there were no proviſions to be had, but what few could be ſecretly conveyed thither by land. And to cut off theſe, the King having paſſed the *Seine*, and come into the plains near the city, extended his army from *St. Anthony's* gate, which looks toward the eaſt, to the gate of *Mont-martre*, which ſtands on the weſt: and taking the advantage of the ground, cauſed two pieces of cannon to be planted upon the hill of *Mont-faucon*, and two more at *Mont-martre*, encloſing them with trenches, and ſetting a ſtrong guard over them. The next day, which was the ninth of *May*, he ordered his horſe to advance to the very gates of the Fauxbourgs of *St. Martin* and *St. Dennis*, which ſtand betwixt the two above-mentioned gates, and to burn and demoliſh the wind-mills every where: yet they could not get into the Fauxbourgs, becauſe they were fortified with trenches, and breaſt-works, and barrels full of earth. The ſame day, whilſt they were ſkirmiſhing ſharply with the Sieur *De Vitry's* horſe, which ſallied out of *St. Martin's* gate, with ſome companies of foot ſoldiers and citizens, the Sieur *De la Noüe*, in whoſe courage and conduct every one put great confidence, with his uſual ill fortune, was wounded by a muſket ball.

The King had determined to ſtation his army on that ſide for two very good reaſons. In the firſt place, as *Bois de Vincennes*, ſituated on the eaſt-ſide, and near the river, and the town of *St. Dennis* on the weſt-ſide, ſtill adhered to the League, he might ſend out parties of horſe to cut off all communication betwixt thoſe places and the city, and beſiege it in ſuch a manner, that he might reaſonably hope it would ſoon fall into his hands. In the next place, as relief was expected out of *Champagne* and *Picardy*, he was poſted full upon the high road, which leads from thoſe provinces to *Paris*; ſo that he was ready to turn with his army to any part, whereſoever the enemy ſhould appear. His forces being thus extended, from the banks of the *Marne* to the lower part of the *Seine*, were continually ſcouring all the country round, and ſkirmiſhing with thoſe that belonged to the city, who were ſo pinched with hunger, that they came out to pick up grain, or herbs, or roots, or any other ſort of victuals that they could lay their hands on; and now and then, when they had an opportunity, carried off even the dead horſes which they found in the field, but that was ſeldom. At the ſame time, *St. Dennis* and *Bois de Vincennes* (a very ſtrong caſtle) were cloſely beſieged; and the Count *De Mont-levrier*, having paſſed the *Seine*, had inveſted *Dammartin*, a town belonging to the Lords of *Montmorancy*, about ſeven leagues from the city; where a conſiderable quantity of proviſions was lodged. The *Pariſians* therefore being ſhut up on all ſides,

already

1590. already began to feel the extremities of famine, and only supported the bitterness of their present circumstances by the firmness of their resolution.

Whilst the siege and defence of the city of *Paris* were thus carrying on with the utmost vigour on each side, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, now worn out with years and the irksomeness of confinement, departed this life at *Fontenay*. His death sufficiently convinced the world, that he had only served for a cloak to cover the ambition and private interests of other great men. For it made no alteration at all in the affairs of the League; as the *Parisians* were more confirmed in their obstinacy by a new decree of the *Sorbonne*: "That another King of a different religion ought not to be acknowledged on any account." And the Duke of *Mayenne* published a manifesto, to invite the Deputies of the provinces to assemble at *Meaux*, to elect a King by common consent, still retaining his title of Lieutenant General of the State and Crown of *France*, and continuing the war in the same manner; the chief operations of which now wholly tended to relieve the city of *Paris*. But as this could not be done without powerful assistance from his Catholick Majesty, he was gone directly to *Condé*, a place upon the confines of the kingdom, to confer with *Alexander Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*, commander in chief of all the *Spanish* forces, and not only to concert proper measures for that purpose, but to hasten the execution of them.

It was the King of *Spain's* intention to assist the League, and to deliver the *Parisians* from their present danger; but to do it in such a manner as might make himself amends for the infinite sums of money that he had so liberally advanced, and the expence of so large a body of forces as must be employed in that undertaking. For he foresaw, that if the Duke of *Mayenne* and the League agreed to acknowledge the King of *Navarre*, instead of reaping any benefit from so many labours, he should find that he had only raised himself a very powerful enemy. And if the Crown should fall to the Duke of *Mayenne*, or any other of the house of *Lorrain*, he thought he should still be very little the better for that; as interests of state would soon make that person his enemy, whoever he might be, that was in peaceable and undisturbed possession of the whole kingdom: well knowing, that it is the nature of mankind to be more powerfully moved with the consideration of present advantage, than the remembrance of past obligations. Wherefore, as he must necessarily be at a vast expence in bringing a powerful army into *France*, and in the mean time be obliged to leave the affairs of *Flanders* in a very dangerous situation, since the States of the *United Provinces*, under the command of Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, would probably make no little progress there, when they did not meet with the usual opposition, he was desirous that things should be so ordered,

that he might at leaſt have the chief ſhare in ſuch advantages as ſhould be obtained principally at his riſk, and by dint of his money, his labours, and his arms. But this was extremely difficult to be effected, conſidering the diſpoſition of the *French* nation, and the preſent ſtate of affairs. For the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was the head of the League, and had an abſolute command over their forces, not only aſpired to the Crown himſelf, but alſo was firmly reſolved not to conſent, that any province, or city, or other member belonging to the kingdom, ſhould be alienated from it. And the people in general, being naturally enemies to the *Spaniards*, and now obliged by neceſſity alone to ſollicit their aſſiſtance, would never bear to live under their dominion, and think it ſufficient for the King of *Spain* to have the glory of being acknowledged as the defender and protecter of the Catholick religion; and that the Prince who ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the throne of *France*, ſhould aſſiſt him to reduce the provinces of the *Low Countries*, as a recompence for the ſuccours which he had furniſhed for the ſupport of the common cauſe. So that it was very hard to find a middle courſe amongſt ſo many obſtacles, and almoſt impoſſible to keep a people of ſo light and deſultory a temper from inclining to acknowledge and take part with King *Henry*, who was their own countryman and natural Prince: and therefore it would require vaſt ſums of money, great pains, a long courſe of time, and infinite patience, to overcome ſo many difficulties and ſuſpicions, and to go through an undertaking, which was ſure to be attended with much loſs of every kind, and without any certainty of a proportionable reward. Upon theſe conſiderations, the Duke of *Parma*, a Prince of great wiſdom and experience, and one that always carefully avoided leaving any thing to the caprice of fortune, thought it would be highly imprudent and dangerous to neglect his own affairs in *Flanders*, and to employ all his forces in an enterprize ſo hazardous, and which had no better foundation, than the inſtability of the *French*. He had therefore endeavoured to diſſuade his Catholick Majeſty from ſuch a reſolution. But the Council of *Spain*, either out of an oſtentatious zeal to diſtinguiſh themſelves ſtill further in the defence of religion, or too much biaſſed, perhaps, by the proſpect of certain ſucceſs, having given his Majeſty very different advice, and prevailed upon him to ſend the Duke poſitive orders to attend principally to the affairs of *France*, he thought that what the King and Court of *Spain* had ſo much at heart, might be more effectually accompliſhed, by avoiding the neceſſity of hazarding his whole army (and conſequently of ſtaking all their reputation upon one chance) and by endeavouring to protract the war, and ſpin it out by ſlow proceedings: by which means, the party of the League, and that of the King, being equally weakened and tired out, his Catholick Majeſty would at laſt have it in his power to re-eſtabliſh the religion, and diſpoſe of the

1590. Crown of *France* as he pleased. For which reason, he was not much inclined to grant such effectual succours as the extreme distress of the *Parisians* required, and were then actually solliciting by the Duke of *Mayenne*: who having met with him at *Condé*, endeavoured to prevail upon him, by the most earnest persuasions and intreaties, to march without delay to the relief of *Paris*. But considering, that it would be very impolitick to risk the reputation of his Catholick Majesty, and the whole success of his designs without sufficient strength, against a valiant and experienced commander, at the head of a victorious army, he pretended, that the provisions which were necessary, could not so suddenly be got together, neither could he so soon assemble his army, nor take proper measures to secure his master's interests in *Flanders*; and concluded with saying, that he could not possibly be in *France* himself before the beginning of *August*: a time that seemed at a great distance to the Duke of *Mayenne*; who being apprehensive, or rather taking it for granted, that the *Parisians* could not hold out so long, entreated him to furnish him with a certain number of forces in the mean time, with which, in conjunction with his own, he might endeavour to throw some supplies of provisions into the city. With this request the Duke of *Parma* thought fit to comply, as it pretty well corresponded with his own design, which was, to carry on the war in a very slow manner, in order to waste the King's forces by little and little, on one side; and on the other, to tire out and break the obstinate resolution of the Duke of *Mayenne* and his adherents, not to submit to a foreign Prince, nor to dismember any part of the kingdom. He therefore readily granted him a supply of fifteen hundred *Spanish* foot, who had mutinied, and been out plundering the country, but were now returned to their duty, under the command of Don *Antonio Chiroga*; twelve hundred *Italian* foot, conducted by *Camillo Capizucchi*, a *Roman*; and eight hundred *Flemish* and *Bourguignon* horse: with which forces the Duke immediately marched with all expedition towards *Picardy*.

But the machinations of the Ambassador *Mendozza*, and the other *Spanish* Ministers that were in *France*, in a great measure defeated the Duke of *Parma's* designs, and made a deep impression upon the minds of the people. For being more intent upon present advantage, than future designs, and not sufficiently acquainted with the secret intentions of the Duke, they had begun to treat with the Governors of some places in *Picardy*, and offered large sums if they would deliver them up into the hands of the *Spaniards*; which practices would not only have plainly shewn his Catholick Majesty's designs to be very different from what they appeared to be, but would also have so inflamed the passions of the *French*, that without any further consideration, they would have agreed to acknowledge King *Henry*, that they might not be duped by the artifices of the *Spaniards*,

whom

whom they very much ſuſpected. Nor was it improbable that it might immediately occaſion the *Pariſians* to revolt, after ſo much pains had been taken to keep them in patience, and firm in their reſolution. But as ſoon as the Duke of *Parma* was acquainted with it, he inſtantly put a ſtop to all treaties of that kind, and took great pains to make it believed, that the Governors of thoſe places had offered to give them up of their own accord, and that it was not owing to the practices either of his Catholick Majeſty or his Miniſters, who all abhorred the thoughts of it, and had never harboured any ſuch deſign, nor had any other object in view but the protection of religion alone. The Duke of *Mayenne*, however, was ſo jealous of theſe proceedings, that he was obliged to lengthen his journey, by paſſing through thoſe places that were ſuſpected; and making ſome ſtay in each of them, he cauſed all the Governors to promiſe and take a ſolemn oath, not to deſert the party of the League, nor to enter into private treaty with any foreign Prince. But not thinking that altogether ſufficient, he endeavoured to ſecure thoſe fortreſſes by all poſſible means: and as it was neceſſary for that purpoſe to leave ſtrong garriſons of his own forces in every place, his army was diminiſhed in ſuch a manner, that he could not give any conſiderable relief to the *Pariſians*. Yet, that he might not be thought wanting in any thing that was poſſible to be done, he advanced towards *Paris*, with a deſign to try if he could force the King, either to raiſe the ſiege, or at leaſt to abate the rigour of it. Which in ſome meaſure ſucceeded: for the King being informed that the Duke was advancing with his army, preſently left the ſiege, with twelve hundred cuiraſſiers, five hundred Reiters, and twelve hundred harquebuſiers on horſe-back: and having marched eighteen leagues in one day, met him near *Laon*, on the fifth of *June*; where he arrived ſo unexpectedly, that the Duke, not being in a condition to fight, was obliged to retire into the ſuburbs of that town, as faſt as he could, and there to quarter his men under the cannon of the walls, that he might not be forced to a battle. The next day there was a furious ſkirmiſh betwixt them, to which *Chiroga's Spaniards* advanced, ſeemingly with great reſolution, being elated with the ſpoil which they had got in their late expedition, and all of them exceedingly well armed and richly dreſſed. But the Baron *De Biron* having ordered the harquebuſiers to diſmount, and two troops of Reiters to advance, one upon each flank, they retired without much reſiſtance, after they had diſtinguiſhed themſelves more by their vain oſtentation, than by their valour and good diſcipline, which differ very widely from free-booting and plundering the country people. So that the body of *Italians*, conſiſting of old, well-diſciplined ſoldiers, was obliged to renew the ſkirmiſh, which laſted till evening, without coming to a general engagement, as the forces of the League would not quit ſo

1590.

1590. advantageous a place, nor deprive themſelves of the ſhelter of the town.

Whilſt they were *ſkirmiſhing in this manner before Laon*, the Sieur *De St. Paul*, who, from the beginning of the march, had detached himſelf from the Duke of *Mayenne* for that purpoſe, having advanced by the way of *Champagne*, with eight hundred horſe, and a large quantity of proviſions, arrived at *Meaux*, and paſſing from thence along the banks of the *Marne*, eſcaped the guards of the King's army (which could not ſcour the roads with their uſual diligence, now their number was ſo much diminiſhed) and at laſt got ſafe into *Paris*, where he left the proviſions, and retired, without having ſuſtained the leaſt damage. The King was no ſooner informed of this, but, that he might not leave the paſſage open for other ſuccours, and becauſe he ſaw that his ſtaying only to face the Duke of *Mayenne* could not be of any ſervice (as he was now ſafely intrenched in the ſuburbs of *Laon*, and well furniſhed with proviſions) he returned on the ninth of *June* to his former quarters; where he began to carry on the ſiege of *St. Dennis* with greater vigour, and to be more careful in cutting off all avenues to the city. In this duty he ſpent many hours himſelf, both of the day and night, which encouraged the other commanders to do the ſame, particularly the Baron *De Biron*, a young man, in his full ſtrength, and indefatigable in all manner of toil and labour. So that all attempts proved vain which were made, either by the beſieged, or by the neighbouring provinces, to get any quantity of victuals, though never ſo little, into the city. But how great ſoever the diligence of the King's officers might be in this point, it was no more than was abſolutely neceſſary upon the preſent occaſion: for a buſhel of wheat being ſold in the town for an hundred and twenty crowns, and all other things at a proportionable rate, not only the friends and confederates of the League, but even their enemies alſo, and ſome of the King's ſide, tempted by the greatneſs of the profit, ſent both corn and fleſh to the citizens, though ſecretly, and in very ſmall quantities. This however happened but ſeldom, as the paſſages were ſo cloſely guarded, and was, in a manner, but an inſenſible help to the *Pariſians*, who, in the midſt of ſuch extreme miſery, ſupported themſelves chiefly by dint of reſolution, and the hopes of ſpeedy relief, which both the Duke of *Mayenne* from without, and the Lords that were within the walls, were very induſtrious to keep alive by all manner of artifices; ſometimes cauſing reports to be ſpread, that the forces were upon their march from *Flanders* to raiſe the ſiege; ſometimes that victuals and other proviſions were preparing to ſupply the city; and ſometimes that their party had gained ſome ſignal advantage. So that letters and meſſengers continually arriving, reported many things that were falſe, and ſome that were true, which being alſo publiſhed from the pulpits, and ſpread about amongſt the garriſon, ſerved to amuſe the people

for a few days. But their neceſſities daily increaſing, theſe arts at laſt began to loſe their effect, and were ill reliſhed by men of underſtanding: and there was nothing to be heard or ſeen from one end of the city to the other, but mournful complaints, and ſigns of publick diſcontent.

The month of *July* was now begun, and all the corn in the city quite conſumed: nor was there any thing left for the better ſort to live upon but oats, of which ſome little quantity ſtill remained: and thoſe being ground in the mills that ſtood upon the ſtream of the river within the city, ſometimes were made into bread, ſometimes into a pap or pottage, which the *French* call *bouillie*. A little fleſh now and then added to it, either of horſes, dogs, aſſes, or mules, was eſteemed a delicacy; and there were no horſes left at laſt, but thoſe that were altogether neceſſary for the ſervice of the garriſon; the reſt having been publickly bought to ſupport the families of the principal Nobility. But this manner of living was tolerable, or rather elegant, when compared with that of the common people, who, receiving no benefit at all from their trades, and being reduced to extreme miſery, without money, and without bread, were obliged to feed, like brute beaſts, upon ſuch herbs as they found in the court-yards, and ſtreets, and along the ramparts: which yet were not ſufficient for ſo great a multitude, and either affording but little nouriſhment, becauſe they were parched up with the heat, or being of a poiſonous quality, and producing fluxes and vomitings, the miſerable people were worn away to ſkeletons, and often dropped down dead on a ſudden; a ſpectacle ſo dreadful and lamentable, that it would have excited both horror and compaſſion in the hardeſt heart. Yet notwithſtanding all this, the heads of the faction, and thoſe that governed peo[illegible] the Legate, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador *Mendozza*, and the Princes, were ſo firm and conſtant, that they never ſo much as entertained a thought of ſurrendering, but with an exceſs of ſeverity, cauſed one *Renard*, a Proc[illegible] *[illegible]*, and ſome others of his accomplices to be put to death; who, being impatient to ſee an end of their miſeries, had the courage one day, when the Council was aſſembled, to cry out aloud, *Either bread, or peace*. And even the common people, in the midſt of ſo great miſeries, and the expectation of certain death, underwent their misfortunes with chearfulneſs, being fully perſuaded, that it was a true and glorious kind of martyrdom, to ſuffer for conſcience ſake, and the preſervation of their religion. Though ſome that were more tender of themſelves, or had not ſo much reſolution, or perhaps were not ſo zealous for their faith, endeavoured to raiſe an inſurrection, either to facilitate a treaty of agreement, or to pave a way for the admiſſion of the King into the city; and ſo far ſucceeded in their deſign, by terrifying the people, and aſſuring them, that without ſuch meaſures, there was no proſpect of any thing elſe but a continuance of the famine, and the certainty of a miſerable death at laſt, that ſeveral of them having

 privately

1590. privately so agreed amongst themselves, resolved to assemble one morning, and seize upon the heads of the government, when they were met in Council at the palace. But Don *Christino de Nizza*, one of the most celebrated preachers, and who had taken the greatest pains to encourage the people to hold out, being secretly informed of the affair, immediately communicated it to the Legate and Princes, who having put all the soldiery under arms, appointed several commanders to take care of the different parts of the city, and ordered the Duke of *Nemours* with his gens d'armes to patroll day and night, through all the wards of it, and the Chevalier *D'Aumale* to keep a constant guard at the palace. The conspirators, however, assembled, in great numbers, at the time appointed, crying out, *Bread or peace*, and threatning to cut the Council in pieces if some means were not instantly taken to obtain one or the other. Upon which one of the City-captains, whose name was *Goix*, inconsiderately going to quell them, was shot dead by one of them with a pistol, which he had concealed in his pocket. But the Chevalier *D'Aumale*, having caused the gates of the palace to be shut, and the Duke of *Nemours*, and the Ambassador *Mendozza* coming suddenly upon them with some parties of soldiers, the person that fired the pistol was thrown down from the galleries of the palace to the ground: and some others of the ringleaders, who could not make their escape, being taken, and executed the same day, the mob dispersed of themselves, and the city was delivered from that danger; though the heads were apprehensive that hunger would cause many other commotions of this sort, as the situation of affairs still grew worse and more desperate, and there was no certainty of any relief.

The immoderate heats, that succeeded the heavy rains which had fallen this year, made their sufferings the more grievous, though they ripened the corn in the fields sooner than usual; which being observed by the besieged, who watched night and day upon the walls, induced them to go out, armed and unarmed, in several companies, sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot, with sickles and other reaping instruments, in hopes of running away with some of it. But the vigilance of the King's guards was such, that they continually repulsed them, burning up the corn, and firing upon the women and children that came out unarmed, to pluck a little of it by stealth: so that the country being all on fire, and laid desolate on every side, with no little slaughter, the *Parisians* were not able to furnish themselves with any sort of fruits out of the fields, except such as grew within the command of their guns, which were not sufficient to support them above five or six days; after which, the famine became more intolerable, and began to rage with greater fury every day, as they were now obliged, instead of meal and oat-pottage, to eat the most noisome things, and even to grind dead mens bones to make bread; a food

a food not only loathſome and abominable, but alſo ſo unwholſome and peſtiferous, that the poor people died in great numbers. They likewiſe wanted wood for firing ſo much, that they were forced to eat what little fleſh they could procure, almoſt raw. The very ſkins and hides alſo, that were tanned for ſhoes and other uſes, were boiled and greedily devoured by them, after they had pulled down either their own or their neighbours houſes, for materials to kindle a fire. In ſhort, there was nothing that it was poſſible to eat, nor any invention which neceſſity did not compel them to make uſe of, to keep themſelves alive. And as ſuch numbers were dead, and many others had ſecretly made their eſcape, ſeveral of the ſtreets, eſpecially in the ſuburbs, not being frequented, were now grown over with graſs, which was the principal ſuſtenance that the remaining inhabitants had left, and was of no ſmall relief to them in that miſerable and famiſhing condition.

1590.

But they were ſoon deprived of this comfort, ſmall as it was: for the Prince of *Conti*, the Sieur *De Chaſtillon*, the Duke *De la Tremouille*, the Marquis *De Piſani*, the Duke of *Nevers*, and other Lords out of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Gaſcony*, and *Languedoc*, being come to the army, which by that means was much augmented, the King ordered the ſiege to be ſtill more ſtraitened, and the ſuburbs to be aſſaulted. For which purpoſe, on the 24th of *July* at night, the army being properly poſted in ſeveral places under different commanders, as the clock ſtruck twelve, all the ſuburbs were attacked at the ſame inſtant, and a great number of ſcaling ladders raiſed againſt the works. The Baron *De Biron* aſſaulted the Fauxbourg of *St. Martin*; the Sieur *De Fervaques* that of *St. Dennis*; Monſieur *De St. Luc*, that of *Mont-martre*; the Marſhal *De Biron* made his attack at *St. Honorè*; the Marſhal *D'Aumont*, at *St. Germain*; Monſieur *De Lavardine*, near the gates *De Buſſy* and *De Neſle*; Monſieur *De Chaſtillon*, at *St. Michael* and *St. James*; the Prince of *Conti* and the Duke *De la Tremouille* at *St. Marceau* and *St. Victoire*, in ſuch a manner, that being ſtormed all at the ſame time, the beſieged endeavoured, but in vain, to defend them with their cannon and ſmall arms from the walls of the city; for all the ſuburbs were taken by the army, and the citizens thereby now reduced to the laſt extremity.

The town of *St. Dennis* had been taken before this time, on the 7th of *July*: in the ſiege of which, the garriſon having undergone the ſame miſeries, at laſt agreed to capitulate, if they received no relief from *Paris*, or any other place, within the term of three days, which not coming to paſs, as it was impoſſible it ſhould, on account of the weakneſs of the *Pariſians* and the other adjacent towns, and becauſe the King, who had been on horſeback himſelf forty hours together, effectually obſtructed all the avenues, they were obliged to deliver up the town, and marched

1590. out of it with their arms and baggage: an example that was followed by those also that defended the castle of *Dammartin*, on the lower part of the river. The city, therefore, being now closely invested by the whole army, which before had been divided to besiege those two places, the Governors had no hope left, as they had not received any certain account that the succours were upon their march to relieve them. So that, though they had formerly refused to answer many of the King's letters, in which he promised them their lives and security for their consciences, and exhorted them to lay aside their stubborness, and to consent to acknowledge and obey him as their natural King: yet now, some messages having passed between the Legate and the Marquis *De Pisani*, who had been Ambassador at *Rome*, they at last seemed inclinable to listen to a treaty of peace, but more with a view to appease the people, or to abate the severity of the siege, than with a design of concluding any thing. For which purpose, proper security being given and received, the Legate and Cardinal *Gondi* came to the *hôtel* of *Girolamo Gondi* in the Fauxbourg of *St. Germain*, where they were met by the Marquis *De Pisani* and others from the camp. But after much discourse, nothing was concluded upon: for the Legate insisted, that the whole affair should be left to the Pope's decision, and that there should be a cessation of arms till that could be known: and the Marquis demanded, that the *Parisians* should immediately submit to the King, who would afterwards give his Holiness due satisfaction in point of religion: which demands were so inconsistent with each other, and proposed in such general terms, that it was not possible to come to any agreement.

The return of the Legate into the city, without having effected any thing, very much disappointed the people's expectation, and increased the publick discontent, when they considered their present misery, and the certainty of losing their lives in a few days: so that their groans and lamentations not only filled the streets, but multiplied the number of those that were grown desperate by the sharpness of their sufferings, and were now frequently crying out, *Bread or peace*, especially in the night. This tendency to an insurrection was fomented by the Sieur *D'Andelot*, brother to Monsieur *De Chastillon*, and some other Gentlemen of the King's party, who being taken prisoners by the besieged in the skirmishes which daily happened under the walls, and having liberty to go abroad upon their parole, gave their friends and acquaintance the highest character of the King's clemency, his readiness to forgive, the liberty and security with which the Catholicks lived under his protection, the regard he had shewn for their religion, his great strength, which increased every day, and with which he was resolved to meet their succours and fight them, without the least doubt of defeating them with the same ease that he had done at the

1590.

the battle of *Yvry*, where the forces of the League, though entire and united, were utterly diſſipated: by which inſinuations, many that deſpaired of relief, and were not able to bear the extremity of famine any longer, were inclined to make a trial of the ſo much celebrated clemency and good faith of the conqueror. And indeed there had like to have been a general riſing of the people to compel their Governors to ſurrender, and to make themſelves maſters of one of the gates and let in the King's army: and if that had happened, the ſtrength of the citizens and garriſon was ſo reduced by hunger, it was thought they would have been able to make but very little oppoſition againſt the fury of the enemy. The Parliament and Council therefore, being jointly aſſembled in the hall of *St. Lewis*, reſolved to appoint two Deputies to treat with the King, and, if he permitted, to go afterwards to the Duke of *Mayenne*; not with power, however, to give up the city, but, if it was poſſible, to obtain particular conditions for it in the articles of a general peace.

For this office, they fixed upon Cardinal *Gondi* and the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, being well aſſured that neither of them would make any conceſſions which ſhould be prejudicial to religion. And yet the Duke of *Nemours* departed from the Council in an angry mood, proteſting he would faithfully obſerve what he had ſworn at the beginning of the ſiege, and that he was determined to ſuffer death rather than give up the city into any other hands than thoſe of his brother, who had entruſted him with it. Nor was the Cardinal Legate altogether pleaſed, but ſaid that neceſſity obliged him to give way to thoſe meaſures, though he did not approve of them: and that now they had done and ſuffered ſo much, they ought to have patience a few days longer, and wait for the arrival and iſſue of thoſe ſuccours, which he expected every hour. The Deputies went away, however, with a ſafe conduct, to the abbey of *St. Anthoine des Champs*, about half a mile from the gate that goes by that name: where they found the King with a great many of his principal Lords and Nobility, and amongſt the reſt, the High Chancellor *Chiverny*, who having lived in retirement from the time that King *Henry* the third had diſmiſſed him from court, had been recalled a few days before by the King, to execute his former office. The Deputies told the King, " That the Council and inhabitants of *Paris*, being moved with compaſſion for the miſeries of their country, which were the conſequences of ſo long and obſtinate a civil war, had given them a commiſſion to come and treat with his Majeſty, and then to proceed to the Duke of *Mayenne*, the head of the Catholick party, to ſee if they could find out ſome means of accommodation: and therefore, as they had willingly undertaken ſo honourable an employment for the publick good, they exhorted him to liſten to ſuch conditions as were neceſſary for the ſecurity of religion and the common peace

of

1590. of the kingdom. But that he would not imagine that the *Parisians* would ever come into any agreement which should be in the least prejudicial to their conscience or religion, for fear of any worldly danger or suffering, being resolved rather to die a temporal death than to violate or blemish the spiritual life of the soul, for which they were ready to undergo any kind of martyrdom, if there should be occasion; though they did not much fear that, as they were sure to be powerfully relieved in a few days." Here Cardinal *Gondi*, though he was himself well inclined to the King's party, added many other arguments to make it believed, that they were appointed Deputies by the City and Council of *Paris*, not out of any necessity that compelled them to take such a step, but out of a charitable zeal for the peace of the publick, and to find out some way to re-establish the tranquillity of the kingdom. These things being spoken openly, and in the presence of several of the Nobility that had commissions in the army, so disgusted every one that heard him, that even the respect due to his Majesty, could not restrain the natural impatience of the *French* from breaking out, sometimes into laughter, and sometimes into terms of disdain, at a message more proper for conquerors, or a disinterested state, than a city reduced to the last and remediless extremities of hunger. And the King, either prompted by his own particular sense of the affront, or the general resentment, which seemed to dictate an answer, replied, with some degree of warmth, "That he very well knew the people of *Paris* had the dagger at their throats, and that how artfully soever the true intent of Deputies coming to him might be disguised, he was sensible their errand was only to procure some respite and cessation of the miseries which they now endured; but that the contents of their message was very different from what it ought to have been. That if the Senate of *Venice*, a State entirely independent upon any other power, which yet, by its ancient reputation and authority, had at all times been a mediator of peace amongst Christian Princes, should have interposed its good offices, to bring about an agreement betwixt him and the Duke of *Mayenne*, it would not have seemed strange to him, and he should have taken it in good part: but that the common people of a city naturally subject to his government, should so far forget their duty, and shew themselves so contumacious and rebellious against him, as to dare to usurp the name of a *Council*, and presume to be *Mediators* of peace and concord, was a thing so ridiculous on one side, and so worthy of contempt and chastisement on the other, that it would be no small example of his clemency, if they should be able to obtain pardon for themselves, without interfering any further in his affairs." And as he was willing to give all possible satisfaction to the Nobility that were present at this conference, he represented to them at large, and with much elocution (of which he had naturally a great

great ſhare) how ardently he deſired to re-eſtabliſh peace, out of his own goodneſs and clemency, and for the preſervation of the people whom God had committed to his care. But that he neither dreaded war, nor the powerful ſuccours with which the *Pariſians* vainly flattered their imaginations: and concluded with ſaying, "He would be content to loſe one of his fingers to have the war ended the next day by the ſword, betwixt him and his enemies and rebellious ſubjects; but that he would willingly give two, provided they would all return to their duty in a peaceable manner."

After this anſwer, the Deputies were conducted into another apartment prepared for them, and the King retired to adviſe with his council. The Chancellor *Chiverny* ſaid, "He thought the King's anſwer had been rather in too high terms, and though ſo reſolute and diſdainful a behaviour might not have been amiſs in publick, yet now they came to conſider the matter in private, and more maturely, it ſeemed neceſſary to proceed in a different manner, leſt he ſhould be diſappointed in the end which he had taken ſo much pains to accompliſh. That his Majeſty's principal intention was to reduce the city of *Paris* to obedience, but not with the deſtruction of the citizens, nor by force of arms. That it had been determined to proceed by way of blockade, not only on account of the numbers of people that were united for their defence, but to prevent the largeſt and richeſt city in the whole kingdom from being miſerably ſacked and deſtroyed. That therefore, now the citizens were humbled by hunger, it would be but prudent to treat them with gentleneſs and clemency, and not to inſiſt upon hard conditions, but to grant them large and honourable terms, provided they would ſubmit; and that if a deſire of ſaving the city, inclined the Duke of *Mayenne* and others of his party to propoſe an agreement, it was an overture not to be deſpiſed, but rather to be wiſhed for. Upon which account it was his opinion, that the Deputies ſhould be calmly treated with in private concerning an accommodation; and further, that they ſhould be permitted to go on to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to ſee if they could prevail upon him to conſent to peace." The Marſhal *De Biron* approved of the firſt part of the Chancellor's advice, which was, to grant any terms whatſoever to the *Pariſians*, provided they would ſubmit to his Majeſty: and ſo much the rather, becauſe the army was conſiderably diminiſhed and fatigued by long watchings and continual duty, and as the ſeaſon advanced, began to be very ſickly and full of diſtempers: but he was of opinion, "That the Deputies ſhould not be ſuffered to go forwards to the Duke of *Mayenne*, as that would be protracting things till ſuccours could arrive out of *Flanders*. That to negociate a general peace, would require long time and much deliberation, which was not conſiſtent with the preſent circumſtances of

 his

1590. his Majesty's affairs. That it was proper to strike whilst the iron was hot, and to distress the *Parisians* till hunger obliged them to provide for their own safety: for when *Paris* was reduced, and the foundation of the League's hopes entirely destroyed, it would afterwards be a very easy matter to bring the Duke of *Mayenne* and the rest of his party to an accommodation." All the rest concurred in this opinion; and the Deputies being called in again, were told, after much discourse, "That it was the King's resolution, if the *Parisians* would submit, to give them full satisfaction in the securities and other matters which they should request of him; but that he would not receive laws from them in what concerned his conscience and conversion, in which he should be guided by his own free choice and the inspiration of God; neither would he consent that they should go to consult with the Duke of *Mayenne*, as he was resolved not to treat about any further agreement at present, but what immediately related to the city of *Paris*." The King then ordered a writing to be delivered to them, drawn up by the Secretary *Revol*, in which he set forth the same things in very mild terms, with offers of all possible security and satisfaction. He also sent private and very gracious letters to the Duke of *Nemours*, the Duchess his mother, and to Madam *De Guise*, exhorting every one of them to peace, and assuring them all, that they should receive more from his favour and generosity than they could tell how to desire. With this answer the Deputies returned: but the Duke of *Nemours*, who was very averse to all thoughts of peace, at the instigation of the Legate and the *Spanish* Ambassador, would not suffer that writing to be read to the people, but ordered the Deputies only to tell them in general, "That the King would hear of no other terms, but the immediate surrender of the city into his hands, without consulting or including the Duke of *Mayenne* and the other Lords of the League." Which being contrary to the sense of the major part, especially of the Council, as the citizens were determined not to detach themselves from the Duke of *Mayenne* upon any account, but to run the same fortune with him to the end of their lives, all hopes of peace were laid aside, and they returned to the care of their defence.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Parma* (though he had fully acquainted the court of *Spain* with his sentiments) received a peremptory order from his Catholick Majesty, to march in person, with his whole army, into *France*, to assist the confederates, and to raise the siege of *Paris*: the Council in that kingdom being of opinion, that an enterprise so honourable, so important, and so likely to succeed, ought certainly to be preferred to the concerns of *Flanders*, which they imagined were in such a situation, that they could receive but little or no damage by the absence of the Duke and his army for a few months: and therefore, at the same

time

time that they approved of the first part of the Duke of *Parma's* advice, to feed and prolong the war, in order to obtain that, when the *French* should be weakened and tired out, which otherwise seemed impossible to be effected, they also determined that *Paris* should be powerfully relieved, on purpose to prevent the League from being so soon subdued, and the King from being absolute conqueror; since he would easily and speedily overcome all other obstacles, when he had made himself master of that city. Besides, as their monarchy, even from its first and weakest state, had ever been accustomed to unite its own interests with the favourable and plausible pretence of religion, it could not now disunite those interests, so nearly joined, without giving up the glorious reputation, which they so much boasted of, that they never had any other enemies but the enemies of the church: they had therefore procured an absolute order for the Duke to strengthen those garrisons in *Flanders*, as much as he could, which stood on the frontiers of the confederate States, and then to march immediately to the relief of *Paris* with all his forces; and when the siege was raised, not to trouble himself about making any further progress.

But when the Duke had received these last and positive instructions, he was not a little perplexed how to put them in execution. For on one hand, he could not leave the cities of *Flanders* so well garrisoned, but some considerable loss was to be apprehended, which would be imputed to his negligence by the court of *Spain* (where he perceived they looked upon this matter in a false light) and not to the necessity of affairs, and the nature of the orders he had received: and on the other, he could not think of marching into *France* without the strength of his whole army, as he was to carry on a war in which there was little to be depended upon from his friends, and much to be feared from a brave and unwearied enemy, brought up to arms, and surrounded by almost an invincible body of *French* Nobility; and so much the more, because it was necessary to go and seek him in his own dominions and in the midst of all his forces. He was likewise very much distressed in point of time; for he knew *Paris* was already reduced to the last extremities of famine; and yet it was necessary to make some preparations, first to secure the towns in *Flanders* in a proper manner, and then to march into *France* in such order, and with such provisions, as the importance of the expedition required: so that it was greatly to be doubted the *Parisians* would not be able to hold out so long. But as he was a Prince of high courage, mature in resolving, and quick in execution, and thought this (as indeed it was) the most weighty and difficult enterprise that he had ever undertaken, he determined to struggle with all impediments, and to exert his utmost efforts to carry it through, with the same reputation that he had

1590. acquired by his conduct upon all other occasions. For which purpose, after he had made a regular disposition of every thing in his own breast, he began to make preparations for his march, with so much application, that he hoped to be able to relieve *Paris* by the middle of *August*: and being desirous neither to deceive others, nor to be deceived himself, as he had told the Duke of *Mayenne* before, he wrote a letter to the besieged about the end of *July*, in which he gave them an account of his intended expedition, and assured them he would be in *France* by the middle of the next month, exhorting them to bear their hardships, and to arm themselves with patience till that time, at which, he hoped, he should certainly be able to deliver them out of all their troubles.

This letter came to *Paris* on the 1st of *August*; and being communicated by the magistrates to the people, filled every one with extreme despair, the time seeming to them at such distance, that they were persuaded they could not keep themselves so long alive. The soldiers therefore began privately to desert their colours and run away by night: and the poor people of the city being entirely destitute of sustenance, endeavoured to get out of it and escape to some other place, in which they were not restrained by the Governors in chief, who from the beginning had given every one that had a mind free liberty to depart. But as the King willingly permitted the run-away soldiers to pass, so he had given strict orders that the inhabitants should be driven back again and forced to return into the city, knowing that the besieged took those means to unburden themselves: which orders being punctually executed by the guards, very few of them were able to make their escape. But the greatest difficulty that the Governors laboured under, was to restrain the licentiousness of the *Germans*, who having indulged themselves in all manner of enormities, and destroyed the most magnificent houses and gardens without distinction (only to sell the timber for firing) now every thing was consumed, had given themselves up to all kinds of villainy, by which they could get any thing to support themselves: and many have reported, that they secretly killed all the children they could get into their hands, to feed upon their flesh; notwithstanding all which, they began to mutiny and wanted to disband, though the Duke of *Nemours* and the Chevalier *D'Aumale* used all possible means to keep them together. The besieged finding themselves in these straits, wrote to the Duke of *Mayenne*, as their final resolution, that if they were not relieved in ten days, it would be impossible for them to hold out any longer; and as they had both done and suffered all that lay in their power, they should think themselves excusable in the sight both of God and man, if they then provided for their own safety. The Duchess of *Mayenne* likewise wrote to her husband to the same effect, conjuring him, by his affection to their children,

children, not to ſuffer them to fall into the hands of ſo bitter an enemy. 1590.
Upon the receipt of theſe letters the Duke, who was in no leſs anxiety and perplexity of mind than the *Pariſians*, having collected all his forces together, immediately advanced to *Meaux*, ten leagues diſtant from *Paris*, and diſpatched the Marquis *Aleſſandro Malaſpina*, to let the Duke of *Parma* know, that if he did not haſten his march with the utmoſt expedition, all their endeavours would be in vain; for that the beſieged were not able to ſupport their diſtreſs any longer, as he might be convinced by the letters he had received from them, which he now ſent him encloſed in his own.

Beſides *Chiroga's* mutineers, *Capizucchi's* diviſion, and the *Walloon* horſe, which the Duke of *Parma* had ſent him, the Duke of *Mayenne* had then with him ſix hundred lances of the Duke of *Lorrain's*, commanded by the Count *De Chaligny*, brother to the Queen dowager of *France*, the *French* infantry under Colonel *St. Paul*, the Duke of *Aumale* with the troops of *Picardy*, the Marquis *De Menelay*, Monſieur *De Balagny*, Governor of *Cambray*, and the Sieurs *De la Chaſtre* and *De Rhoſne*, with their regiments and attendants, which in all amounted to the number of ten thouſand foot and two thouſand four hundred horſe. And though he had advanced with theſe forces as far as *Meaux*, to be ready upon any opportunity that ſhould offer, and to animate the beſieged by his being ſo near at hand, ye he did not think them ſufficient to enable him, either to raiſe the ſiege, or to throw proviſions into the city, as he knew the King had received very ſtrong reinforcements, and had at that time ſix and twenty thouſand foot, and above ſeven thouſand horſe, under his banners, amongſt whom were five thouſand Gentlemen, who bore arms for no other reward but honour, and being well attended and gallantly mounted, were, in his opinion, much ſuperior to his whole army in every reſpect. Upon which account, he diſpatched couriers with letters every hour, to the Vice-ſeneſchal *De Montlimar*, his reſident with the Duke of *Parma*, charging him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to haſten the Duke's coming, without which, he thought it impoſſible to relieve the beſieged.

The Duke of *Parma* having called a council of war, upon the firſt of *Auguſt*, acquainted them with the order which he had received from the court of *Spain*, to march with the whole army into *France*, and ſaid, that ſuch a reſolution had been taken contrary to his judgment; informing them, at the ſame time, of the reaſons that had induced him to look upon it as an enterpriſe very likely to be attended with great hazard, and but little advantage. But ſince it had pleaſed the King their maſter ſo to order it, as he was reſolved for his own part, to exert all the abilities that God had given him, in that expedition, ſo he prayed all the reſt of them to uſe their beſt endeavours, that the ſeveral offices committed to their care might be

1590. discharged in such a manner, as should redound to the glory of God, the satisfaction of the King, and their own reputation: and having given every one his particular instructions, he ordered that the whole army, which was now assembled, should be ready to march by the fourth of that month. He also wrote to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to acquaint him with the time and certainty of his coming, and sent the *Parisians* advice of the same, protesting, that his Catholick Majesty had no other end in this war, but to relieve them, and secure their religion: that this consideration alone had determined him, not to spare either money or forces, to the great prejudice of his own affairs; and that he had undertaken this important enterprize without the security of strong towns for magazines of military stores, or places of retreat upon the confines, though usually demanded and granted upon such occasions; that every one might be fully convinced of the zeal, candour, and uprightness of his proceedings in their affairs, which, nevertheless, he hoped, by the blessing of God and the righteousness of the cause, to bring to a prosperous issue; and with this resolution the army moved on the 4th of *August* towards *Valenciennes*.

The Marquis *De Ranti* led the van. The Duke himself conducted the main battle, in which were also the Princes of *Ascoli*, *Chasteau-Bertrand*, and *Chimay*, the Counts *De Barlemont* and *D'Aremberg*, with many other *Flemish*, *Italian*, and *Spanish* Lords. The Sieur *De la Mothe*, Governor of *Graveling*, brought up the rear, in which were twenty pieces of cannon, two bridges to be thrown over boats, and all such other warlike provisions as usually attend upon royal armies. The Duke of *Parma's* armies had always been very well disciplined, ready to undergo and inured to hardships, punctual in their obedience to command, and not at all addicted to pillage and plunder in the territories of their friends. And as he was now going into a kingdom, where he knew the name of a *Spaniard* was very disagreeable to the people in general, and that it behoved him no less to prevent jealousies and suspicions, so easily kindled by every slight occasion in the minds of the *French*, than to be vigilant in his proceedings against a victorious army, under the conduct of a wise and experienced General, he was more circumspect than ever, and took all manner of pains to hinder his soldiers from committing any violence or outrage, or giving the least cause of complaint to the *French*. He always encamped as if the enemy's army had been very near him, kept all his men close together, and in good order in their quarters, not suffering them to straggle from their colours upon any account whatsoever. He reconnoitred the country with great care, and marched without tumult or confusion. He took up his quarters early in the evening, and whilst they were properly laid out and made defensible, he caused the greater part of the army to stand to their arms. He ordered strong convoys to attend the carriages with provisions, of which

he had collected, and was ſtill collecting, large quantities; and ſhewing great honour and deference to the *French*, upon all occaſions, endeavoured to gain the affections of the nation. For which purpoſe, though he had lived with much ceremony and reſerve amongſt the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, in compliance with the natural diſpoſition of that people, now he was come into *France*, he laid aſide the ſtate of anti-chambers and door-keepers, and eat in publick, welcoming the *French* Gentlemen at his table, and behaving with the greateſt affability and familiarity, both in his words and actions. And though he had many officers of great reputation about him, he reſolved to truſt to no-body but himſelf, and therefore perſonally heard the reports of thoſe parties that had been out to reconnoitre the country and ſcour the roads, talking himſelf with the ſcouts, diſpoſing the order of the guards, and attending to every thing that concerned the diſcipline of his army, for which purpoſe he ſat up all night, and only gave thoſe few hours to ſleep, which paſſed betwixt the beating of the *reveille* and the marching of his troops. With theſe precautions he marched gently forwards, that he might not fatigue his men, till he arrived at *Meaux*, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, and being met by the Duke of *Mayenne* with his army in the field, they joined forces at that place.

1590.

The Archbiſhop of *Lions* and the Preſident *Vetus* alſo arrived there; who having been with the King to propoſe ſome new terms of agreement, had now come with his ſafe conduct (as he had receded ſomething from his former ſtiffneſs, upon the approach of the *Spaniſh* army) to negotiate with the Duke of *Mayenne*, by whom they were introduced into his council; where they related what extremities the *Pariſians* were reduced to, and that they could not hold out above four days longer, earneſtly intreating that, if they were not able to relieve them in that time, ſome agreement might be concluded, to deliver the city from the imminent danger it was in. To this the Duke of *Parma* anſwered in a grave and modeſt manner, "That he was come by his Catholick Majeſty's command, with orders to relieve the city, and to ſecure their religion: but that he had no commiſſion to treat of any accommodation; nor would his conſcience ſuffer him to entertain any thoughts of coming to an agreement with a Prince that was an heretick and an enemy to the church. That as the *Pariſians* had undergone ſo much, to their infinite honour, and with an heroick example of Chriſtian fortitude, he hoped they would be able to ſupport themſelves a few days longer: for he truſted, by the help of God, and the ſtrength of his army, that he ſhould now ſpeedily relieve them: and therefore deſired the Deputies to return to the city, and exhort them to have patience till that time." The Deputies accordingly went back to the King in the firſt place, with whom they had left Cardinal *Gondi*, and acquainted him, that the Duke of *Parma* had no inclination

1590. tion to listen to an agreement, and had dismissed them with an assurance of speedy and certain relief. Upon which, they were likewise dismissed by the King; and the attention of both sides was now wholly engaged in making preparations to carry on the war.

The King was in great perplexity of mind. For as his army was much diminished by sickness, of which, numbers had died (amongst the rest the Abbé *Pietro del Bene*, a man of great abilities in state affairs) many various and contrary resolutions presented themselves to his thoughts. He was very loath to rise from the siege without having obtained any advantage, after so many hardships and so much fatigue, and when he had reduced the city to the last degree of despair: and therefore was inclined to leave one part of his army to keep the avenues blocked up, and to advance with the other to meet the succours. On the other hand, he thought the Duke of *Parma's* strength was so great, that it would be requisite to employ all his forces to oppose and resist him: and for that reason, durst not venture to go out against him with only a part of his army, which he feared would not be able to stand before him. Thus doubtful and uncertain in his mind, he called a council of all his commanders, in which the principal were the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Marshals *D'Aumont* and *De Biron*, the Baron his son, *Philibert de la Guiche*, the Sieurs *De Lavardine*, *Guitry*, and *De la Noüe*, the Viscount *De Turenne*, the Duke *De la Tremoüille*, and Monsieur *De Chastillon*, who being cool and dispassionate men, all concurred in opinion, that to divide the army would be a very imprudent and dangerous measure; for by that means, the siege would neither be continued, nor the relief prevented. That other eminent commanders had quitted sieges before him, when they found their attempts in vain: and that if he should be able either to defeat the Duke of *Parma*, or oblige him to retire, the quantity of provisions which the *Parisians* could get into the city in the mean time, would be so inconsiderable, that at his return, it would be reduced to the same extremities again in a few days. After this was determined in the Council, the King, having given such orders as were necessary, that he might be ready to oppose the enemy in good time, raised the siege on the 30th of *August*, and marched with his whole army to quarter at *Chelles*, a town three leagues from *Paris*, and but four from the army of the League. *Chelles* is a spacious bourg, situated on a marshy plain, that is sometimes overflowed by the water of a little river, which stagnates in pools upon many parts of it. The country on both sides is open, and two hills stand in its front, over which there is a high-road, that leads directly from *Meaux* to *Paris*. Here the army, which consisted of seven thousand horse, and about nineteen thousand foot, was disposed in such a manner, that the light horse, supported by the foot of the vanguard, took posses-

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ſion of the ſkirts of the hills and the paſſage of the highway. The main 1590. body lay under cover in the houſes of the bourg. And the cavalry of the rear-guard were poſted behind it, on the entrance of the plain that leads towards *Paris*. On the right hand of the bourg, the Sieur *De Chaſtillon* with the *Swiſs*, and four *French* regiments, were placed: and on the left, the Sieur *De Lavardine* with the *Germans*, and five regiments of muſketiers; and on each ſide were planted the artillery.

The King's army had hardly taken poſſeſſion of theſe poſt, when the *Italian* and *Bourguignon* light horſe of the League appeared on the top of the furthermoſt hill, and began a ſkirmiſh with his advanced guards. In the mean time, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne*, with ſome few others, rode up and down to reconnoitre the ſtrength and diſpoſition of the enemy's forces more narrowly on all ſides; which ſeeming to be formed in excellent order, they retired to their own camp on the other ſide of the hills, and began to fortify it with a wide trench, and a high breaſt-work, which being flanked with ravelines and half moons, where the artillery were planted, pretty well ſecured it from the danger of a ſudden aſſault. The armies lay ſtill in this manner for the ſpace of four days. For the Duke of *Parma*, being informed that the *Pariſians* had ventured out of the city, and furniſhed themſelves with proviſions ſufficient for a few days, out of the near adjacent places, and the things that were left behind by the King's army, was not very forward to come to an engagement, nor to precipitate his deſigns: And the King, though eager to engage, and in full hopes of a victory, thought it would be extreme raſhneſs to attack an enemy ſtronger than himſelf in his own quarters. In this interval there were frequent ſkirmiſhes, in which the valour of the ſeveral nations was tried, and all ſorts of weapons made uſe of. The horſe often charging the foot, and the cuiraſſiers encountering ſometimes the light horſe and carbines, and ſometimes the lances, of which there was a great number in the army of the League. But the King, being tired out with this delay, and apprehenſive that the late ſufferings and want of money might make his army diſband, or at leaſt that it would be ſtill more weakened and diminiſhed by the ſickneſs which increaſed and became more mortal, reſolved to try the courage of his enemies, by ſending a trumpet to let the Duke of *Mayenne* know, " That as there was now an opportunity of ſettling all differences, and putting an end to the miſeries of the war, he could wiſh he would come out of his den, in which he lay more like a fox than a lion, and bring his forces into the open field, where they might ſoon decide their diſputes with the valour and generoſity of men." The Duke of *Mayenne* ſent the trumpet to the Duke of *Parma*, as commander in chief, who anſwered with a ſmile, " That he knew very well what he had to do, and was not come ſo far to be directed by an enemy: that he plainly

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1590. ſaw his manner of proceeding did not pleaſe the King, but that if he was ſo great a ſoldier as fame reported him, he would do well to ſhew his ſkill in forcing him to a battle againſt his inclination, for he would never willingly give that up to the arbitrement of fortune, which he already had ſafe in his own hands." But by this time the *Pariſians* began to be in deſperate circumſtances again: for that little which they had been able to pick up, being now conſumed, they were reduced to their former extremities, and it became abſolutely neceſſary to open the paſſes, that proviſions might be conveyed into it. The Duke therefore, who had not only made a trial of the courage of the King's forces, during theſe few days, but examined the ſituation of the country very exactly, and maturely deliberated what meaſures he ſhould take, gave out, that he would engage the King in the open field: and having drawn up his army in order of battle, he advanced very early on the 5th of *September* in the morning towards the enemy. In the van, he placed two large ſquadrons of lances, and all the light horſe of the army, the command of which he gave to the Marquis *De Ranty*, with orders, that as ſoon as he was out of the woody part that was on the aſcent of the hills, and got up to the top of that which was next to the enemy, where it was plainer ground, he ſhould cover and take up as much of the hill as he poſſibly could, by extending the lances, commanded by the Prince of *Chimay* and *Georgio Baſta*, and make two great wings of the light horſe: after which he was to march towards the enemy, and begin to deſcend, though but very gently, towards the plain, and to make many halts, that he might receive his further orders. To the Duke of *Mayenne* he gave the charge of the main battle, where he had put the whole ſtrength of the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* foot, with twenty pieces of cannon: and the rear was conducted by the Sieur *De la Mothe*, in which were the *Bourguignon* lances and the *Walloon* infantry. On the flanks of the main battle, but ſeparated by a proper ſpace, on the right and left hand, he poſted the Sieur *De la Chaſtre* and Colonel *St. Paul*, with the *French* horſe and foot; whilſt he himſelf was left at liberty to ride up and down the field as he had occaſion, attended only by Count *Aleſſandro Sforza, Nicolo Ceſis*, and *Appio Conti*, with an hundred horſe.

As ſoon as the army of the League was ſeen to advance reſolutely towards the enemy along the main road, it was the general opinion on both ſides, that they ſhould certainly engage that day: and the King, who was ſo full of ſpirits that his eyes ſparkled with joy, having drawn up his army with admirable celerity and exactneſs, in the ſame order that it lay encamped before, waited with impatience till the enemy ſhould come down into the plain, and give him an opportunity of fighting them upon equal terms. But whilſt he ſtood in this diſpoſition to receive them, and

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his artillery were ready to fire, the Marquis *De Ranti* having extended his body of lances as far as ever he could, began to quit the hill and defcend, though very gently, towards the plain. Upon which, the Duke of *Parma*, feeing all the field now covered with his vanguard, and that the King's army ftood waiting for him, in full expectation of an engagement, fet fpurs to his horfe, and galloped up to the front of the main battle; where having ftopped the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was ftill marching toward the enemy, he ordered him to wheel fuddenly off towards *Lagny*, which ftood upon his left hand: and changing his difpofition, fo that the main battle became the van, and the rear the main battle, marched away with the utmoft expedition to make himfelf mafter of the fuburbs of that town. *Lagny* is fituated upon the river *Marne*, in fuch a manner, that the fuburbs, which are very fmall, ftand upon the bank on the right fide, where both armies were, and the town on the left; with a communication betwixt them by a large bridge over the river, which being one of the principal ftreams that convey provifions to *Paris*, it was highly neceffary to open that paffage. There were fifteen companies of *French* foot in *Lagny*, under the command of Monfieur *De la Fin*, who feeing the whole army of the League unexpectedly turned againft him, and finding that he was not able to defend the fuburbs, which ftood on that fide of the river where the enemy was advancing, immediately ordered the bridge to be broken down, to retard their approach, and retired with his men to defend the town, which they could not affault till they had paffed the river. But the Duke of *Parma* having taken poffeffion of the fuburbs without oppofition, inftantly pofted the *French* infantry there, and encamped with the reft of the army in the field of *Pompone*, about half a mile from them, endeavouring with the utmoft diligence to fecure his camp with trenches, breaft-works, redoubts, and half-moons, and to obftruct all the paffes of the country round about him.

1590.

After the Marquis *De Ranti*, with the vanguard, had held the King's army many hours in fufpence, and in expectation of engaging, as evening came on, he likewife began to file off towards *Lagny*, leaving the King entirely in the dark as to the defigns of the enemy. For he knew they muft pafs the river if they intended to attack that town, which he thought they could not do without great danger of having at leaft their rear cut off; and it feemed ftill more improbable, that the Duke of *Parma* would affault any place before his face; but moft improbable of all, that he would march toward *Paris* on that fide, and leave the pafs of *Lagny* behind him, becaufe he would by that means fhut himfelf up, and effectually deprive his own army of all manner of provifions. Wherefore, being in great doubt, and not knowing what to refolve upon, he fent the Baron *De Biron*, the Grand Prior, and Monfieur *De la Noüe*, to purfue

1590. the Marquis *De Ranti*, and to begin as hot a ſkirmiſh with him as he could, in order to diſcover the deſigns and proceedings of the enemy. But the carbineers, who had poſted themſelves in the woody places thereabout, received the attack with great bravery, and *Georgio Baſta* advancing with four hundred lances to ſupport them, the ſkirmiſh continued with various ſucceſs till night parted them, and obliged both ſides to retire to their reſpective camps, without any further action. The Duke, ſtill buſy in taking and fortifying the paſſes that were betwixt the two armies, to defend himſelf if he ſhould be attacked in the rear, cauſed the artillery to be planted againſt *Lagny* that very night, and the next morning by break of day, began to batter the wall with eleven pieces of cannon. *La Fin* at firſt deſpiſed his battery, as the river was betwixt them, and thought, if a breach ſhould be made in the wall, they could not come to make an aſſault. But he found himſelf much deceived, when he ſaw the Duke had cauſed a bridge of boats to be thrown over the river two leagues above, and ordered *Capizzucchi's* diviſion of *Italians* to paſs it, with *Berlotti's Walloons*, and *Georgio Baſta's* eight hundred horſe, that they might be ready, when it was convenient, to ſtorm the wall, which being weak, and not lined with earth, it was to be feared, that a breach would be made in a few hours, wide enough for an aſſault.

The King at laſt ſuſpecting the enemy's deſign (though not till their camp was ſufficiently fortified, and all paſſes ſecured by guards, which the Duke placed on every ſide) ſent out ſeveral parties, and by different ways, to relieve thoſe that were beſieged in *Lagny*, all which entered without oppoſition; for the Duke made no account of that relief, as long as the whole army did not move. But the King could take no courſe that would not be attended with very great difficulties and dangers: for if he did not move, *Lagny* was ſure to be loſt, and the paſſage would be open on that ſide to victual the city; and if he moved to relieve it, and ſhould paſs the river, the Duke would leave *Lagny*, and march the ſtrait way to *Paris*, with the proviſions that he had brought with him; ſo that he was in a manner obliged to ſtand ſtill, not being able to come to any reſolution, though he had conſulted with his commanders what was beſt to be done. The Marſhal *De Biron* was of opinion, that he ſhould take the ſame rout by which the Marquis *De Ranti* had retired, and endeavour to force two corps-de-garde that were on that ſide, that ſo he might attack the Duke's camp on the left-hand towards *Meaux*, where it was not ſo well fortified as in other places. Monſieur *De la Noüe* thought it would be more adviſeable to paſs the river, and poſt themſelves behind *Lagny*, to reinforce and relieve the garriſon every moment, hoping, that when it was ſupported in that manner, it would be able to hold out againſt the attacks of the enemy. But the King anſwered, that, in either caſe, the

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Duke would have a free paſſage left him to *Paris:* for if he turned towards *Meaux*, the way by *Chelles* would be left open, and if he paſſed the river, the ſame road would be no better ſecured. 1590.

In the mean time the Duke of *Parma*, being reſolved not to loſe a minute, and very confident of ſucceſs in his attempt, cauſed a furious aſſault to be made upon the walls of *Lagny*, though the breach was not very wide: and whilſt they were warmly engaged there on both ſides, the King, being highly provoked to ſee all his paſt labours thrown away, could not forbear advancing that way himſelf, with his whole army in battalia, but without any ſettled reſolution what to do. The Duke, on the other hand, would not ſtir out of his works, but drew up his army likewiſe in good order within the circuit of his camp, with their face toward the enemy, and left the forces appointed for that purpoſe to continue their aſſaults without interruption or moleſtation of any kind from without. And though the beſieged had happily repulſed them at firſt, yet an error in diſcipline at laſt decided the victory in favour of their enemies. For when they were going to relieve thoſe that had ſuſtained the aſſault, they would not change them file by file, according to the eſtabliſhed rules of defence, but either out of haſte or want of experience, endeavoured to do it all at once, which occaſioning tumult and confuſion, the aſſailants took the advantage of that opportunity, and returned to the aſſault with ſo much vigour and expedition, whilſt the garriſon was in diſorder, that they preſently drove the guards from the walls and entered the caſtle, where they took *La Fin* priſoner: whilſt the King was obliged to ſtand only a ſorrowful ſpectator of the ſlaughter of his men: for being ſurrounded by the *Walloons* and *Italians* (who had vied with each other which ſhould give the greater proofs of their valour in the aſſault) they were put to the ſword without mercy. So that, as he had not been able to defend *Lagny*, nor could recover it now it was taken, he was obliged to return the ſame evening to his old quarters, full of grief that he had not had it in his power to effect any thing. *Lagny* being thus taken, and the paſſage of the river now opened, the proviſions, which had been already gathered together for that purpoſe, were conveyed from the other ſide of the river, in great abundance, to *Paris*, where the citizens threw open their gates with exceeding great joy, to welcome their deliverers: whereas but ſix days before, there was not a man in the city but thought they muſt have been forced to open them for the enemy, to their utter ruin and deſolation. The King, therefore, having ſeen *Lagny* taken before his face, and the *Pariſians* by that means delivered out of their diſtreſs, reſolved to withdraw from the enemy, becauſe he was certain the Duke of *Parma* would not come to an engagement of his own accord, now he had accompliſhed his deſign: and to force him in his own camp,

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1590. where he was ſtrongly intrenched and abounded with all manner of proviſions, was a thing not to be attempted. On the other hand, his army being much weakened and diminiſhed by the hard duty of a whole ſummer, and full of grievous diſtempers which daily increaſed, began alſo to ſuffer for want of proviſions, as all the country behind him was laid waſte. And the impatience of the Nobility, the ſcarcity of money, the natural diſpoſition of the *French* (who having no further hopes of taking *Paris*, or coming to an engagement with the enemy, could not any longer endure the hardſhips and fatigues of arms) all perſuaded him to do that voluntarily, which he muſt have been compelled to in a very few days, nay, poſſibly, in a few hours. So that the next day, which was the 7th of *September*, after he had drawn up his army in good order, he ſtood ſtill there for ſome time, as it were to challenge the enemy to an engagement; but no one appearing, not even ſo much as to ſkirmiſh, and the field being clear, he marched away towards *St. Dennis*.

But, as he was exceedingly chagrined at the ill ſucceſs of his undertakings, and deſirous to do ſomething that might add freſh vigour and reputation to his arms, he reſolved to give an unexpected ſcalado that night to the city of *Paris* itſelf, in hopes of making himſelf maſter of the place by a ſudden and violent aſſault, though he had not been able to reduce it by ſo long a ſiege, and ſo rigorous a degree of famine. And indeed it was not without good reaſons that he determined upon this: for the ſtrictneſs of the ſiege being in a great meaſure relaxed, many of the citizens, who were yet doubtful of the event, had fled into the country; and thoſe that ſtaid behind, following the dictates of their ravenous appetites, and being ſurfeited by too intemperate a uſe of food in their weak condition, were become ſo feeble and ſickly, that for the moſt part they were unfit for ſervice. Many of the ſoldiers likewiſe, were gone out to convoy the proviſions that were coming from *Chartres* and other places, and to prevent them from falling into the hands of the King's garriſons, which lay near them on every ſide. And, which was of the greateſt importance, it was probable that the neighbourhood of ſo powerful an army of their confederates, which they knew waited cloſe upon the King's, would make the *Pariſians*, who were already tired out and exhauſted with continual labour and hard duty, more negligent than uſual in ſetting proper watches, and guards ſufficient to maintain ſo large a compaſs of ground. The King, therefore, having reſolved upon this attempt, gave orders for a general rendezvous of his troops on the plain of *Bondy*, but a few miles from the city: and having got all the ſcaling ladders together, which were carried with the army for that purpoſe, took the road toward *Paris*, betwixt * eight and nine of the clock at

* The *Italian* ſays, *sù le due hore della notte*. But their account of hours beginning night.

night. The Marſhal *D'Aumont* led a flying ſquadron with its ladders: 1590.
the Baron *De Biron* another, and a third, appointed in the ſame manner, was conducted by the Sieur *De Lavardine*. The King followed, with all the Princes and Commanders, and with all the cavalry ready drawn up in order of battle; and having paſſed the *Seine*, proceeded directly toward that part of the city which, being furtheſt from danger, he thought would not be ſo ſtrictly guarded as the reſt. The ſcaling-ladders were fixed to the gates and walls of *St. Germain* by the Marſhal *D'Aumont*; at *St. Michael's*, by the Baron *De Biron*; and in the ſpace betwixt *St. James's* and *St. Marceau's* gates, by the Sieur *De Lavardine*. But they found the people within ready and alert in all parts: for the Duke of *Nemours*, who had parties continually patrolling upon the roads, had received ſome intelligence of their aſſembling at *Bondy*, and of their marching towards *Paris*, and therefore had carefully diſpoſed and viſited the guards in every place. So that all hopes of a ſurpriſe being at an end, as they were chiefly founded on the negligence and weakneſs of the city guards, the commanders, without purſuing their attempt any further, brought off their ladders, and returned to the place where the King with the cavalry waited for them; who, upon their arrival, immediately faced about and drew off with an eaſy pace by the ſame way that he came. But not being able to bear the thoughts of deſiſting from his enterpriſe without obtaining any advantage, and imagining the citizens would be more remiſs and ſecure towards the morning, after watching all night and having repulſed his men, he cauſed his cavalry to make a halt, and turned about again to lead up the three flying ſquadrons to the trenches of the gate and curtain of *St. Marceau*, with a reſolution to make his laſt attempt there. Nor was he altogether diſappointed in his expectation: for the townſmen, being fatigued with long watching, had retired to ſleep: and two ladders were erected with ſo much ſilence, that no body either heard the noiſe or ſtirred to prevent it: but a Jeſuit, who ſtood ſentinel at ſome diſtance from the corps-de-garde kept by thoſe Fathers, and *Nicholas Nivelle*, a bookſeller, who was alſo upon the gate, though ſomething farther off, hearing the noiſe, gave the alarm, and running preſently to that place with their halberts in their hands, overturned one of the ladders, which being too long, reached above the top of the wall, and made ſo ſtout a reſiſtance at the head of the other, that the Sieur *De Cremonville* and *Parabiere's* Lieutenant being killed when they were juſt

from ſun-ſet and ending at ſun-ſet again, which includes a ſpace of twenty-four hours, it is plain the author meant two hours in the night, which, according to the time of ſun-ſet there at that ſeaſon of the year, muſt needs be before nine of the clock: for after two in the morning, they could not have had time enough, before day-light, to march ſo far, and to make two ſeveral attempts upon the city.

going

1590. going to get upon the parapet, there was sufficient time for assistance to come up: for at the spreading of the alarm and the cries of the sentinels, the guards, who were gone to sleep, came out again armed, and a great number of citizens from all parts followed the Duke of *Nemours* thither, who with singular vigilance had rode round the walls all that night: so that the second attempt proving likewise ineffectual, the King retired with all his forces, when it was broad day-light, and marched away towards the walls of *St. Dennis*.

Many were of opinion, that the King was much wanting, upon this occasion, in point of Generalship and military skill. For if he had left the principal posts near *Paris* well guarded with part of his army, and advanced with the rest as far as *Clave*, a town that stands in a more fenny country, and is much more defensible than *Chelles*, and had taken care to fortify and secure himself in that place, he might very likely have held the Duke of *Parma's* army (which could pass no other way to *Paris*) so long in play, that the city must have surrendered out of downright necessity; since the Duke of *Parma* would not have been able to have forced that pass, maintained by so powerful an army, if it had been properly fortified and intrenched; nor could he possibly have got to *Lagny*, if the King had been so posted. Some argued, that as the King was resolved to fight him, and had risen from before *Paris* with that intention, he ought to have fallen boldly upon the Duke of *Parma* at their first meeting, before he had time to intrench himself: for though the interval betwixt night and morning was but short indeed, yet the Duke's soldiers, who were so much inured to labour, worked with such order and diligence, that in less than four and twenty hours they had finished their trenches: in which the Commanders and Gentlemen took no less pains than the common soldiers, whilst the Duke himself likewise assisted, causing the engineers to plan out and distribute the work in his presence. Others again blamed the impatience of the King's army, which had been witness of so much constancy and resolution in the common tradesmen, and the very women who were shut up in *Paris*, that after many months of extreme hunger, they had nevertheless bravely held out to the last: whilst so many Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, of whom that army was composed, had not had the courage to bear even the apprehension of scarcity, but after a short stay, without making any opposition to the purpose, or doing any thing but shewing a desire only to engage, left the field open, and the honour of the victory to the enemy. So that the Duke of *Parma's* conduct and discipline were highly extolled on one side, and the hasty and impatient temper of the *French* much blamed on the other; who having too lightly imagined, that a soldier of so great experience and reputation would rashly trust that to fortune,

which

which he could effectually ſecure by his own prudence and well concerted deſigns, upon that perſuaſion had neglected to avail themſelves of those opportunities and advantages which the nature and convenience of the country afforded them. 1590.

Others excuſed the King, and ſaid (perhaps with as good reaſon) that the leaving of weak guards about *Paris*, would only have been giving them up to be cut to pieces by the citizens and ſoldiers, who would have ſallied deſperately out of the city in great numbers: that to attack the Duke's army (which was much ſuperior to his) ſo raſhly at their firſt coming, would have been a very inconſiderate and deſtructive ſtep. For though he was not then abſolutely fortified, yet he had already lodged himſelf pretty ſecurely: and that they would not have had to do with a parcel of raw, unexperienced men, gathered together in a tumultuary manner, which might have been terrified or put into diſorder and confuſion by an aſſault, but with a veteran army, conducted by commanders of exceeding great valour and experience, who would have known how to make a proper uſe of their own advantage and the temerity of the aſſailants. They likewiſe excuſed their retiring ſo ſoon, and imputed it not to the impatient temper of the *French*, but to a wiſe and well-grounded conſideration; ſince armies were not to be hazarded nor expoſed to certain dangers, except an advantage equal to their riſque and ſuffering might reſult from them: but the nearneſs of the King's army could in no wiſe incommode the Duke of *Parma*, who was intrenched in his quarters, and had the paſſage of the river open behind him, nor could it prevent the conveying of proviſions into *Paris*: for which reaſons, it was prudently done to withdraw the Nobility from the danger of diſeaſes, which began to multiply very faſt, and from other diſtreſſes, eſpecially of famine, which they were ſure to ſuffer, and to reſerve them for a better purpoſe and a more convenient opportunity.

However it might be, the King, upon his arrival at *St. Dennis*, perceiving the ſickneſs increaſed in his camp, and not having either publick or private money ſufficient to maintain his army all together, reſolved to ſeparate it, and whilſt he attended chiefly to the ſecurity of the provinces, only to keep a flying army near himſelf, with which he might hinder the Duke of *Parma* from making any further progreſs. He therefore ſent the Prince of *Conti* into *Touraine*, the Duke of *Montpenſier* into *Normandy*, the Duke of *Longueville* into *Picardy*, the Duke of *Nevers* into *Champagne*, and the Marſhal *D'Aumont* into *Burgundy*: In *Brie* he left Monſieur *De la Noüe*, and he himſelf with the Marſhal and Baron *De Biron*, having furniſhed thoſe towns that he held near *Paris* with ſufficient garriſons and other neceſſaries, marched with a body of men, rather well diſciplined than numerous, into the moſt rich and fertile places that

1590. lie upon the banks of the river *Oyse*, to refresh his soldiers after so many hardships. And being come to *Clermont*, a town which, because it was tolerably well garrisoned, had the boldness to shut its gates against him, he began to batter it with so much violence, that the walls being beaten down, it was taken the third day and sacked with very great slaughter, and the next day the castle surrendered to him, without making any resistance. So that being master of the whole country round about (for *Senlis* and *Compeigne* were already at his devotion) he had the convenience of quartering at large and refreshing the army that was with him. At which time the Sieurs *De la Guiche* and *Sipierre*, having left the camp to return to their own houses with a pretty large number of horse, met with the Viscount *De Tavannes* and the Sieur *De Falandre*, who were convoying provisions from *Dreux* to *Paris*, and without having any notice of each others approach, they suddenly began a very fierce encounter with exceeding great valour on both sides: but after it had lasted two hours with the same fury, the King's party had so much the advantage, that both *Tavannes* and *Falandre* abandoned their convoy, and saved themselves by flying into the town.

About that time also the city of *Troyes* was in great danger of being surprised by Monsieur *De Tinteville*, the King's Lieutenant in *Champagne*; for having entered into a treaty with some of the citizens, it was so well carried on, that being let into the town, he had already advanced as far as the principal square, when *Claude de Lorrain*, Prince of *Jainville*, son to the late Duke of *Guise* (a youth in valour and resolution not unlike his father) being then in the town, drew his men together and charged the assailants with so much bravery, that they were repulsed with very great slaughter of their men, and with much difficulty saved themselves.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Parma*, after the dissolution of the King's army, having taken *St. Maur* and the bridge of *Charenton*, was principally employed in facilitating the conveyance of provisions into *Paris:* and being moved by the frequent importunities of the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Parisians*, on the 22d of *September*, laid siege to *Corbeil*, that he might open the passage of the river *Seine* on that side also. But he entered upon that undertaking much against his will; for *Corbeil* was sufficiently garrisoned and fortified; and though it was but a little town and of small account, yet he saw it was prepared to sustain a siege: so that having but a few cannon to batter the walls, and, which was still of greater consequence, but a very small quantity of powder and ball, he was apprehensive it would prove a very difficult matter to make himself master of it, and that it might tend to the lessening of his own reputation and the credit of his army. He likewise began to be afraid that the discipline of his army would be relaxed, which till then had been exactly

observed

observed. For the *French* of the League not taking care to furnish him with such a quantity of victuals as he himself used to provide with wonderful order, to keep plenty in his camp; but on the contrary, provisions often falling short in his army, through their negligence, he was obliged to suffer his soldiers to over-run the country, and to disperse themselves to plunder far and near, which gave him infinite concern (as he was very averse to oppressing and destroying a friend's country, or indulging his men in the usual licentiousness of pillage) and made him very solicitous about the siege, during which, he saw, if it should last many days, those necessities and disorders would of course be multiplied. Nor was he deceived in his expectation: for the town being defended by *Rigaud*, the Governor of it, made so obstinate a resistance, that the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, and much more the *Walloons*, began to plunder all the country round for want of provisions, and sacked even those places which the King had spared during the long siege of *Paris:* so that the *French* of the League, though the fault proceeded from themselves, murmured, nevertheless, against the Duke's soldiers, and hated them as much as ever they had formerly hated and murmured against the *Hugonots*. The siege of *Corbeil* also, through many deficiencies, proceeded but slowly, as they were not furnished with those things that are necessary for the reducing of strong places: and in particular, there was so small a quantity of heavy shot, that they were obliged to send for some, though few were to be had, from *Orleans* and *Pontoise*. Yet the Duke, endeavouring to supply all these important wants by redoubled industry and diligence, renewed the battery in so many different places, and made so many assaults, that on the 16th of *October*, after an action that lasted four hours with surprising obstinacy on both sides, the *Spaniards, Italians,* and *Walloons* entered the town promiscuously, killed *Rigaud*, with the greater part of the garrison, took *La Grange* prisoner, and sacked the place with the utmost fury.

In the mean time, the King had moved from *Clermont* with eight hundred horse, to try if he could throw some relief into *Corbeil:* but being informed that it was lost, in his return he fell upon the quarters of two troops of light horse, which lay at some distance from the rest, and having presently defeated them and taken the Captains, he put most of the soldiers to the sword.

After *Corbeil* was taken, the disgusts betwixt the Duke of *Parma* and the *French* chiefs of the League began to increase: for the Duke thought it was necessary to put a garrison of *Walloons* or *Italians* into it, sufficient to keep what he had got: and the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Parisians* grew jealous that the *Spaniards*, under a colour of assisting them, would make themselves masters of that place and many others, and forcibly

1590. maintain what acquiſitions ſoever they ſhould from time to time thereafter make. The Duke of *Parma*, therefore, perceiving what the *French* ſuſpected, and being now more confirmed in his firſt deſigns of ſpinning out the war, in order to break the ſtrength and weary out the obſtinacy of both parties, and finding that the minds of the people were not yet thoroughly diſpoſed to take ſuch a turn as his Catholick Majeſty's affairs required, reſolved to leave them and return into *Flanders*, where there was very great occaſion both for him and his army. Many other circumſtances perſuaded him to that reſolution: as the waſting of his forces, which periſhed by diſeaſes every moment, the want of money, the ſcarcity of proviſions, which were the cauſes that he could not maintain diſcipline in his army: beſides the inconvenience of the ſeaſon, which hindered him from making any further progreſs, and made him fearful that his reputation would ſuffer, and the valour of his ſoldiers degenerate by lying ſtill. To theſe might be added, the neceſſary and redoubled inſtances which were continually made to him from all parts for money, as every one perſuaded himſelf, that he had brought mountains of gold along with him, to ſatisfy all their wants and deſires: and, laſtly, the ſuſpicions of many, who already rather murmured, than gave him any thanks for the relief which he had afforded them, in a time of ſo great diſtreſs and ſo evident danger. Upon theſe conſiderations, having put *Corbeil* into the hands of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and left *Lagny* entire, which he had before determined to diſmantle, he gave the Duke and the *Pariſians* to underſtand, that the neceſſity of affairs in *Flanders* demanded his preſence there, and that as he had fulfilled his Catholick Majeſty's command in raiſing the ſiege of *Paris*, and opened the paſſages that were neceſſary for the bringing in proviſions, he could not ſtay any longer with them at a time of the year ſo unfit for action, but muſt return to take care of his concerns, which had been left in danger and confuſion, merely to relieve his friends.

This reſolution occaſioned much trouble and perplexity amongſt thoſe of the League: for, having flattered themſelves that the *Spaniſh* army would not forſake them till their undertaking was fully compleated, and that the Duke of *Parma* would aſſiſt their party to the utmoſt of his power, with his men and the King of *Spain's* money, they now ſaw all theſe hopes vaniſh in an inſtant, and their party left deſtitute of the neceſſary ſupplies of men and money. Wherefore, both the Duke of *Mayenne* in perſon and the Deputies of *Paris*, together with Monſignor *Sega*, Biſhop of *Piacenza* (appointed Vice-Legate by Cardinal *Caietano*, who had ſuddenly departed on account of the Pope's death) preſſed the Duke of *Parma* with the moſt earneſt and reiterated arguments and intreaties to change his reſolution: and when they ſaw that words could not make any

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impreſſion upon him, but that he continued making preparations for his 1590. departure, the Duke of *Mayenne* began a new treaty of accommodation with the King, by means of Monſieur *De Villeroy*, in order to create a jealouſy in the *Spaniards*, and make them believe, that when their forces were once gone, a peace would be immediately concluded, and conſequently, that all the expences and pains which they had already been at and undergone, would be entirely thrown away. But even this did not move the Duke of *Parma* from his determination, as he knew the Duke of *Mayenne* could not eaſily prevail upon himſelf to drop his preſent hopes and ſubmit to the power of his enemies: and that if he ſhould do ſo, the whole enterprize did not depend upon him alone, but that it was neceſſary that many others, who were not only far off, but divided and governed by different intereſts, muſt conſent to it: and that, before they could conclude upon any thing, he himſelf might have leiſure to return, and cancel whatſoever ſhould be agreed on in the mean time. But leſt the affairs of the League ſhould grow deſperate, he promiſed them to diſburſe two hundred and thirty thouſand ducats, for the payment of the foreign troops, as ſoon as he came to *Bruſſels*, and to leave a ſufficient number of horſe and foot, under the Duke of *Mayenne's* command, to ſupport and continue the war. But that ſum of money ſeemed very ſmall to thoſe who had fancied to themſelves, that all the treaſures of the *Indies* would have been poured down upon them; and the forces which he left were indeed ſufficient to keep the war alive, but not to put an end to it. So that all the party, but eſpecially the *Pariſians*, who had ſuffered ſo much before the coming, and had conceived ſuch magnificent hopes after the arrival of the *Spaniſh* army, were now reduced to very great diſtreſs and perplexity, which was ſtill increaſed by the departure of Cardinal *Caietano*, and becauſe they knew not what might be expected from the new Pope *Urban* the ſeventh, and after him (who lived but twelve days) from *Gregory* the fourteenth, his ſucceſſor in the Apoſtolick chair.

The Duke, however, continuing firm in his reſolution, after an interval of twenty days, which he had given his army to refreſh itſelf, marched towards *Champagne*, to keep the enemy in doubt which way he deſigned to bend his courſe, and by that means to prevent his paſſage from being interrupted by ambuſcades. His army was divided into four bodies: the vanguard, led by the Marquis of *Ranty*: the firſt column of the main battle, by the Sieur *De la Mothe*; the ſecond, commanded by himſelf: and the rear-guard, by *Georgio Baſta*. The ſeveral diviſions marched conſtantly in order of battle, with their baggage waggons on each ſide, which flanked them like a breaſt-work, and kept ſo near together, that they could very ſoon aſſiſt each other upon occaſion. They had a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, and as they were to march through a fertile and plentiful

1590. plentiful country, they had no occasion to extend themselves: except the light horse, which scoured all the neighbouring roads, and reconnoitred the country: and even they did not go very far from the army. So that being always prepared and in good order, they were not under any apprehension of being taken unprovided.

But he had scarcely marched with his army towards *Chasteau-Thierry* in *Champagne*, when the Baron *De Givry*, who was at *Melun*, assaulted and took *Corbeil* again, which the *Parisians* had negligently and weakly garrisoned, and with the same good fortune returned and recovered *Lagny*, which, contrary to the Duke of *Parma's* advice, had not been dismantled: at which the *Parisians* were not a little affected, and pressed the Vice-legate *Sega*, with great importunity, to procure the stay of the *Spanish* army, till such time as those places, so necessary for supplying them with provisions, could be re-taken. The Vice-legate, accordingly, dispatched the Prothonotary *Carracciolo* to acquaint the Duke with the earnest intreaties of the *Parisians*, and the danger of the city: and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was was still in his army, used his utmost endeavours to persuade him to comply with them. But the Duke of *Parma* excusing himself, by saying, that his army was very much diminished by sickness, that the season was so adverse, that nothing could be done, and that the affairs of the *Low Countries* required his presence, continued his march, in some hopes of making himself master of *Chasteau-Thierry*, by a correspondence which he held with the Viscount *Pinart*, Governor of that town.

In the mean time, the King, who was departed from *Compeigne*, attended by the Baron *De Biron* and the Duke of *Longueville*, with a body of select men, followed the rout of the *Spanish* army, to prevent it from taking those places that adhered to his party, and to watch some favourable opportunity of annoying it: and having some suspicion of the correspondence betwixt the Duke of *Parma* and the Viscount *Pinart*, he caused the Sieur *De la Noüe*, with three hundred horse, and six hundred foot, to enter *Chasteau Thierry*; by which means the Duke, being disappointed in his designs upon that place, turned to the left-hand, and took the direct road towards *Flanders*. But the King pursued him with all expedition, and was sometimes before him, sometimes quartered on one side of him, sometimes pressed upon his rear, continually hovering round his army, and harrassing it day and night with frequent alarms and warm skirmishes. The Duke of *Parma* proceeded with no less order and circumspection, and keeping all parts of his army under the same discipline, was ready to turn on which side soever the enemy should shew himself. After they had marched in this manner from the 13th to the 25th of *November*, the King, being desirous to reap some advantage from so much diligence, and so many labours, having divided his cavalry in five bodies, advanced upon

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the ſame road by which the army of the League was to paſs, ſeeming as if he deſigned to attack them upon their march. But the carbineers, who were ready for all aſſaults, coming out of the barricadoes of their carriages, began a very fierce ſkirmiſh with them, giving fire, and wheeling about, and then returning to the charge, by which they did no ſmall damage to the King's cavalry. The Baron *De Biron*, therefore, in hopes of breaking them, and removing that obſtacle, charged them more boldly than conſiderately, with fourſcore cuiraſſiers, expecting to drive them back in diſorder: but the carbineers giving way, according to their cuſtom, to retire behind the reſt of the army, the Baron advanced ſo far in purſuit of them, and was ſo deeply engaged betwixt two ſquadrons of lances in the vanguard, that his horſe was killed under him, and he was in great danger of being taken priſoner: which being perceived by the Count *De Tillieres*, who was on the right hand with a body of cuiraſſiers, and by the Sieur *De Humieres*, who was on the left with ninety horſe, they advanced no leſs bravely than he had done to diſengage him. But being attacked by the whole cavalry of the vanguard, and the other battalions coming up one after another, as they knew by the vollies of ſmall arms that a ſkirmiſh was begun, and therefore haſtened their march, they were forced to quit the field, and retire full ſpeed, in evident danger of being all cut off, if the King himſelf, and the Duke of *Longueville*, with two other ſquadrons, had not advanced to ſecure their retreat: by which they diſengaged the Baron, and with much difficulty mounted him on horſeback again, (after he and two of his companions had defended themſelves at the foot of a bank a long time againſt the enemy) though they were afterwards purſued as far as a village called *Longue-val*; when night coming on, put an end to the fight, and gave the King a convenient opportunity of retiring to *Pont-arſy* with all his forces, where they ſtood to their arms the whole night. Nor did the enemy enjoy more reſt: for the King's well known courage and celerity kept all their quarters in continual apprehenſion, eſpecially as the rout of the two ſquadrons had been attended with more terror and danger than real loſs, there being not above five men killed, and only twenty wounded. The next day the Duke of *Nevers* joined the King, with the forces of *Champagne*, as did alſo the Sieurs *De Givry* and *Pamabiere*, who having taken *Corbeil*, and put a garriſon into it, were come with all expedition to look for him again: by which, being increaſed in ſtrength, he began to harraſs the Duke's army afreſh with more boldneſs than before: but the Duke, being intent upon his journey, would not ſuffer his men upon any account whatſoever to break their order, nor to ſtir out of the ſhelter of their carriages, and continued to march forwards at his convenience.

But on the 29th, as the army drew near *Guiſe*, the King being reſolved

1590. ved to make another attempt, fell with all his cavalry upon their rear guard, which making a halt, and putting themſelves in readineſs to engage, the carbineers with their wonted courage began the ſkirmiſh. But the King's cavalry, which was divided for that purpoſe into ſmall ſquadrons, and had orders to charge home, and not to give the enemy time to avail themſelves of their fire arms, incloſed them in ſuch a manner, that they would all have been cut off upon the ſpot, if *Georgio Baſti* had not come up with twelve hundred lances to diſengage them. His ſquadron ruſhed ſo furiouſly upon the *French* cavalry, which were divided into thoſe little troops to engage the carbineers with more advantage, that the Baron *De Biron*, not being able to ſuſtain the ſhock of ſo many lances, was obliged to retire in ſome diſorder. But being reinforced by the King himſelf, who advanced to renew the battle with the reſt of his horſe, and a thouſand foot of *Parabiere's* old regiment mounted behind them; *Baſti* having no orders to engage any further, retired in very good order under the ſhelter of the main army, yet not with ſo great care as to prevent the *French* from taking ſome carriages, which by chance were ſeparated from the reſt. But when the King had advanced almoſt to the rear guard, where *Pietro Caietano* was making ready to oppoſe him with the infantry drawn up in good order, and almoſt encompaſſed with the carriages; and ſaw the Duke of *Parma*, who had faced about and changed the order of his march, coming up with the ſecond battalion, he reſolved to retire without attempting any thing further, as the enemy was drawn up in ſuch a ſoldierlike manner, and there was ſo manifeſt a diſparity in their forces. This was the laſt time that the King moleſted the *Spaniſh* army in its march.

The Duke of *Parma* being arrived at the frontiers took leave of the Duke of *Mayenne*, endeavouring to encourage him with warm profeſſions of friendſhip, and aſſurances, that he ſhould very ſoon receive powerful aſſiſtance both of men and money: and that he might not leave him in ſo weak a condition as to be forced to come an agreement with the enemy, he ordered the *Italian* diviſion commanded by *Pietro Caietano*, and the *Spaniſh* one under the conduct of *Alphonſo Idiaques*, to ſtay in *France*, and implicitly to obey the Duke of *Mayenne's* inſtructions; with whom he alſo left four hundred horſe, and one hundred *Walloon* carbineers. Theſe ſupplies, added to the diviſion of *Germans* under *Collalto*, which were in his Catholick Majeſty's pay, and to the other *French* forces, he thought a ſufficient body to ſupport the cauſe of the League: eſpecially at a time when the King had divided his army for want of ſubſiſtence, and was ſo weakened by his late loſſes and diſappointments, that his affairs ſeemed manifeſtly to be upon the decline.

The End of the Eleventh Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF *FRANCE.*

BOOK XII.

ARGUMENT.

The various disturbances in several parts of the kingdom. The progress of the Duke of Mercœur in Bretagne, and of the Duke of Savoy in Provence and Dauphinè. The King takes Corbie. He is embarrassed by the contrary importunities of the Catholicks and Hugonots of his own party. He sends the Viscount De Turenne into England and Germany; who raises a great army to come into France the next spring. The Duke of Mayenne is no less perplexed than the King. The Parisians attempt to surprise St. Dennis, but are disappointed, and the Chevalier D'Aumale is killed there. The King, on the other side, endeavours to surprise Paris: but that design likewise proves ineffectual. Pope Sixtus the fifth being dead, Gregory the fourteenth succeeds to the papal chair, and not only declares himself in fa-

vour of the League, but dispatches his nephew the Duke of Monte-marchiano with powerful supplies into France. The King in the mean time besieges and takes the city of Chartres. The Duke of Mayenne not having sufficient strength to relieve that place, marches towards Champagne, takes Chasteau-Thierry, and goes to Rheims to confer with the Duke of Lorrain. Marsilio Landriano, the Pope's Nuncio, arrives there, and publishes a Monitory against those that follow the King, which occasions various alterations. The young Cardinal of Bourbon endeavours to form a third party of Catholicks, to open himself a way to the Crown: which the King being informed of, uses divers means to prevent it. The Duke of Mayenne makes an attempt upon Mante, but without success. The King besieges Noyon, which being destitute of relief, after many assaults, is at last taken by him. The Pope's and the King of Spain's forces pass the mountains to assist the Duke of Savoy; which event occasions many encounters. The Duke of Guise escapes from his imprisonment at Tours. The King and the Duke of Mayenne advance: the King to receive, the Duke to oppose the Viscount De Turenne and the Germans in Lorrain. The armies draw near to each other at Verdun; the King having received the Viscount with the supplies, retires. The Council of sixteen raise an insurrection in Paris, and cause the first President of the Parliament and other Counsellors to be executed. The Duke of Mayenne hastes thither, reduces the city to obedience, and punishes the delinquents. The King marches into Normandy, lays siege to Roüen, defended by Monsieur De Villers and a great number of choice soldiers and commanders. The various events that happened during the siege. The Duke of Parma, with the Spanish army, marches to relieve that place. The King, with part of his army, goes to oppose him; they meet, and an engagement ensues at Aumale. The King is wounded, his men routed, and he saves himself with much difficulty. Villers sallies out of Roüen, enters the trenches, and makes himself master of the artillery. The Duke of Parma advances: but finding the city secured by that sally, resolves to retire and watch his opportunity. The King returns to Roüen and renews the siege. The Duke of Parma also returns to its relief. The King's forces being much diminished, he raises the siege and marches to the banks of the Seine.

1590. THE passions of the people were no less enflamed, nor the course of the war less bloody in other parts of the kingdom, than in those places where the main armies lay: for the concerns of religion being mingled with private interests and the inveterate animosities of the factions, every one exerted himself, as in his own cause and a contest that particularly affected him, and applied himself with all his power to the profession of a soldier. The war, therefore, was carried on

on both by the heads and governors of the two parties, and by private persons, of their own voluntary accord, with the ſame ſpirit through every province, but with various ſucceſs and different fortune on both ſides. 1590.

The principal and moſt dangerous commotions were in *Bretagne*, a great and opulent province, well peopled, full of Gentry, conſiderable for the largeneſs of its cities, and the convenience of the ſea, along the coaſt of which it extends itſelf towards the north-weſt. *Henry* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Dombes*, ſon to the Duke of *Montpenſier*, a youth of very great courage, had the government of it in the King's name: but the towns that acknowledged his authority were ſo few, that if it had not been for the aſſiſtance of the lower *Normandy*, which borders upon it and adhered to the King, under the government of the Duke his father, he would either have been driven out of the province, or ſuppreſſed without much difficulty by the ſuperior forces of the League. On the other ſide, *Emanuel* of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Mercœur*, commanded the party of the Union there, and had not only from the beginning been in poſſeſſion of the beſt cities and ſtrongeſt holds, as Governor of the province, but alſo pretending that the duchy of *Bretagne* wholly belonged to his wife, *Mary* of *Luxembourg*, Counteſs of *Penthieure*, he was ſtrongly ſupported by all ſuch as choſe rather to have a Prince of their own, than to be dependent on the Crown of *France*, which was not very agreeable to them: and being exceedingly impatient to eſtabliſh himſelf in that poſſeſſion, now the preſent ſituation of things afforded him ſo fair an opportunity, he had ſecretly negociated in *Spain*, by means of *Lorenzo Tornabuoni*, one of his Gentlemen, who went thither by ſea, and had prevailed upon his Catholick Majeſty to ſend and pay four thouſand foot for his ſervice, upon condition that *Blavet* ſhould be conſigned to him for a ſecurity: a place at that time not conſiderable, but which, by the benefit of a large port, well fortified and improved by the *Spaniards*, came, by little and little, to be of exceeding great conſequence, not only to the affairs of that province, but alſo to thoſe of the whole kingdom.

As ſoon as the Prince of *Dombes* was informed of this, though he had but few forces, and till that time had only employed himſelf in undertakings of ſmall importance, juſt to keep up the King's reputation in thoſe parts, yet now he made uſe of art, to ſupply the want of ſtrength as much as it was poſſible, in the preſent exigency, and immediately took ſuch meaſures as lay in his power to oppoſe the entrance of foreigners into that province: and having routed three hundred of the Duke of *Mercœur's* light horſe, that were going to join his army, he ſuddenly aſſaulted and took *Annebont*, a place near *Blavet*, and began, with wonderful expedition, to build a fort by the ſea-ſide, to command and prevent the

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1590. entry of ships into that harbour; in which he exerted himself in such a manner, that he would presently have compleated his design, if he had not been forced to retreat into places of his own party, before the fort was quite finished, by the Duke of *Mercœur's* army, which was still increasing, and had advanced to *Vannes*, seven leagues from *Blavet*. Nevertheless, as he had left a strong guard in the fort, and put eight hundred foot into *Annebont*, he was in hopes those places might be able to hinder the enemy from entering and settling themselves there. Soon after, the *Spanish* fleet appeared off *Blavet*, consisting of six and thirty sail of ships and four galleons, and with so fair a wind, that notwithstanding the shot from fort *Dombes*, which were redoubled with very great fury by the garrison, it entered the port without receiving much damage, and landed four thousand five hundred foot, commanded by Don *Juan de l'Aquila*, who, to free the port from all annoyances, immediately invested the fort, which not being finished, and having no hopes of relief from any place, surrendered on the fifth day of the siege, and was presently demolished by the *Spaniards*: after which enterprise, being joined by the Duke *De Mercœur*, they recovered *Annebont* and the other neighbouring places with the same facility, and at last, under the shelter of the fleet, began to fortify *Blavet*, securing it with two royal forts built at the entrance of the harbour, for the convenience of bringing in supplies of all kinds by sea, and strengthened it with moats, bastions, and all other sorts of military fortifications on the land side. But the King and the Prince of *Dombes* being sensible they could not resist the power of the Duke and the *Spaniards* with the forces they had in that province, applied to *England* for assistance, which lying over-against it, hath no less opportunity than *Spain* of sending relief to that coast: and having been promised six thousand foot from the Queen, they expected their landing at *St. Lo*, the furthest port of lower *Normandy*.

The war raged on the other side of the kingdom with the same variety of success and equal fury: for *Dauphinè* and *Provence*, which border upon the Duke of *Savoy*, and extend themselves to the very foot of the *Alpes*, underwent the like vicissitudes of fortune. The Duke of *Savoy*, from the very beginning of the war, had formed several great, and not ill-grounded schemes in his breast: for the affairs of *Piedmont* being secured by his seizing upon the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*, and lying conveniently to attend to what passed in *Dauphinè* by the near neighbourhood of *Savoy*, he hoped in some measure to enlarge his territories by fomenting the League. On the other hand, being interested in *Provence* by the towns which he held there, he was not without some expectation of making himself master of the whole of what he now only possessed a part: for which purpose he held a correspondence in both provinces, and en-

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deavoured to advance his designs upon them by dint both of money and arms. But his ambition was not bounded here; for seeing the kingdom in so great distraction, and ready to break through the *Salic* law, by cutting off the natural succession of the royal family in the King of *Navarre*, he imagined that the States might perhaps make choice of him, as being born of a daughter of *France*: which he thought was so much the more likely to happen, as his reputation was great in arms, and he stood well not only with the Catholick party, but in the opinion of the Pope, who was the principal mover and director (in regard to religion) of the affairs of *France*. Nor did he forget (what event soever these designs might have) that the present circumstances of affairs gave him an opportunity of reducing the inhabitants of *Geneva*, now the King of *France* was sufficiently employed at home, and could not afford them any immediate relief. Elated with these hopes, he sent agents to treat with the Duke of *Mayenne*, and having entered into a correspondence with him, he had raised a large body of horse and foot, and sent the Count *Francisco Martinengo*, General of his army, into *Provence*, and his brother Don *Amadeo*, of *Savoy*, against *Geneva*: and by means of the Governors of his garrisoned towns, gave assistance to the forces of the League in *Dauphinè*. And his success indeed at first was answerable to the greatness of his designs. For the Sieur *De Vins* and the Countess *De Saux* (a Lady of more than manly spirit) who both adhered to the party of the League in *Provence*, finding themselves inferior in strength to Monsieur *De la Valette*, the King's Lieutenant there, not only willingly received supplies and assistance from the Duke, but began also to treat of delivering up the sovereignty of that province to him, and of putting themselves under his protection and command: which being agreed and concluded upon with the Duke, he went in person to his army, and took with him a reinforcement both of horse and foot, which, by virtue of a commission from his Catholick Majesty, he had been supplied with by the Governor of *Milan*. At his arrival, the King's party, now much inferior in strength, were forced to give way, though *Les Diguieres* had come out of *Dauphinè* into that province, and had exerted himself with his usual valour and activity (which indeed were very great) to support it: so that the power of the League was so much increased, that their arms now gave law to the whole country. Upon this encouragement, the Duke proceeded to the city of *Aix*, and being received there with that pomp and solemnity which are commonly shewn to sovereign Princes (though, after the example of the Duke of *Mayenne*, he refused to make use of the canopy of state) he was declared commander in chief of their armies by the Parliament, and of the civil government in that province, that

1590.

1590. that so it might be protected in the Catholick union, and under the obedience of the royal state of *France*.

These proceedings gave no less dissatisfaction to the Duke of *Mayenne* than they did to the King; as it was thought the Duke of *Savoy* not only had used means to usurp that authority which had been conferred upon him by the general consent of the people, but also had a design to dismember *Provence*, and by the help of *Nice*, and his other towns, by little and little to make himself entirely master of it. He therefore wrote letters in very sharp terms, and full of resentment, not only to the Parliament, but likewise to the Sieur *De Vins*, and to the Countess, representing to them the crime they had been guilty of, in separating themselves from the rest of the Union, and in running the risque of alienating so great and so important an appendage of the Crown. These letters had so great an effect upon the Sieur *De Vins*, who was an old dependant on the house of *Lorrain*, that he began to shew himself more backward in complying with the designs and promoting the interests of the Duke of *Savoy*. By whose example the city of *Marseilles*, which (in imitation of the Parliament) had called in the Duke not long before, with the ready concurrence of the people, now began to repent of it, and to grow mutinous.

On the other hand, the King, not a little concerned to see foreign troops brought into that province, had ordered *Les Diguieres* to leave the city of *Grenoble*, in *Dauphiné*, besieged as closely as was possible, and march with all the forces he could raise to join Monsieur *De la Valette* in *Provence*: upon which *Les Diguieres*, accustomed from his youth to encounter difficulties and dangers, having posted sufficient guards about *Grenoble* to continue the siege, which had been begun many months before, went with four hundred horse, and two thousand foot, to the assistance of the *Provençals*. At his arrival, the Duke of *Savoy* was not a little embarrassed, and finding himself in a great measure abandoned by the Catholicks of the province, and but feebly supported by the *Spaniards*, who were not over and above pleased at his proceedings, he endeavoured to protract the time in small undertakings, till the return of Monsieur *De Ligny*, whom he had dispatched into *Spain* to negotiate his affairs with that court; and of the Sieur *De la Croix*, whom he had also sent to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to excuse what was past, and to confer with him about the manner of conducting himself for the time to come.

But his undertakings succeeded much better in the territories of *Geneva*, where, having to do with the forces of those citizens, which were not very powerful, and with Commanders of small reputation and experience, Don *Amadeo* had often routed the enemy in the field, beaten up their quarters, taken many castles, over-run and ravaged the country, and distressed the city to such a degree, that they sent very frequent and importunate

portunate meſſages for relief, ſometimes to the King of *France*, and ſometimes to the canton of *Bern*. 1590.

On the other hand the war was carried on with very good ſucceſs on the King's ſide in *Dauphine*. For though the Duke of *Savoy's* Agents and Commanders, united with thoſe of the League which were in that province, made great reſiſtance, yet they were not ſo ſtrong as Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo* and Monſieur *Les Diguieres*, who, after he had put an end to all immediate danger in *Provence*, was returned to the ſiege of *Grenoble*, and diſtreſſed that city in ſuch a manner, that after it had ſuffered great hardſhips for many months, the beſieged, about the end of the year, agreed to ſurrender, upon condition, that they ſhould not be moleſted in their conſciences, their fortunes, or liberties: that the city ſhould be permitted to exerciſe the Catholick religion, and be preſerved in the ſame ſtate it then was. And on the other ſide, that they ſhould acknowledge King *Henry* the fourth for their lawful Prince, and receive a garriſon and governor of his appointing.

The King being now delivered from his late apprehenſions of the Duke of *Parma* and the *Spaniſh* army, was come in his return to *St. Quintin*, where he ſtaid watching with his uſual circumſpection to avail himſelf of all opportunities, and at laſt took a reſolution of making a ſudden aſſault upon *Corbie*, a town on the river *Somme*, and very conveniently ſituated for bridling the city of *Amiens*, the capital of that province, which adhered to the party of the League. With this deſign he raiſed his camp from before the walls of *St. Quintin* in the duſk of the evening: but perceiving in his march, that all the country was up, and that every village furiouſly rung their alarm bells, he could not get to the walls of *Corbie* till within an hour before day, and then, the ſucceſs of his deſign appeared no leſs uncertain: for they found the whole town in arms, and the garriſon with torches and fires lighted, ready to ſuſtain the aſſault, of which they had notice by the uproar and tumult of the country people. Yet Monſieur *D'Humieres* coming up with the regiments of *St. Dennis* and *Parabiere* about break of day, cauſed a *petard* to be fixed to the iron grate of a canal that runs out of the lower ſide of the town, which being preſently broke to pieces by the violence of the blaſt, the foot advanced, ſome to the canal which was frozen over, and others with ſcaling ladders to the wall adjoining, to give the aſſault; which was no leſs manfully ſuſtained by the garriſon and townſmen, who boldly ran together to hinder the enemy from entring at the iron grate, and to defend the walls. But the Sieur *De Belle Fourriere*, Governor of the place, being ſlain in the firſt attack, and many of the ſtouteſt ſoldiers falling, after a moſt bloody action that laſted three hours, the town fell into the King's hands, who thought

thought he had made no bad conclusion of the year, considering his late misfortunes and disappointments.

From *Corbie* he marched to *Senlis*, which is situated directly upon the road that leads from *Picardy* towards *Paris*; and there applied himself in the beginning of the year, to concert measures, to set his affairs in order, and to consider of means to subdue and dissolve the League. But he was no less perplexed how to keep the Catholicks of his party together, than he was to raise sufficient forces to suppress the enemy. For as he had promised in the autumn of the year eighty-nine to call an Assembly of the States the *March* following, that he might be instructed in the Catholick faith, in an honourable manner, and becoming the dignity of his person; and as he had not been able to perform his promise, because the chief actions of the war happened during that interval, particularly the battle of *Yvry*, and after that the siege of *Paris*, and then the coming of the *Spanish* army, to the great prejudice of his affairs; now he seemed to be left in peace, and unmolested by their departure, and the diminution of the enemy, he was called upon by the tacit consent of the most discreet persons to fulfil his promise; and those that did not respect him so much, or were more zealous for the Catholick religion, publickly murmured and complained, that they had been deluded and imposed upon. But especially the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, which with much difficulty had been kept in their obedience to the King, by the good conduct and indefatigable diligence of the Marshal *De Matignon*, and now seeing his conversion was deferred, began to resent it, and at this time had sent their first President and two Counsellors, to beseech his Majesty to come to a final resolution: the Catholicks not being able to satisfy their consciences, unless they saw him embrace the true religion, which had been professed and maintained for so many ages by all the Most Christian Kings, his glorious predecessors. Which commission having been fully and pathetically delivered by the Deputies, the King seemed to take their petition in good part, and answered it in a gracious manner, though he was inwardly much troubled and stung to the quick, as he could not tell what course to take, which, as a middle way, might give satisfaction to both parties. He knew his chief dependence was on the *Hugonots*: for his commands were no where so punctually obeyed as in the places that were held by them: and the Catholick provinces being divided against themselves, were shared betwixt the two factions; so that not one of them entirely declared for him. He considered with himself, from the example of times past, what mischievous consequences are generally produced by forsaking old friends and confederates, and giving one's self wholly up to the will and discretion of new ones. He thought that, as he had not changed his religion at a time, when, being strong and victorious, he might have done it with reputation;

1591.

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reputation; now he was declined in ſtrength, it would ſeem as if he did it out of fear or compulſion. The occaſion he had at that very juncture for the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* and the Queen of *England*, likewiſe repreſented itſelf to him; ſo that he was neceſſitated to take great care of not making them diſtruſtful of him. But on the other ſide, he knew alſo, that if he loſt the Catholicks, he ſhould no longer be able to reſiſt his enemies: and that, except the name of *The King of France*, he ſhould be reduced to the ſame diſtreſſed condition that he was in before he left *Rochelle*. In this uncertainty of mind there appeared but two remedies: one, to give full ſatisfaction to the leading men in his army, that by keeping them together, all the reſt might likewiſe be induced not to leave him: the other, to keep his men in continual action, that reſt and idleneſs might not ſuggeſt ſuch thoughts to them. For this purpoſe, knowing how great authority the Duke of *Nevers* had in the Catholick party, and how much his manner of acting upon this occaſion would be taken notice of, as a Prince that had always ſhewn great regard to conſcience and religion, he gave him the government of *Champagne*, one of the principal and largeſt provinces in the kingdom, and which he had long before deſired. To the Baron *De Biron*, on account of the great reputation of his father, and his own perſonal merit and valour, beſides the rank of Field Marſhal, he promiſed the dignity of High Admiral; and ſhewed himſelf liberal and gracious to all the reſt, with expreſſions of the utmoſt kindneſs and regard; diſpoſing of places and honours to ſuch Catholick Lords, as by birth or ancient devotion to the church were moſt likely to keep thoſe ſteddy in their attachment to him, who were in danger of falling off, now he ſo long delayed the performance of his promiſe. And that he might not give leiſure for idleneſs, and for thoſe deſigns which commonly take birth from thence, he recalled the Duke of *Eſpernon* to the army, not only with a deſire to reconcile him to his perſon, but alſo to employ him. He likewiſe ſent for the Duke of *Nevers* (who at that time was beſieging *Provins*) the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count *De St. Paul*, his brother, and many other Catholick Lords: intending, when he had drawn them all together, to go upon ſome enterpriſe, which might not only tend to advance his own affairs, but keep every one of them honourably employed.

After this reſolution, he began to think of aſſembling forces, that he might be able, not only to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Spaniards* in *Bretagne*, and the attempts of the Duke of *Savoy* in *Provence*; but alſo to reinforce his army in ſuch a manner, that if the Duke of *Parma* ſhould return and join the Duke of *Lorrain*, he might have ſufficient ſtrength to cope with them both in the open field. And as he had no-body elſe to apply to for ſupplies of money, and to obtain a numerous levy of men,

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1591. but the Queen of *England*, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, whom he saw equally cool and tardy, he determined to send a person of eminent distinction and abilities to them, who might confer with every one of them in particular, and then balancing the whole, and treating with them all together, might be able to procure such succours, as the urgent necessity of his circumstances required. For this purpose, he first thought of the Marshal *De Biron*, a man of the highest reputation and prudence, and every way qualified for the discharge of so great a trust: but afterwards, judging his presence much more necessary for the conducting of his army, as the order, management, and very being of all enterprises depended chiefly upon him, he resolved to send *Henry de la Tour*, Viscount *De Turenne*, a man that he had always found not only most faithful to him in the course of a long acquaintance, and in having constantly followed his fortune: but also for his wisdom and singular eloquence, very able to manage a negotiation of so great importance, and likewise on account of his valour and military experience, highly proper to conduct what forces should be granted him; and so much the rather, because he, being a *Hugonot*, would be the more acceptable and fit to treat with Princes of the same religion: since Monsieur *De Beauvais* (who till the death of the late King had been Ambassador to Queen *Elizabeth*) being a Catholick, was not well received: and the Count *De Schomberg*, who had already been a long time in *Germany*, was likewise become suspected, on account of his religion, by the Duke of *Saxony*, and Prince *Casimir*, guardian of his young nephew, the Palatine of the *Rhine*: but much more by the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, who was jealous, that, under the pretence of negotiating the King's affairs, he wanted to discover their intentions, that he might communicate them to the party of the League.

The Viscount therefore immediately departed for *England*, where things were not so well circumstanced in favour of the King, but that the Queen thought to make her advantage of his present necessity, and to take that opportunity of persuading him, either to restore *Calais* to her, or to give up some other fortress of no less importance, into her hands: a thing, that had not only been coveted by all the Kings that had possessed that Crown, but impatiently longed for by the whole people of *England*. But as it was an affair that was to be artfully managed, and the Queen did not want either prudence or address to conduct it, she first acquainted him, that the merchants of her kingdom desired a safe port upon the coast of *France*, where their ships might put in and secure their goods and persons when they had occasion. She then urged the reasons she had to expect it from a Prince that was her friend and confederate, and whom she always called by the name of *Brother*, since she had made the same demands upon King *Charles* and King *Henry*, his immediate predecessors,

after the Duke of *Guiſe* had unjuſtly uſurped the town of *Calais* that belonged to her Crown by the poſſeſſion of ſo many ages. Nevertheleſs, as the Viſcount, with no leſs artifice, did not peremptorily refuſe to grant her requeſt, but evaded and deferred it upon ſeveral pretences; ſometimes repreſenting the hatred which the King, who was not yet eſtabliſhed in his throne, would incur amongſt his ſubjects, if he ſhould think of alienating any part of his dominions: that the revolt of the Catholicks, who were already not a little offended and diſguſted, would immediately enſue upon it: ſometimes hinting to the Queen, that it was rather improper to make that demand at preſent, leſt ſhe ſhould ſhew a deſire of forcing the King to a neceſſity of complying with it, and of taking the advantage of his diſtreſs, *to put the collar* (as they ſay) *about his neck*, ſhe ſeemed to deſiſt, and reſerved the further preſſing of that point, till the time that her promiſes were to be fulfilled, which ſhe thought would be a more proper and more urgent conjuncture. In the mean time, the Viſcount prevailed upon her Majeſty to lend the King an hundred thouſand crowns, for the levies that were to be made: to ſend the ſix thouſand foot, before mentioned, to the relief of the Prince of *Dombes*: and to diſpatch *Horatio Pallavicino* along with him (a *Genoeſe*, who had fled on the account of religion into that iſland) to perſuade the States of *Holland* and the Princes of *Germany* to aſſiſt the King with men and money on their part; and ſhe promiſed further, that if the Duke of *Parma* ſhould move again to return into *France*, ſhe would ſend large ſupplies to Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau* and the *Hollanders*, to enable them to make a powerful diverſion by entering *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

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Theſe things being concluded upon, the Viſcount left *England* and went to the *Hague*, where he did not obtain what he ſollicited from the States of *Holland*, which was thirty thouſand crowns in ready money, but three thouſand foot paid by them, which were to join thoſe forces that were to be raiſed in *Germany*, though afterwards the urgency of their own affairs would not admit them to perform even that promiſe. But it was a matter of much greater difficulty to ſucceed with the *German* Princes, as there were many of them, and their intereſts different: yet the Viſcount conducted the negotiation with ſo much addreſs, and was ſo well ſeconded by *Pallavicino*, that at laſt he obtained men of ſome, and money of others, and took meaſures for raiſing four thouſand horſe, and eight thouſand foot, with a proportionable train of artillery, and a ſufficient quantity of ammunition, which were to be ready at the beginning of the ſummer to march with him, under the command of *Chriſtian*, Prince of *Anhalt*, to the aſſiſtance of the King of *France*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was no leſs embarraſſed than the King, and with difficulties that ſeemed to be nearly of the ſame kind. For as there

1591. were many Princes of his family, who had equal pretensions with himself, he could not find means to content them all: and to the other Lords and Commanders of that party, who were continually demanding subsistance money for the soldiery, it was impossible to give full satisfaction. Upon which, many being displeased, and several forsaking him, he was afraid there would be a division in his army, and that some would go over to the King's party. Which indeed was much to be apprehended: for on one side, the people thought themselves very heavily loaded, and were no longer able to bear the losses and burdens of the war: on the other, the soldiers were not to be contented, though they were indulged in every kind of licentiousness, but were incessantly crying out for liberty, pay, and gratuities. But amongst them all, the *Parisians*, as they were the chief of the party, were also the loudest in their complaints, not only because they did not see that progress made, which they had flattered themselves with at the beginning, but because the charges and contributions increased without end. They accused the Duke therefore, either of want of conduct; or of an insatiable desire to engross all to himself; or of extreme prodigality and profusion of other men's money: not considering what a voracious gulph a civil war is, and how many interested persons were to be provided for in every part of the kingdom. The *Spanish* Ministers likewise endeavoured to inflame these discontents, and in order to prevent the Duke of *Mayenne* from growing too powerful (as they perceived he was but little inclined to promote their designs) and to bring his Catholick Majesty into greater favour and reputation with the people, were always magnifying the supplies of men and money, and other provisions which he had sent them, and exclaiming against the Duke's bad management, who, for want of applying them in a proper manner, had gained so little advantage.

There was also a sort of jealousy betwixt him and the Duke of *Lorrain*: for the latter having taken *Villa Franca*, the Duke of *Mayenne* took upon himself to name a Governor, and appoint a garrison, as it was a place belonging to the Crown. And the Duke of *Lorrain* having reduced it at his own charge, and with the risque of his own men, insisted that he ought to be the master and disposer of it: and being disgusted that his desire was not complied with, he rose from the siege of *Monlealto*, which he had undertaking, alledging, that it was unreasonable that others should enjoy the fruits of his toils and dangers. But these were only shoots that sprung up from a deeper root: for the Duke of *Lorrain*, who pretended to the pre-eminence, as head of the family, saw that the Duke of *Mayenne* not only possessed the first place, and looked upon himself as his superior, now he was Lieutenant-General of the State of *France*, but had also a design to advance himself to the Crown: to which he asserted

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the right of a ſon, born of a daughter of *France*, was much ſtronger, and thought it reaſonable that all the reſt of the houſe ſhould give place to the head of the family. But theſe ſecret competitions, which were yet inwardly concealed, did not at preſent occaſion an open rupture betwixt them.

He was ſtill upon worſe terms with the Duke of *Nemours*, who, being a man of great courage, but of a diſdainful and haughty diſpoſition, aſpired to no leſs a dignity than to be his brother's Lieutenant-General, and to have ſupreme authority in the affairs of *Paris*, as the Governor and preſerver of that city, which indeed he had bravely and reſolutely defended and maintained beyond the expectation of all men. This, however, was a demand that created great jealouſy in the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was reſolved, that no other perſon ſhould interfere in the government, and that the affairs of *Paris* (the foundation of the League) ſhould not only be managed by himſelf, but that they ſhould not ſo much as be touched by any other hand. Upon which, they diſagreed in ſuch a manner, about the election of the *Prevôt des marchands* and the other magiſtrates, that the Duke of *Mayenne*, without making him or any body elſe acquainted with it, choſe them to his own liking and ſatisfaction, without the leaſt regard to thoſe that were propoſed and favoured by others; looking upon it as ſo delicate and ſo important a point, that the conſiderations which moved him to it ought not to be imparted to any one. But when the election was made publick, the Duke of *Nemours*, having made loud complaints, that thoſe were rejected who had done the greateſt ſervice in the ſiege, to make room for men that either had not proper abilities, or could not be depended upon, told the Duke of *Mayenne*, "That with ſuch magiſtrates as thoſe he would not undertake to defend and maintain *Paris*, as he had done before, and therefore he deſired to reſign his government to him." This luckily happening according to the Duke's wiſhes, he made no difficulty of accepting his reſignation, and immediately gave the government to his eldeſt ſon *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Eguillon*, appointing the Marquis *De Belin*, a man wholly at his devotion, to be his Lieutenant, during his minority. At which, though the Duke of *Nemours* ſhewed himſelf highly exaſperated, and the *Pariſians* no leſs than he, as they bore him wonderful reſpect and affection for his late defence of them; yet matters were at laſt compromiſed betwixt them on theſe conditions: That the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*, brother to the Duke of *Nemours*, ſhould have the government of *Dauphinè*: and that he himſelf ſhould have forces and money aſſigned him to make war in his government of *Lions*: to which he retired without delay, being neither well ſatisfied with his brother, nor yet openly diſguſted.

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1591. But much more grievous were the remonſtrances of Madam *De Guiſe*, who with tears and womaniſh lamentations, was continually complaining, that amongſt ſo many undertakings, there were no meaſures thought of to ſet her ſon at liberty: and that Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo*, one of the contrivers of the death of the late Duke of *Guiſe*, her huſband, having been taken in ſome encounter, was not torn to pieces in revenge, but ſet at liberty for a ranſom of thirty thouſand crowns: and, laſtly, that the widow Ducheſs of *Longueville*, having been detained priſoner, inſtead of treating to exchange her for the Duke of *Guiſe*, they were endeavouring to get her exchanged for the Duke *D'Elbeuf*. And though it was ſaid, in anſwer to this, " That the Duke her ſon was in a place ſurrounded by the King's forces, which they could not come at without a great army, and without being maſters of the field: that nevertheleſs ſeveral overtures had been made for that purpoſe; that Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo* being a priſoner of war, it was not lawful to commit any violence upon him, much leſs to take away his life, and that the thirty thouſand crowns had been of great ſervice to the publick affairs: that there had been no treaty entered into about exchanging the Ducheſs of *Longueville* for the Duke *D'Elbeuf*, till after the King had often declared, that he would not releaſe the Duke of *Guiſe* upon any conſideration: yet ſhe, being a querulous and paſſionate woman, was continually teazing the chiefs of the League, and troubling them with her complaints and importunities. Nor could the Duke of *Mayenne* agree with the Duke of *Mercœur*, for being firmly reſolved that no part of the Crown ſhould be diſmembered under his government, he was much concerned that *Mercœur* ſhould attempt to make himſelf maſter of *Bretagne*, and hold a ſecret correſpondence with the *Spaniards* for that purpoſe.

To theſe homebred diſcords and uneaſineſſes, was added the concern of foreign ſupplies, which did not anſwer his expectation: for the Duke of *Savoy's* ends and pretenſions, he found were too ſelf-intereſted; ſo that, inſtead of ſuccouring and aſſiſting, he ſeemed rather to diſmember and divide the party of the League. And he knew that the Duke of *Parma* and the other *Spaniſh* Miniſters, were not inclined to aſſiſt him ſo powerfully, that by their favour he might be able to make an end of the war: but perceived they protracted the time, in hopes of ſome opportunity of promoting their own deſigns. The death of the Pope ſtill more diſconcerted him: for though *Sixtus Quintus*, in the latter months of his life, was grown ſo ſuſpicious of the practices of the *Spaniards*, and diſguſted at the rough behaviour of the Count *De Olivarez*, that he ſhewed himſelf much alienated from the League, and diſſatisfied with their proceedings, and perhaps was diſpoſed to be reconciled with the King, if he would have given him an opportunity for it by his converſion: yet the

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new election of Cardinal *Sfondrato*, with the name of *Gregory* the fourteenth, was not at all satisfactory to him at first: as he imagined he would be too nearly dependent upon *Spain*, and so closely united with his Catholick Majesty, that he would not move but by his directions: besides which, he was of so slow a disposition (according to common report) that there was but little life or vigour to be hoped for in his resolutions. 1591.

In this perplexity, he thought his main point ought to be, to increase his strength so much as to be master of the field, because by that means, when the city was free from the apprehension of being distressed, the *Parisians* would be appeased, and the reputation of a victory would put an end to all murmurings and discontents. He therefore began, with the greatest diligence, to augment his forces in the kingdom, and dispatched the President *Jeannine* (a man of singular prudence and address in matters of government) to the King of *Spain*; and to the Pope he sent his Secretary *Baudoin*, Sieur *Des Portes*, who, for his long experience in the affairs of the court, where he had been bred in the times of the late Kings, and for the vivacity of his disposition, was thought a proper man to spur up the tardiness and forward the determinations of the Pope. These agents he charged not only to use the utmost expedition in their journies, but to make it their principal end to procure a certain, determinate, speedy, and powerful supply of men and money from both those Princes.

With these designs and preparations came in the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-one, at the very beginning of which, the *Parisians* made an attempt upon *St. Dennis*: the recovery of which place they had much at heart. For as it was but two leagues from them, and stood upon the pass that leads into the most fertile plains of the isle of *France*, it was a great hindrance to the conveying of provisions to the city: and the garrison that was in it, over-running the whole country, exceedingly infested and obstructed all the roads. What gave them the chief hopes of success in this enterprise, was, that the place was almost destitute of inhabitants, and only defended by three hundred foot and an hundred and fifty horse, which, though they made bold excursions up and down the country, yet were not sufficient to make good the compass of the walls, that were very weak of themselves, and in some places demolished and tumbled down: and though it generally contributes to the strength and defence of a place to be situated in the midst of fens, and to have a moat round it always full of water; yet these very circumstances at that season of the year, were of convenience to those that intended to attack it, as all the waters that surrounded it were frozen over by the severity of the winter, so that they made a firm bridge, and opened a way to come up to the assault.

1591. The Governor of the place was the Sieur *De Vic*, lately come thither in the room of *Lavardine*; and though he uſed all poſſible endeavours to keep good guards in it, yet the weakneſs of the garriſon, and the continual ſending parties abroad to ſcour and obſtruct the roads, tired out his men, and made them remiſs in taking care of the walls during the extreme rigour of the ſeaſon. There were many, however, who were of opinion, that the enterpriſe was not feaſible, on account of the ſmall number of men that could be ſpared from *Paris* for that purpoſe: but the Chevalier *D'Aumale*, always a friend to bold reſolutions, and well informed of the ſtate of the town, undertook the conducting of it, and marched out in the night-time with a thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, at the gate which, becauſe it looks that way, is called by the ſame name: and taking a little circuit, drew near to the town on the ſide that joins to the abbey, which, being the moſt remote, he thought would be the leaſt taken care of. At his arrival there, finding the ice very firm in every place, and particularly in the moat, he cauſed four ladders to be ſet up againſt the wall with ſo much ſilence, that they were not diſcovered by the guards, which were very thinly poſted in that part. Upon theſe, two Captains mounted with four and twenty ſoldiers well armed, and meeting with no obſtacle, made themſelves maſters of the gate adjoining; which being broke open, the Chevalier *D'Aumale* himſelf entred at the head of them all, with his ſword drawn, and after him, the reſt of his men, marching up in good order to eſtabliſh themſelves in the place. But the Governor having heard the alarm, and being informed that the enemy had already taken poſſeſſion of the gate and were got upon the wall, grew ſo deſperate at the thoughts of loſing all the honour which he had acquired in ſo many years of his life happily ſpent in the ſervice, by the negligence of his ſoldiers upon this occaſion, that he immediately mounted on horſeback, with only thirty of his men that followed him, and being reſolved to die rather than ſurvive his certain ruin, he cauſed two trumpets, which he had with him, to ſound a charge as loud as poſſible, to make the enemy believe the number of thoſe that attacked them was the greater: and having put down the vizor of his head-piece, he boldly ruſhed upon the front of the ſquadron, that was marching orderly up the main ſtreet toward the market-place. The fury of the horſe in the uncertainty of a very dark night (as the commanders were not willing to fire any of the houſes, leſt it ſhould deſtroy the whole town) put the foot in diſorder: in which confuſion, whilſt the Chevalier *D'Aumale* was turning about to reproach his men, and endeavoured to make them rally and ſtand again, being wounded by a thruſt in the throat, he immediately dropped dead upon the ground; and his ſoldiers having no longer either ſtrength or reſolution to ſupport themſelves, immediately took

took to flight, falling foul upon the other parties and diſordering each 1591. other, till at laſt they got out of the town again at the ſame gate: from whence they ran as hard as they could, without being purſued by any body, till they came to *Paris*, leaving above an hundred of their companions upon the ſpot, that were either ſlain by the garriſon, or trampled under foot in the flight. The Sieur *De Vic* having recovered the town, and redeemed his fortune by his own valour, gave the King an account of what had happened; from whom he received not only very great commendations, but a preſent alſo of a rich abbey, which had been poſſeſſed by the Chevalier *D'Aumale*, with the title of *Knight of the Croſs of Jeruſalem*. Speculative men obſerved, that the Chevalier fell down dead before the door of an inn, the ſign of which was the *Royal Sword:* and they looked upon it as ſtill more remarkable, that his corps, being laid upon a bier in the church of the Friars of *St. Dennis*, was gnawed to pieces and mangled by rats the night following.

The miſcarriage of this undertaking did not deter the King from attempting (though upon a better foundation) to ſurpriſe the city of *Paris* in the ſame manner. The firſt Preſident, *Briſſon*, who ſo voluntarily, not to ſay precipitately, had made himſelf head of the League in the Parliament, and author of their adhering to that party, now perceiving (as his friends ſaid) that the deſigns of the chiefs were not ſo ſincere for the good of the publick, as he had been at firſt perſuaded; or corrupted (as his enemies gave out) by great promiſes which were made him from the King, by certain perſons who were priſoners in the city; or induced to it (according to the general opinion) by the inſtability of his own diſpoſition, had ſecretly begun to ſavour the *Politicks* (as they called thoſe that were well affected to the King) who taking courage from his protection, already made a conſiderable party, and began to conſult of means to make the city revolt, and to reduce it to the King's devotion. The attempts and practices of theſe men were favoured by the indolence and ſupineneſs of the *Prevôt des marchands*, who either did not believe, or paid little regard to the informations that were laid before him concerning them: nor did he take any care or pains to prevent the effects of theſe new deſigns, the report of which was now become common in every one's mouth. But what was of the greateſt ſervice to the King's party, was the general diſſatisfaction of the people, who were not only tired out with the ſcarcity of proviſions, and the hard duty they continually underwent in guarding the walls, but being diſguſted that the Marquis *De Belin*, a man of obſcure condition, and of an inactive diſpoſition, ſhould be obtruded upon them for a Governor, when they had always been uſed to have the firſt Princes of the Blood and the greateſt Officers of the Crown. The Duke of *Mayenne* was abſent, the Duke of

 Nemours

1591. *Nemours* at a diſtance and diſcontented, and the Chevalier *D'Aumale* lately dead, whoſe courage was wont to give life and ſpirit to their party. All theſe circumſtances concurring, invited the King to make an attempt upon *Paris:* and he was the more effectually induced to it by a deſire of preventing idleneſs in his army, and of employing it in ſome enterpriſe of ſuch importance, as might keep it in action and full of expectation. For this purpoſe, as the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Eſpernon*, who had been ſent for before, were now arrived, and he thought the correſpondence which he held in the city was fully ripe, he determined to exert all his ſtrength and art together, and formed his deſign in this manner: That eighty commanders and reformed officers, diſguiſed in the habit of peaſants, with as many horſes laden with flour and meal, ſhould go to the gate of *St. Honorè*, to be let in after midnight (as proviſions were generally brought thither and received by night, on account of the parties that were continually ſcouring the roads) and that theſe, being ſecretly provided with arms, ſhould endeavour, at their entrance, immediately to make themſelves maſters of the gate, with the aſſiſtance of an hundred men completely armed, that were to follow them: during which tumult, he had given private orders, that thoſe of his party ſhould raiſe a commotion within the city, but on the oppoſite quarter to the gate that was to be aſſaulted, and attempt to get poſſeſſion either of that of *St. James* or *St. Marceau:* and that at the ſame time the army ſhould come up cloſe, on the ſide of *St. Honorè* and *St. Dennis*, to ſcale the walls: by which aſſaults, all made at the ſame inſtant, he fully expected either to enter the city by force, or to be voluntarily received into it, as his adherents were continually uſing all their endeavours to raiſe inſurrections in every part of it. This was to have been executed on the night of the 20th of *January*, which they knew would be dark enough, even though it ſhould not rain, as the moon would go down about midnight. But the Princeſſes, who reſided at *Paris*, hearing that the Duke of *Eſpernon* had paſſed by *Beaumont* and joined the King's army; that the Duke of *Nevers* had done the ſame, and left the ſiege, which he had laid to *Provins*, without any apparent reaſon: that the Baron *De Givry* had paſſed the river at *Lagny* to join the reſt; and that the King ſtill lay ſo near them, began to entertain ſome ſuſpicions. Upon which they earneſtly exhorted the Marquis *De Belin* to take care of the city, as ſome ſymptoms had been already diſcovered of the firſt Preſident's inclinations, and of the machinations of many others who were employed to ſtir up the common people. The Marquis, therefore, being rouzed by the preſſing inſtances of thoſe Ladies, began to attend to the diſcoveries that had been made, and finding cauſe for the ſame ſuſpicion, he publiſhed a moſt ſevere proclamation, in which he enjoined every one, if any tumult or commotion

commotion ſhould happen in the city, to take arms and come out of their houſes into the ſtreet, at the ringing of the palace-bell and the others of every pariſh, but that no man ſhould ſtir out of that ward in which he commonly lived, upon pain of death without mercy. He likewiſe gave orders to the heads of the ſeveral wards, to keep a ſtrict eye upon the motions of every one: by which means, the *Politicks*, being fewer, were watched and kept down by the much greater number, and being diſperſed in their different wards, could not aſſemble in a body to diſturb or make themſelves maſters of any parts of the city, all which, by the ſame order, were alſo equally guarded. But the conjectures and ſuſpicions ſtill increaſing, by the report of certain ſoldiers belonging to *St. Dennis*, who were taken by the Sieur *De Tremont* as they were ſcouring the country, and informed them that there were ſcaling-ladders, and other inſtruments commonly made uſe of in aſſaults, getting ready in that town: the Princeſſes, full of fear and apprehenſion, ſent for the Governor to them at the houſe of Madam *De Montpenſier*, and deſired him to order the gate of *St. Honorè* to be immediately ſhut up and lined with earth, as being weaker and more expoſed to danger than the reſt: which was performed with great diligence, on the 19th, and the Sieur *De Tremblecourt* was poſted there to guard it with his regiment of *Lorrainers*. The Marquis *De Menelay's* regiment was alſo ſent to take care of the gates of *St. Dennis* and *Mont-martre*: and *Collalto's Germans* ſtaid to ſecure the Fauxbourgs beyond the river.

On the 20th, in the afternoon, without knowing of the orders that had been given in the city (as extraordinary care was taken that no one ſhould ſtir out of the gates) the King began to move towards *Paris*. Monſieur *De Vic*, Governor of *St. Dennis*, led the eighty officers that were diſguiſed in the habit of peaſants: and the other hundred were commanded by the Sieur *De Lavardine*. The Baron *De Biron* followed next with twelve hundred firelocks, which were to march up to poſſeſs themſelves of the gate: and behind them were four diviſions, each conſiſting of four hundred men, who being armed with breaſt-plates and head-pieces, were to advance to the wall on the ſide towards *Mont-martre* and *St. Dennis*, and there to fix the ſcaling-ladders: and theſe were conducted by the Sieurs *De Givry*, *De Dunes*, *D'Humieres*, and *De la Noüe*. After them marched the *Swiſs*, with three ſmall pieces of artillery, two petards, to be made uſe of upon occaſion, and all other inſtruments neceſſary for an aſſault. The King himſelf was in the rear guard, with the Dukes of *Eſpernon* and *Longueville* and eight hundred Gentlemen, who, being diſmounted from their horſes, and well armed, were to fall on with their ſwords and piſtols where they ſaw their aſſiſtance moſt neceſſary: and laſt of all, the Duke of *Nevers* with the reſt of the cavalry,

 ſtaid

1591. ſtaid under arms, and ready drawn up, to maintain the field. As ſoon as the firſt party arrived with their loads of corn and meal, and deſired to be let in, they were queſtioned by *Tremblecourt*, who being very cautious and upon his guard, talked a long while with them: and when he had found out who they were, in order to amuſe them a little longer, he directed them to go down to the entry of the river, where they ſhould be received by the boats that waited for that purpoſe; but preſently gave ſuch an alarm to the whole city by ringing a bell, that the ſoldiers ran in great numbers, ready armed, to the fortifications. Upon which, the eighty officers retired a little back, and ſeeming as if they would obey their directions and go down towards the river, gave the King an account of the alarm that was in the city (of which indeed he was already appriſed by the ſound of the bells) and deſired to know what further was to be done. *D'Humieres* and the Baron *De Biron* were of opinion, that the ſcaling-ladders ſhould be ſet up and a petard faſtened to the gate: but all the other commanders thought it was a thing not to be attempted, and that as they had not ſucceeded by ſtratagem, it would be too full of danger and little leſs than madneſs to have recourſe to other meaſures: ſo that, after they had made a ſtand for a while, to ſee if their party within offered to make any commotion, and this expectation was alſo diſappointed, they faced about, and leaving the cavalry to make good their retreat, returned in the ſame order to their former quarters.

This attempt produced an effect very different from the King's intention. For the *Pariſians* being diſſatisfied that the Duke of *Mayenne*, upon all occaſions, left them with a weak garriſon, and expoſed to theſe dangers; and ſeeing the King continually upon the watch to ſurpriſe them, they conſented, at the perſuaſion of his Catholick Majeſty's agents, to receive the *Spaniſh* diviſion that was under the command of *Idiaques*, into the city: and another of *Neapolitans*, which was *Pietro Caietano's*, commanded by Don *Aleſſandro di Monte*: which not only directly tended to confirm and ſtrengthen the King's enemies, and to ſuppreſs his friends and adherents, but alſo reduced the city into danger of falling at laſt into the hands of the *Spaniards*. Yet there preſently after followed an event much to the advantage of his affairs. For the Duke of *Mayenne* (who had complied with the reſolution of the *Pariſians*, that he might not totally alienate their affections, though it ſtung him to the quick to ſee that they confided ſo little in him, as to put themſelves under the protection of foreigners) being confirmed in his ſuſpicion, that the *Spaniards* had private deſigns of their own, and that they were endeavouring to diminiſh his authority, and to make their advantage of the fickleneſs of the *Pariſians*, now preſſed forward the treaty of agreement, which was formerly begun betwixt Monſieur *De Villeroy* on one ſide, and the High Chancellor and Marſhal

De Biron

De Biron on the other, and had never been wholly dropped. But as he 1591. had not been able upon any terms to obtain a truce and free correſpondence betwixt the two parties, he was at laſt contented with the King's granting ſo many ſafe conducts, that Deputies from all the provinces might aſſemble, to conſult in common of the means of concluding a peace, in which religion might be ſecured, and the King acknowledged to be their lawful Prince. And things were ſo far advanced, that for many days the peace was thought to be abſolutely concluded. But as the opinions of men are changeable, and the moſt important determinations liable to be altered by trifling accidents, whilſt the ſafe conducts were diſpatching, in granting which the King was for ſome days very backward, the Duke of *Mayenne* having found the Parliament firm in his intereſt, and the garriſon that was admitted into *Paris* but inſignificant, as the *Spaniards* and *Neapolitans* did not in all amount to more than thirteen hundred foot, a number rather ſufficient to ſatisfy the people in appearance, than to over-awe the city: and not being yet able to wean himſelf from the hope which he had conceived, as ſoon as he had got the ſafe conducts, he diſpatched them with letters to all the provinces, ſummoning them to meet together at the city of *Rheims* in *Champagne*, not to conſider of pacifick meaſures (as had been agreed) but to elect a new King. But when this came to be made publick, and the King found he was impoſed upon, ſince it was now intended to aſſemble the Deputies to his prejudice, whom he had permitted to meet together, only to treat of a re-union and peace betwixt the two parties: having firſt made heavy complaints to *Villeroy* of ſo faithleſs a manner of proceeding, he re-called his ſafe conducts, and gave orders, that all the Deputies that ſhould fall into the hands of any of his party, ſhould be immediately put to death: which nevertheleſs would not have prevented the Duke of *Mayenne* from calling the Aſſembly together: but things not being yet fully ripe, nor diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as he deſired, the convocation of the States was ſuffered to drop inſenſibly, under the pretence of the Deputies being terrified by the ſeverity of the penalty, with which they were threatened.

The Duke's hopes were not a little augmented by the declaration of *Gregory* the fourteenth. For as the reſolutions of Popes are almoſt always warm and vigorous at their acceſſion to the Papacy, ſo he, deſpiſing the phlegm which *Sixtus* the fifth had ſhewn in the affairs of *France*, towards the latter end of his life, declared himſelf reſolved to favour and promote the progreſs of the League, thinking it neceſſary ſo to do, for the ſecurity of religion, and the credit and grandeur of the Apoſtolick See: and being deſirous, that his nephew, *Hercole Sfondrato*, newly inveſted by him with the title of Duke of *Montemarciano*, ſhould have ſome reſpectable command in the army, by which he might advance his fortune and reputation

1591. tion in the war, he determined to ſend him, with a numerous body of forces, to the aſſiſtance of the League; and for that purpoſe had given orders, that horſe and foot ſhould be raiſed, with all expedition, in the territories of the Church; for the payment of which (though he met with great oppoſition in the Conſiſtory of Cardinals) he reſolved to make uſe of the money that had been amaſſed with extreme care by *Sixtus*, and repoſited in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*: as he thought this one of the greateſt and moſt urgent occaſions that the church could ever have. At the ſame time, he appointed his confidant, Monſignor *Marſilio Landriano*, to be Legate to the kingdom of *France*, a Prelate of *Milan*, and a man that was wont, upon all occaſions, ſtrenuouſly to aſſert the rights and privileges of the church. Theſe things being reſolved upon, and now in readineſs, he immediately ſent meſſengers to the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Biſhop of *Piacenza* (whom he had in the mean time confirmed Vice-legate in *France*) promiſing them plentiful ſupplies both of men and money, that they might be able not only to extirpate hereſy and reſcue the kingdom out of the imminent danger it was in, but to chuſe a Catholick King, who ſhould be a lover of peace, and obedient to the church, to compoſe all diſcords, and reſtore tranquillity and repoſe to the people, already wearied out and ruined by the calamities of war. And becauſe the city of *Paris* had merited exceedingly, by conſtantly ſhewing itſelf the true metropolis of the kingdom, and the main bulwark of religion upon all occaſions, he proteſted, that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to redreſs its grievances and reſtore it to its ancient ſplendor in opulence and authority.

Theſe letters not only rejoiced the Vice-legate, and encouraged the Duke of *Mayenne* (and ſo much the more as the Pope ſent bills with them for fifteen thouſand crowns a month, upon the merchants of *Paris* and *Lions*) but being printed and made publick to the whole party, likewiſe filled them all with infinite hopes, when they ſaw that the new Pope did not ſtand doubtful aud undetermined what to do, like *Sixtus*, but declared himſelf reſolutely, and ſhewed that he was an open enemy to the King, and a ſtrenuous protector of the Union, by adding effectual proofs to his profeſſions, at a time when he had hardly been applied to. And what ſtill increaſed the Duke of *Mayenne's* hopes, and at the ſame time ſpurred up the Pope's reſolution, was the artifice of the Duke of *Parma*: who, perſiſting in his deſign of ſpinning out the *French* wars, that he might at laſt make an advantage of their weakneſs and wearineſs, and therefore not being willing that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould become ſo much inferior in ſtrength, as to loſe courage, and reſolve to make an agreement with the King, ſeemed not at all to approve of thoſe proceedings which *Mendozza* and Don *Diego d'Ivarra*, who were in *Paris*, had privately conducted without the Duke's participation: and aſſured him by

frequent

frequent meſſages, that he was ſettling his affairs in *Flanders*, that he 1591. might be able, as ſoon as poſſible, to march with his army into *France* again: promiſing him, that he would order things in ſuch a manner, that they ſhould act in concert, without regarding the opinions of others, as the commiſſions imported which he had from his Catholick Majeſty: for the confirmation of which, he ſhewed the meſſengers whom the Duke of *Mayenne* had ſent to him, the diſpoſition that he had made for raiſing an army of forty thouſand men to enter *Picardy:* for the payment of which, and to furniſh the League with plentiful ſupplies of money, as the *French* deſired, he told them, that meaſures were taken at the court of *Spain*, and that he expected an order for it every hour. The Duke of *Mayenne*, therefore, being wonderfully animated with theſe promiſes, diſpatched his Secretary, the Sieur *Baudouin des Portes*, a ſecond time to *Rome*, with orders to ſollicit the Pope to haſten the march of the Duke of *Monte Marciano*, who was to paſs through the ſtates of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the county of *Burgundy*, directly into *Lorrain*, to oppoſe the forces that were raiſing for the King in *Germany* by the Viſcount *De Turenne* and the Prince of *Anhalt*. For the ſame purpoſe, he ſent an expreſs into *Spain* to the Preſident *Jeannin*, who was already gone to that court, to ſee if he could prevail upon his Catholick Majeſty, that the forces which were to march that year from *Milan* into *Flanders*, might join the Pope's in *Lorrain* for the ſame end, being fully aſſured, that when the *Germans* met with ſo vigorous an oppoſition upon the frontiers, that they could not advance to join the King, whilſt the Duke of *Parma* entered *Picardy* with the *Flemiſh* army, the forces of the League would ſoon and very eaſily carry all before them. In the mean time, he had invited the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the other Lords of his family, to meet at *Rheims*, that things might there be diſpoſed in a proper manner, by their general conſent and approbation, and that the difficulties and objections might be removed, which prevented the deſigns of their houſe from being fully accompliſhed.

Such were the ſchemes that were at that time meditated by the Duke, and promoted every where with the utmoſt induſtry by men of good parts and addreſs, whom he employed for that purpoſe. But the King reſolved not to throw away his time in vain, whilſt a proper opportunity, and the weakneſs of his enemies ſeemed to invite him to action, and ſtill continued firm in his deſign to diſtreſs the city of *Paris*, by the reduction of which, he thought the principal reſource of the League muſt ſoon fail: and therefore determined to lay ſiege to *Chartres*, from whence, and the adjacent territories, the *Pariſians* uſually receive the greateſt part of their proviſions. And becauſe the city was large and populous, and very well fortified, and the ſiege of it appeared, at the firſt view, likely to be attended with great difficulties,

1591. difficulties, he resolved to cut off the supplies that might be sent by the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Parisians* to a place of so much importance, as he still lay at *Soissons* with the forces that he had left, to be ready to turn himself which way soever occasion should require his presence. Having sent the Marshal *De Biron*, therefore, towards *Dieppe*, to receive and convoy the ammunition and other necessaries that were come out of *England*, he took a different rout himself, and marched with the Duke of *Nevers* once more to besiege *Provins*, a place of no great consequence, and for the defence of which the heads of the League were resolved not to run any hazard. But after the Marshal *De Biron* had taken the provisions under his convoy that were at *Dieppe*, and was upon his return, the King sent him orders to make a feint of besieging *Dreux*, and to turn off suddenly to *Chartres*, and invest it in such a manner, that any relief that might be sent to it should not be able to get into the town. In consequence of these orders, *Biron* having passed the *Seine* at *Vernon* with his men and artillery, turned sometimes one way and sometimes an[illegible] by which means, he gave his soldiers an opportunity of refreshing [illegible]ves, and at the same time kept the enemy in doubt whither he w[illegible] his course at last; sometimes seeming as if he intended to join [illegible] the army at *Provins*, sometimes as if he was making prepa[illegible]ege *Dreux*, sometimes posting himself upon the main road to [illegible] at last, having marched twelve leagues without stopping, he came, on the 16th of *February*, before the walls of *Chartres*.

The city of *Chartres* is situated in an uneven country, varied with fertile eminences, in such a manner that the east-side stands upon the top of a hill, and the west extends itself along the bottom of the plain, through the midst of which the river *Eure* takes its course, and is divided into three branches, as soon as it comes near the walls of the city on the south side: one of which goes through the town, and supplies a great number of mills: the second passing under the walls, falls into the moat and runs through it: and the third, taking a circuit about a hundred paces from the walls, surrounds the suburbs: but when they come to the northern boundaries of the city, they all join again, and run in one channel towards *Normandy*. The east side, which stands upon the hill, was not invested by the army, on account of the difficulty of bringing the artillery thither, and because it looked towards those places from whence there was no expectation of any relief: but the other side, which stretches along the plain, and looks towards *Paris*, was all blocked up at the same instant. For the Sieur *De Vivans*, with his harquebusiers on horseback, quartered himself on the north side, in the Bourg *Des Espars:* Monsieur *De Sourdis*, with the *French* infantry, lay over against the gate that leads to *Dreux:* and the Marshal *De Biron*, with the remainder of the cavalry, and the *Swiss* en-

camped on the south side, opposite to the gate and bastion of *St. Michael.* 1591.

The Governor of the city was Monsieur *De la Bourdaisiere*, a vigilant and experienced officer. The infantry of the garrison was under the command of Captain *Pesseray*, a soldier of great reputation: but the rest of the provisions necessary for a defence were by no means answerable to the abilities of the commanders. There were but few foot in the town, and still fewer horse, and the supplies that had lately come into it were so inconsiderable, that they made but a small addition to its strength: for the Sieur *De la Croix*, who had left *Orleans*, and was come in great haste with sixty cuirassiers and two hundred harquebusiers on horseback to enter the city, had unexpectedly fallen in with the army, as it was drawing near the walls, and being routed and put to flight, got in, though not without much difficulty, and with only eighty of his men. On the other side, Monsieur *De Grammont*, who was upon his march to go into *Normandy*, returned with all expedition by the same rout, but brought no more than forty Gentlemen and an hundred soldiers with him: and Monsieur *De Vitry*, expecting the enemy would have come to *Dreux*, had shut himself up in that town, and had neither time nor means to come to their relief: so that the garrison was much less than what the occasion required. Besides this deficiency, there was but a small quantity of ammunition: for though there was thirty thousand weight of powder, when the Governor first surveyed the military stores, yet the gunners had purloined so much, as it was then sold at an excessive price in all places, that on the first day of the siege, to *La Bourdaisiere's* great surprise and concern, there was not above eight thousand left: and they were likewise in want of many other things requisite to make a proper defence. These important necessities were in some measure supplied by the alacrity of the citizens, who freely underwent all manner of duty; as did a great many of the country people, who laboured with the utmost cheerfulness to put the fortifications in good order. For the first days of the siege, the Marshal thought it sufficient to block up the avenues to the city, and to shut out all succours, till the King should arrive at the camp with the rest of the army; and for that purpose, had immediately advanced to make himself master of the suburbs. The Governor, however, endeavoured to deprive him of that shelter, which was very necessary at that time of the year, by setting fire to the houses, in order to burn them down. But the remedy was too late; for the approach of the enemy was so sudden, that they found means to quench the flames before many of the buildings were destroyed: so that the besiegers had free possession of the suburbs, in which, after the Marshal *De Biron* had commodiously lodged himself, the King arrived on the 19th. Yet

1591. they did not immediately begin to raiſe batteries, becauſe the commanders were not well agreed amongſt themſelves on which ſide they ſhould make their aſſault; and ammunition was equally ſcarce in the army and in the town, as the ſupplies that came from *England* were far ſhort of the King's demands, and the promiſes that had been made to the Viſcount *De Turenne*. But the High Chancellor *Chiverny*, Governor of the province, who was exceeding rich, and had very great authority in that country, having, at his own expence, ſent for many things neceſſary for undertaking a ſiege, from the adjacent towns and caſtles, it was reſolved to begin the battery on the ſide towards the Fauxbourg *Des Eſpars*, as a place not ſo well fortified as the reſt, there being no defence but great towers, built in the old manner, and a wall not very ſtrong, nor before that time ſufficiently lined with earth. But the beſieged having foreſeen where they were moſt likely to be aſſaulted, though they had no engineers that were thoroughly ſkilled in fortification, threw up a rampart, as well as they could, on the inſide of the wall, flanking it with ravelines, and raiſing it to ſuch a height with earth, that when the artillery had battered down a good part of the wall, the works behind it appeared ſo ſtrong, that the King did not care to expoſe his men to ſo evident a danger: but knowing the number of the beſieged to be very ſmall, and thinking it a ſafer way to weary them out with hard duty and ſervice, he reſolved to remove his battery to another place, in order to defeat their precautions and make their paſt labours uſeleſs: for which purpoſe, two batteries were opened in the beginning of *March*, over-againſt the gate that leads to *Dreux*, and began to play on that ſide with eleven pieces of cannon. Upon this, the beſieged threw up works there alſo, and with ſo much the greater ſpirit, becauſe that part was already flanked with two good ravelines, which had been raiſed ever ſince the year 1569, when the Prince of *Condé* beſieged that place; by which addition they made it ſo ſtrong, that it was ſeveral times aſſaulted in vain, and with the loſs of many men. All the month of *March* was ſpent at that place without making any great progreſs, the beſieged repairing the works on the inſide, as faſt as they were beat down on the outſide, and ſkirmiſhing almoſt every day at the points of the ravelines and the entrance of the curtain: but on the 5th of *April*, the King removed his battery once more, and raiſed eleven redoubts ſomething lower, towards *St. Michael's* gate, with the ſame deſign of haraſſing the beſieged and diſappointing their labours. The care of the ſiege on that ſide was committed to the Sieur *De Chaſtillon*, who being afraid that the darkneſs of the night might occaſion him to miſtake the place where he had reſolved to open his trench, had recourſe to the expedient of making a truce for two hours with thoſe of the town, under a pretence of carrying off the dead: which being agreed upon,

1591.

upon, he himſelf attended in perſon to ſee the dead bodies drawn out of the moat, and had them brought (for the ſake of expedition) directly along the lines, to the place where the battery was prepared. This gave him a ſufficient opportunity of viewing and meaſuring the ground; and pretending that one of the dead bodies could not be brought off in time, he left it for a mark upon the edge of the moat, in that very place where he deſigned to intrench himſelf by night. In which he ſucceeded without making any miſtake, and ſo well, that the battery being raiſed and his trench caſt up in the intended place, he began to batter with twelve pieces of cannon, and at the ſame time had a gallery built and covered with timber, that he might paſs the moat ſecurely and come to the foot of the wall. Things therefore ſeemed to be in a very hopeful way on that ſide, eſpecially as the beſieged were almoſt tired out already, and had not time to raiſe many works there. But the batteries made little progreſs, and fired very ſlowly; for there was hardly any ammunition in the camp. So great a deficiency, and ſo difficult to be remedied, often made the King reſolve to give up the undertaking; and he certainly would have done it, if the Duke of *Nevers*, and much more the High Chancellor, had not prevented him with the moſt earneſt intreaties and perſuaſions, and if ſome, that deſerted to him from the city, had not informed him, that the ſcarcity of powder was much greater within the walls than without: which indeed was very true, for all that belonged to the garriſon being ſpent, there was hardly the quantity of two hundred weight left, and that was brought in by private people and ſhop-keepers to be diſtributed amongſt the ſoldiers. The beſiegers had already finiſhed their gallery, which was built in the form of a bridge covered with planks; over which ſkins and clods of earth were laid, with other boards and pieces of wood, faſtened acroſs the top of all to make it more firm and compact: the ſides were made of thick beams of wood, joined ſo cloſe together, that they ſufficiently defended thoſe that were in the hollow of the bridge; and the bottom was raiſed to ſuch a height with planks, that it lifted the aſſailants up to a level with the breach. But the beſieged had yet ſome fireworks left, and having alſo got together all the pitch they could find in the ſhops, ſet fire to the gallery at the time when the King's forces were going to make the aſſault, and many had already advanced into it: in ſuch a manner, that the engineer himſelf (whoſe name was *La Garde*) and ſome others with him, having loſt their lives, Colonel *Parabiere* was forced to come out of the gallery again with his men, and not only to march a good way without any ſhelter, but to begin the aſſault before the time appointed: by which many of his braveſt men were ſlain, and yet the diſpute was ſo obſtinately maintained on both ſides for four hours, without intermiſſion, that two Colonels, eight

 Captains,

1591. Captains, and above two hundred private men, were left dead upon the spot: *Parabiere* himself, and the Sieur *De Montet*, a Gentleman of great courage, who came out of *Languedoc*, and was Aid du camp to *Chastillon*, being dangerously wounded. But the powder of the besieged being now totally exhausted, Monsieur *De Vitry* first, and then the Viscount *De Tavannes*, attempted to throw supplies of men and ammunition into the city; which was prevented by the vigilance of the cavalry, that were continually scouring the roads. So that, after it was also known that the Duke of *Mayenne* had come to *Bois de Vincennes*, and finding himself not strong enough to make head against the King in the field, was gone to lay siege to *Chasteau-Thierry*, a place at a great distance, the besieged being forced to defend themselves with their swords and pikes for want of ammunition to load their cannon and small arms, and being diminished by hard labour and duty, and the loss of men killed in the late assaults, at last agreed, on the 12th of *April*, to surrender, if they were not relieved in three days with at least four hundred men and a stated quantity of ammunition: which term being expired without their receiving any succours, Monsieur *De la Bourdaisiere* and the Sieur *De Grammont* (for Captain *Pesseray* was killed in one of the assaults) marched out in rank and file with their baggage and colours flying, on the 19th, and gave up the place into the hands of the Baron *De Biron*, who entered it with eight hundred foot and two hundred horse: but the government of it was given by the King to Monsieur *De Sourdis*, to gratify the High Chancellor, upon whom he, or (as his detractors said) his wife was a dependant.

Whilst the King was employed in the siege of *Chartres*, the Duke of *Mayenne* had left *Soissons* with all his forces, and come to *Bois de Vincennes*, where he staid in suspence some time, whether he should venture his army to relieve that place: but as the forces that he had sent for from several places did not arrive in time, and he was so weak, that he knew his advancing would endanger his army, without any hopes of relieving the besieged, he turned towards *Champagne*, where he had appointed the meeting of the Princes of *Lorrain*: and to keep up his reputation, sat down before *Chasteau-Thierry*, a large place, well peopled, and pleasantly situated: but which could not be expected to make any long defence, considering the walls of the town were in a bad condition, and the castle not very strong. The Governor of it was the Viscount *De Comblesy*, son to Secretary *Pinart*, who, besides his wife and children, had also his father and mother, and a great many women, shut up with him in the castle: and though they were assured that the garrison was sufficient to defend it some days, yet they were all so frighted, that it occasioned much disturbance and confusion: for the father and the son had brought

all

all their plate, money, and beſt houſhold furniture into the caſtle, which amounted to a very great value, and were in the utmoſt pain and anxiety, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy if the place ſhould be ſacked. On the other hand, the Duke's army was impatient to plunder the town, which was full of inhabitants, but eſpecially the caſtle, where, it was reported, there were ineſtimable riches: ſo that the ſoldiers, and particularly the foreigners, bravely made themſelves maſters of the ſuburbs at their firſt arrival, to the great terror and diſmay of thoſe within, when they ſaw them ſo reſolute and furious. As ſoon as the ſuburbs were taken, the cannon were immediately planted, which having beat down a good part of the wall, an aſſault was made; and though it was pretty well ſuſtained till evening, yet it convinced the beſieged, that they were not able to defend the town any longer: ſo that they preſently quitted it, and retired the ſame night into the caſtle. Upon this, the tumult increaſed, and the cries of the women grew louder, who at laſt prevailed upon *Pinart*, with their prayers and importunities, to ſend a trumpet for his old colleguc the Sieur *De Villeroy*, then in the Duke of *Mayenne's* camp, to treat with him about a compoſition; and yet, after they had conferred together above two hours, they could not come to any concluſion. *Villeroy*, therefore, had no ſooner left the caſtle, but the cannon inſtantly began to play, the noiſe of which frighted not only the Ladies, but even *Pinart* himſelf, and many others alſo, who were not accuſtomed to the profeſſion of arms, to ſuch a degree, that *Villeroy* was ſent for again the next morning, and was met by Madam *De Pinart*, with the other Ladies that were of her company, who kneeled down upon the ground, and beſought him with tears to deliver them by a compoſition from falling into the hands of the ſoldiers, and eſpecially of foreigners. This ſpectacle moved even *Villeroy* himſelf ſo much, that he returned to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and endeavoured to perſuade him, that it was much better to receive the caſtle upon capitulation, and the payment of a handſome ſum of money towards the ſupport of the war, than to enrich ſtrangers, and to laviſh the blood of *Frenchmen*, to ſatisfy their greedineſs. To which the Duke of *Mayenne*, always averſe to cruelty and plunder, readily conſented, though the army murmured exceedingly at it: yet the agreement was concluded, and the caſtle compounded for twenty thouſand crowns, and a great quantity of proviſions which the town was to raiſe: the place, with the artillery and ammunition, being left to the free diſpoſal of the Duke. But *Pinart*, who thought himſelf now fully delivered from the calamities of the ſiege, preſently fell into other misfortunes: for being accuſed of treachery, and that he had given up that place, not out of cowardice but perfidy, and without any neceſſity of ſo doing, he was therefore pronounced guilty by

1591. the Parliament of *Châlons*, and condemned in his abſence as a rebel: though he afterwards found means to procure a pardon from the King, and an exemption of his eſtate from confiſcation, by paying the ſum of thirty thouſand ducats. The taking of *Chaſteau-Thierry*, though not to be balanced againſt that of *Chartres*, either for the quality of the place, or the conſequences that it drew along with it, yet added ſome reputation to the arms of the League, and gave freſh hopes and courage to the Duke of *Mayenne*; upon which, he proceeded to the meeting at *Rheims*, where a conſultation was to be held concerning the means that ſhould be taken to advance their common intereſts, and to oppoſe the progreſs of the King; who, after the taking of *Chartres*, partly by policy, and partly by force, had made himſelf maſter of *Louviers* alſo, a place near *Roüen* in *Normandy*, which, for its ſtrength and ſituation, was eſteemed of very great importance.

But though the war proceeded proſperouſly for the King, he was not altogether ſo happy in ſome other reſpects; as new matter aroſe from his own party, which gave him much trouble and uneaſineſs. For the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen, perceiving that the time of his converſion was continually put off, and that all the promiſes and all the appointments of aſſembling the States and calling the Prelates together, to give him inſtruction, as he himſelf propoſed and daily talked of, now proved vain and without any effect at all, began already to ſtagger in their reſolutions, to think of retiring, to murmur amongſt themſelves, and to ſhew their diſcontent, which was increaſed beyond meaſure, by the King's declaration; who, after the taking of *Chartres*, being come to *Mante*, had called his council together, with many of the moſt eminent perſons that followed him, and told them, "That the Queen of *England* and the Princes of *Germany* his confederates, and of whoſe arms and aſſiſtance he had ſuch urgent need, that without them he had no hopes of being able to maintain his Crown, were daily preſſing him to give peace to men's conſciences, to grant liberty in religion, and to indulge his ſubjects in a quiet and moderate way of living, that he might at laſt unite them with perfect charity in the ſame body. That the *German* army being now upon the point of entering the kingdom, he thought it beſt to anticipate thoſe requeſts which would then be made to him with arms in their hands, in a time of extreme neceſſity, and to grant ſomething now to thoſe of the reformed religion, that he might not be forced, at ſuch a criſis, to give up much more to them. That he did not intend to grant them any thing further, than what King *Henry*, his glorious and moſt Catholick predeceſſor, had done, but ſimply to renew the laſt edict of pacification, which had afterwards been broken and revoked by the violent proceedings of the League: that he thought proper to declare his motives there in Council,

Council, to the end that no-body might put a sinister interpretation upon that resolution, but that every one should be convinced, that all was done for the advantage of the Catholick religion, and that he might not be reduced to a necessity of granting greater liberty than what had been granted and established by his predecessors. That they ought all to consider the present state of affairs, and the forces that the Pope and the King of *Spain* were sending against him, which necessitated him to make use of the supplies of Protestants, to whom he could not in justice deny some reasonable satisfaction, if he expected to be supported by their blood, their money, their good offices and endeavours. That this should not in the least retard the performance of his promises, nor prejudice the Catholick religion, which he would constantly favour, protect, and maintain to the utmost of his power."

1591.

The major part of the voices assented to the King's proposal, though some of the assembly were offended at it: and particularly *Charles*, Cardinal of *Vendosme*, who, now his uncle was dead, caused himself to be styled the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. He said, "He could not, with a safe conscience, be present at such a resolution;" and got up, as if he would have gone away: but as none of the other Prelates seemed inclined to follow him, and he was sharply recalled by the King, he came back, though not much to his reputation, and sat down again. The Archbishop of *Bourges* and the Bishop of *Nantes*, President *De Thou*, the High Chancellor, and many other Catholicks, demanded that the edict for liberty of conscience might not be absolute, but that a clause might be added, to shew it was intended to be no longer in force, than till peace was restored, when differences in religion might be accommodated, and all his subjects reunited in one and the same faith: which being willingly consented to by the King, the edict was drawn up, and some days after published and registred in the Parliaments of his party. Those of the Council did not make much opposition to this declaration, because they saw the pressing occasion which the King had for the assistance of the Protestants, and that the opposing it would have produced no good effect: besides, the *Hugonots* already enjoyed in fact, what was now granted to them in writing. But those of the soldiery that were most zealous for the Catholick religion, and did not know the reasons, were wonderfully offended at it, and began almost openly to shew their disgust: and so much the more, as the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and other principal men, fomented that discontent, and were constantly endeavouring to spirit them up by their discourses and harangues, both in private and in publick.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* had already long before entertained some thoughts of forming another party of Catholicks, distinct both from those of the League, and them that followed the King. This design arose from the

1591. the consideration, that the King's obstinacy in not changing his religion, not only made it more difficult for himself to possess the Crown, but also deprived the whole Royal family of their just pretensions to the succession, since they were all equally excluded from it, as followers of an heretick: and those of the League began already to talk of setting aside the *Salic* law, and of calling other Princes to the Crown who were not in any wise related to the Royal Blood of *France*; which it concerned him more nearly than any of the rest to prevent. For his cousin the Prince of *Condé* being yet, as it were, in leading-strings, and of the *Hugonot* religion: and his elder brother not very fit to govern, on account of a great imperfection in his speech, and, because he had been cut for the stone, esteemed not likely to have children, he thought the next turn of the Crown belonged of right to himself, as the Count *De Soissons*, the third brother, was younger than he: and the Duke of *Montpensier* was still much farther from the succession than they. From these considerations, and the resentment which they excited in him, he began by degrees to encourage a design of opposing that infringement of his rights, and of creating himself a faction that might be able to get him elected King, since neither the Pope could well tell how to discountenance the person of a Cardinal, nor his Catholick Majesty to object to him as a heretick, nor, lastly, could they of the League have any pretence to refuse him due obedience. He communicated this resolution to *John Touchard*, Abbè *De Bellozane*, who had been his tutor from his infancy, and was a man not at all of a pedantick turn, nor of mean and heavy parts, but of a lively, active spirit, and well versed in the practices of the court. This man, in hopes of advancing himself by promoting the interests of his master, fomented the Cardinal's designs, and regulated his manner of conducting himself with prudent instruction: advising him to proceed with caution and secrecy, till he had secured a sufficient number of followers and adherents, and teaching him how to make the best advantage of such favourable conjunctures and opportunities as time should offer. And that he might have some other proper assistants in carrying on so high a design, he first opened the affair to *James David* Sieur *Du Perron*, a young man of mean birth, but of very great learning, and upon that account well received and esteemed in the Cardinal's family from the beginning; and then to *Scipio Balbani*, a native of *Lucca*, who, from being a merchant (which profession he had followed many years with very ill success) had since been employed as an agent at different courts.

These men therefore began to apply themselves, with the utmost diligence and address, to form that third party: for which purpose, *Perron*, under the colour of a complimental visit, went to wait upon the Duke of *Longueville* and the Count *De St. Paul*, two brothers, who

1591.

who being descended from the Royal family (though their progenitors were not legitimate) called themselves of the house of *Orleans*, and, notwithstanding they were zealous Catholicks, yet kept united with the Princes of the Blood, for the maintenance of the Crown: and having represented to their consideration what prejudice their common interests received from the obstinacy of the present King, artfully drew them into the same design, and engaged them to enter into a private correspondence with the Cardinal. On the other hand, *Balbani*, pretending to have private business of his own, went directly to *Rome*, to make an apology to the Pope for the Cardinal's residing in those places that adhered to the King's party, as it was for no other end, he said, but to exhort and persuade him to a conversion: which being now protracted, contrary to the general expectation, and to so many promises that he had made, the Cardinal, not willing to violate his own conscience, had sent him to excuse it to his Holiness, and to beseech him to protect the Royal family, which ought not to forfeit its rights for the obstinacy of one man: adding, that when the Cardinal should once be firmly assured, that the Apostolick see would not suffer any other King but a Catholick, and of the legitimate race of *St. Lewis*, he would declare himself competitor for the Crown, with the approbation of the Catholick Nobility and Commons, and deprive the King of the main strength of those who now followed him, only to support the rights of the Royal family. Whilst *Perron* and *Balbani*, therefore, one within, the other without the kingdom, took great pains to lay the foundations of this third party, the Cardinal staying at *Tours*, as President of the King's Council that resided there, endeavoured, both personally, and by means of *Touchard*, to work upon the affections of many, and particularly of *Gilles de Souvray*, Governor of that city, a man of exceeding great piety and no less prudence, and who had always been in the highest esteem at court, for his goodness and wisdom. But these designs being communicated to several, could not long be kept secret, and were come to the ear of *Philip*, Cardinal of *Lenoncourt*, an old dependant upon the house of *Navarre*, who likewise following the King's party, resided in *Tours*, and was one of the Council: and as there was no very good understanding betwixt him and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, he was the first that gave the King advice of them, informing him, in a confused manner, of what he had been able to find out, concerning the schemes that were in agitation. The King, being no stranger to the jealousy and emulation that subsisted betwixt the two Cardinals, did not absolutely give credit to *Lenoncourt's* report; and yet he began to be a little uneasy about it, and took some pains to get a more thorough insight into the matter; when mere chance itself opened the whole scene to him, in a very unexpected manner. For *Balbani*, who was already come into

Italy,

1591. *Italy*, having met *Des Portes*, the Duke of *Mayenne's* ſecretary, upon the road, who was likewiſe going to *Rome* upon his maſter's affairs, contracted an acquaintance with him, as it uſually happens amongſt thoſe that are intereſted in the ſame nation: in conſequence of which, either inconſiderately, or that he might begin to ſcatter ſome ſeeds of it into the League, he imparted the affair to him for which the Cardinal had ſent him to *Rome*, and ſhewed him the commiſſions which, for his better inſtruction, he had given him, diſtinctly reduced into writing. Upon which *Des Portes*, a man of great ſubtlety and addreſs in managing things of that kind, inſinuated himſelf into his confidence in ſuch a manner, that he not only got to the bottom of the whole, and informed himſelf what adherents the Cardinal had, but alſo obtained a copy of his inſtructions from him: of which, as he ſent ſeveral duplicates in his letters to the Duke of *Mayenne*, one of the copies, that was intercepted by the garriſon of *Auxerre*, came to the King's hands, with a minute and particular detail of the conſpiracy. For the further clearing up and confirmation of the intelligence, which he had thus got from the letters of *Des Portes*, it happened that *James du Queſnay*, a *Norman* Gentleman, who had been bred Page to the Duke of *Longueville*, being one night in his Lord's bed-chamber (as it is a cuſtom in *France*, for people to make their compliments to great men there before they go to repoſe) and ſtanding ſo far behind the curtains that he could not be diſtinguiſhed, by chance heard a long converſation betwixt him and *Du Perron*, upon the ſame ſubject, which he thinking of no great conſequence, told again to his kinſman, *John d'Eſpinay*, who being a *Hugonot*, and a man of diſcretion, immediately communicated the whole to Monſieur *De Chaſeron*, under whom he ſerved in the army, and he again informed the King of every circumſtance.

When the King was thoroughly acquainted with the deſigns that were carrying on againſt him, he was much concerned and troubled in his mind, and having imparted them to the High Chancellor and Monſieur *De la Noüe*, and deſired their advice in the affair: The High Chancellor being very deſirous of the King's converſion, or thinking it the beſt ſtep he could take, ſaid, "It was in the King's own power to remove thoſe obſtacles, and diſpel thoſe clouds: for by turning Catholick, he might at once deſtroy the foundation of all ſuch conſpiracies, and open a moſt ſecure way to union and peace. That to think of any other remedy, would not only be in vain, but exceeding dangerous and prejudicial to his intereſts: for by alienating the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and other Princes of the Blood, who ſided with him, he would cut off one of his own arms, and weaken his party in ſuch a manner, that he would no longer be in a condition to oppoſe his enemies. On the other hand, if he diſſembled his knowledge of their machinations, it would give them an opportunity

tunity of accompliſhing their deſigns, by drawing with them a great part of the Catholicks, who were diſcontented that his converſion was ſo long delayed: ſo that, to avoid theſe two imminent dangers, it was abſolutely neceſſary at laſt, to give ſatisfaction to all his ſervants, whilſt the ſtate of affairs permitted him to do it with honour: for when the Catholick party ſhould once have deſerted him, it would no longer be to any purpoſe to think of converting or of giving them ſatisfaction, in hopes of luring them again, as they do hawks when they have got looſe from their owners: and therefore it behoved him to exert a reſolution worthy of himſelf, and loſe no time in plucking up the roots of thoſe evils which were ſpreading in ſo dangerous a manner."

Monſieur *De la Noüe* ſaid, "He would declare his opinion the more freely, becauſe both his Majeſty and all the reſt of the world well knew, he had ſaid from the very beginning, *That if he did not turn Catholick, he would never be King of France*; but that the preſent was not, by any means, a proper conjuncture for that purpoſe. That his Majeſty muſt be ſenſible, with how formidable a power his enemies were ſoon likely to come upon him, as the Pope and his Catholick Majeſty had made wonderful preparations to aſſiſt the League. That to oppoſe thoſe forces, he had no other reſource but the ſupplies which had been promiſed by the Queen of *England* and the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, who were drawing a powerful army together, under the Viſcount *De Turenne*, to ſupport him in a time of ſo great need: all which ſuccours and proviſions would vaniſh in a moment, if he ſhould change his religion at that juncture; and not only they would diſappear, but all the *Hugonots* in the kingdom that now followed his fortune would deſert him; ſo that at the arrival of the enemy's forces, he would be left deſtitute, unprovided, abandoned, without means to reſiſt, and at the mercy of his adverſaries. That the exigency of affairs would not admit him to deliberate upon means to prevent future evils, whilſt he was threatned with preſent ruin, as the *Italian* forces were already upon their march, the Duke of *Parma* aſſembling an army, and time ſo precious, that it naturally dictated to him to poſtpone the care of things yet at a diſtance, and to provide for more immediate and preſſing neceſſities. That the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* deſign had no very ſolid foundation to rely upon, and required a long time to bring it to perfection: That deſperate remedies were not to be applied at preſent, but ſuch as might palliate the diſeaſe, till it was a proper ſeaſon to purge it thoroughly off. That it was neceſſary to divide thoſe Lords, and ſeparate them into different places, to have an eye upon their actions, to ſooth and keep well with them, till it was ſeen what conſequences the arrival of the foreign forces on each ſide would produce: that afterwards time and occaſions would of themſelves adminiſter remedies proper for

1591. the disease, and means of delivering himself at last out of these labyrinths."

The King seemed to prefer this advice, which was also approved of by the Marshal *De Biron*, to whose decision all matters of importance were ultimately referred. Upon which, he immediately dispatched letters to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the other Lords of the Council, desiring them to come to the camp, as he had occasion for their advice and assistance: the Count *De Soissons* he removed from the government of *Poictou* and *Touraine*, and sent the Prince of *Conti*, who was not engaged in the conspiracy, and already excluded by his brothers, to govern those parts. For, the Count *De Soissons* (being also provoked that the King had often promised him his own sister *Catherine* to wife, and now refused to give her to him) had embarked in the Cardinal's designs, not altogether without hopes, that though he was the younger brother, yet being a layman, the Catholick Princes of the Blood might be induced to make choice of him: so that the Cardinal being arrived at the camp before *Chartres*, and continuing to come to the Council, happened to be present (as has been said before) at the edict that was made in favour of the *Hugonots*, which he opposed both by his words and actions, and after it had passed, never ceased to represent it in an unfavourable light, in order to draw the Catholicks into his designs. Nor could the King have disengaged himself so easily from that embarrassment, if a device, framed by the League on purpose to do him a mischief, had not proved of admirable service to him.

Landriano, the Nuncio, was come to *Rheims*, by the Pope's orders, with monitory letters, addressed to the Prelates that followed the King; and to the Nobility, cities, and people, that adhered to the same party. In which, after the usual preambles, and having copiously exaggerated and expressed his detestation of the error which the Catholicks, especially the Clergy, had been guilty of, in favouring and supporting a King, that was a relapsed and excommunicated heretick, and in rivetting the miserable yoke and bondage of heresy upon their own necks, he proceeded, in the most pathetick manner, to enjoin and expresly command the Clergy (on pain of excommunication, of being deprived of their benefices and dignities, and of being treated as sectaries and hereticks) that within a certain, limited time, they should withdraw themselves from those places that paid obedience to *Henry* of *Bourbon*, and from all union and correspondence with his faction: admonishing, exhorting, and at last strictly charging the Nobility and people wholly to abandon them, to leave all towns that acknowledged *the Heretick*, and to retire amongst the Catholicks that obeyed the Apostolick See, in the unity of the true faith. The whole Monitory was conceived in an elaborate and pompous style, full of haughty and menacing expressions, sharp and rigorous commands,

and, in short, such as did not seem at all well adapted to a time, when the King's arms were attended with great success, and the affairs of the League appeared declining both in strength and reputation: so that, after it had been taken into consideration by the Duke of *Mayenne* and the chiefs of his party, many were of opinion, and particularly Monsieur *De Villeroy*, that it would be the best way to defer the publication of it, till the arms of the confederates were in greater credit, and they might hope to reap some advantage from it. But the Nuncio, who was very little versed in the affairs of *France*, and accustomed to measure things by the opinions of the court of *Rome*: the Bishop of *Piacenza* also, though he had more experience in the present concerns, yet wholly intent upon pleasing the Pope and gaining his favour: and the *Spanish* Ministers, induced by ancient hatred, and a desire of seeing things daily more and more disturbed; all resolved that the Monitory should be published. The *French* Lords, however, remonstrated, "That it was not only very difficult, but also not by any means to be hoped, that the Clergy and Nobility, whose estates, dignities, and prelacies, were in the King's power, should resolve to forfeit them, only to gratify the Pope, especially, as there were but few in those days, who would be content to give up all their worldly goods, for the sake of conscience: that, moreover, they had already from the beginning expected these threats and penalties from his Holiness, and had long been prepared to bear them: that the more they were forced, the more obdurate they would grow; and when they had lost all hopes of being reinstated in the Pope's favour, they would become more obstinately attached to their party, and labour with greater industry to destroy their enemies. That it was necessary to allure and gain them by gentle means, and not to terrify and drive them to utter dispair: that such like menaces would be better timed after a victory, to furnish them with a plausible pretence for leaving the King, when his affairs were in a low condition; than now, when he was strong and powerful, and it was not to be imagined that any body would forsake him. That wise resolutions were not to be grounded upon probabilities, but facts; nor ought things to be regulated according to the opinions of those that formed their judgment of them at a distance, but by men, who, besides their experience in affairs, were immediately present upon the scene of action." Nevertheless, the Ministers of the Pope and the King of *Spain* thought these objections were urged out of common partiality to the nation, and not because they were either true or reasonable: and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had built all his hopes upon the coming of the *Italian* and *Flemish* forces, and was not willing to disgust those Princes, referred himself entirely to them. The Monitory, therefore, was published without further delay, and produced the same effect that the *French* Lords had foretold: for the King having called

1591.

1591. called a Council, at which, he desired all the Prelates that were in *Mante*, and the most considerable persons of his army, to assist, complained grievously of the violent measures that the Pope had just taken against him, praising and extolling the moderation of *Sixtus*, who being at last convinced, that all these discords arose from ambition, and a desire of dividing the kingdom, and not from any real concern or zeal for religion, had desisted from sending assistance to the League, and tacitly granted him time to think of turning, in a decent manner, to the Catholick faith; whilst he favoured and graciously listened to those that followed his party for a good purpose, and for the service of God, of justice, and of their country, as the Duke of *Luxembourg* could fully testify. He further declared his sincere intention of fulfilling what he had promised to the Catholick Nobility at the beginning of his reign: he excused himself by saying, that he had hitherto been prevented, by the fury of the war, from using those means which he thought becoming the importance of the affair, and the quality of his person: and at last, exhorted the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons, to use their utmost endeavours to conserve the privileges and immunities of the *Gallican* church, to hinder that kingdom from being divided and dismembered, which they had received in so flourishing a condition from their ancestors, and not to suffer the people to be left without their Prelates and Pastors, exposed to the manifest danger of error, schism, and damnation: things, which, though they were neither seen nor considered at *Rome*, were nevertheless but too obvious to the eyes of any person whatsoever, that should look upon them with Christian piety and affection. After which, he caused a solemn Decree to be made, declaring, that he would inviolably observe his premise, and exhorting the Parliaments to have a proper regard to the dignity of the Crown, and the Prelates to attend to the spiritual welfare of the people committed to their charge, and to the preservation of the liberties of the *Gallican* church.

This Decree being published with unanimous consent, as every one was offended at the rigour of the Monitory, and the coming of the Nuncio *Landriano*, he dispatched President *De Thou* to *Tours*, and President *Favre* to *Châlons*, in which Parliaments the proceedings of *Landriano* were both spoken and protested against with great freedom; and it was there determined, that the Monitory should be publickly burnt. At the same time, other most severe decrees were made against those that should obey the injunctions of *Landriano*, and desert the King's party, depriving the Clergy of their dignities and benefices, and confiscating the estates and goods of such Lords, Gentlemen, or others, as should do so, and making them all subject to the pains and penalties of high treason and rebellion: which, together with the disdain that the free spirit of the *French* had

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1591.

ceived at the ſtyle of the Monitory, made ſuch an impreſſion upon their minds, that not one of them now offered to ſtir. On the contrary, thoſe that were inclining to favour the new deſigns of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, laid aſide all other thoughts, except ſuch as tended to the conſervation and ſupport of the King, whoſe arms they ſaw in ſo fair a way to prevail: the Clergy publickly declaring, "That the canons did not command them to abandon their flocks in times of ſuch danger and diſtraction, nor did duty enjoin them to leave their country, their own houſes and eſtates, granted them by the liberality of former Kings as a reward for their ſervices, to go a begging like miſerable vagabonds for a penſion of an hundred crowns, from the charity of the Pope's nephews: that in the end, when the King had ſuppreſſed his enemies, he would compoſe all differences with the Pope, and then, whoſoever had been obſtinate and rebellious againſt him, would be utterly undone: and that they could not in conſcience forſake a Prince, who implored their aid and inſtruction to bring him into the boſom of the church." Thus, for the moſt part, thoſe very engines that were raiſed on purpoſe to do the King the moſt miſchief, were turned, in a wonderful manner, to his ſervice and advantage, and the poiſons prepared for him, converted into ſalutary medicines. To theſe decrees of the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Châlons*, the Parliament of *Paris* oppoſed contrary decrees, receiving the Monitory, admitting the Nuncio's commiſſions, exhorting and commanding every one to accept, publiſh, and obey them, and threatning to inflict the heavieſt puniſhments upon thoſe that ſhould tranſgreſs them. But even this did not in the leaſt move the Prelates and Nobility, that followed the King's party, from their determination: and all thoſe remonſtrances and complaints which were made before, concerning the liberty granted to the *Hugonots* in the exerciſe of their religion, were now turned againſt the Pope's ſevere and (as they called it) precipitate reſolution.

In the mean time the Lords of the houſe of *Lorrain*, the Nuncio *Landriano*, the Ambaſſadors of *Spain* and *Savoy*, and Cardinal *Pellevè*, Archbiſhop of *Rheims* (an old protector and favourer of the League) were all come to that city, to the appointed meeting, where their common intereſts were thoroughly and largely diſcuſſed: and though every one diſguiſed his own views and deſigns under various colours and pretences, yet it was very plainly ſeen they could not all agree in the ſame end. The *Spaniards* depended upon their power, and the want that others were in of their aſſiſtance: the Nuncio, upon the majeſty of the Apoſtolick See, and the ſupport of religion: aſſerting, that the power of ſettling thoſe matters was proper and peculiar to the Pope. The Duke of *Lorrain* pleaded the expedience and decency of the thing, as head of the family, and pretended that the reſt ought in modeſty to give way to his

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1591. pretensions. The Duke of *Savoy* aspired to the acquisition of *Provence*; the Duke of *Mercœur* to that of *Bretagne*; the Duke of *Nemours* wanted to establish himself in his governments: and, lastly, the Duke of *Mayenne*, General of the armies and leader of his party, trusted to the union of the people, and the concurrence of the Nobility that bore an affection to his name. But things were not yet sufficiently mature; and every one proceeding with great caution and secrecy, concealed his own designs, and pretended to be moved only by the consideration of the general good. All which being observed by the Duke of *Mayenne*, he was confident, that with time and opportunity, and proper management, he should be able at last to bring over all the rest to his interest; and after they had only concluded upon opposing the coming of the King's foreign supplies, with their common forces, all other concerns were referred to a more seasonable occasion, the Duke having demonstrated, that it was necessary to employ the present in action and not in consultation, as the *Germans* in the King's service were already upon their march, and he himself continued to proceed with great success in the war.

The breaking up of the conference at *Rheims* in this manner, and without coming to any other resolution, convinced the Duke of *Mayenne*, that he had no longer any reason to put so much confidence in the Pope's assistance, when he found the Nuncio in all things inseparable from the interests of *Spain:* and determined him to make use of the ecclesiastical troops only to hinder the entrance of foreigners, and in other enterprises not to trust to any but his *French* forces. Upon which account, he dispatched a Gentleman in all haste to President *Jeannin*, who was already arrived in *Spain*, with instructions, not to take so much pains for supplies of *Spanish* or *Italian* forces, as to procure pay for a certain number of *French* horse and foot, under a pretence, that he found the officers of those two nations unwilling to obey his command, and that with *French* troops, which were more tractable and better acquainted with their own country, he should be able much sooner, and with less difficulty, to bring their common designs to a happy conclusion. For the same purpose, he sent repeated couriers with commissions to *Des Portes*, to sollicit the Pope for an express order for his army, under the Duke of *Monte Marciano*, to stay in *Lorrain*, and there, in conjunction with that Duke's forces and the supplies from *Flanders*, to oppose the coming of the Viscount *De Turenne*; alledging, that those were the best means of cutting off all succours from the King, and of putting a speedy and victorious end to the war: which having been already agreed upon with the Nuncio, whom he had easily made to believe, that the fate of their whole undertaking depended upon that, he, with his own forces, marched away towards *Paris* and *Normandy*, to oppose the daily progress of the King.

The Duke of *Monte Marciano's* forces were confiderable; for being drawn together at *Lodi*, a place fixed upon, by his Catholick Majefty's permiffion, for their rendezvous, they amounted to twelve hundred horfe and two thoufand foot, all under gallant and experienced commanders; which were to be joined by four thoufand *Swifs*, raifed in the Catholick cantons, with the money which the Pope had taken out of the caftle of *St. Angelo*. The King of *Spain's* forces deftined for *Flanders*, confifting of two divifions of foot and four hundred horfe, commanded by *Marco Pio* and the Governor of *Alexandria*, marched with the Pope's army, and took the fame rout. To this body, which was to pafs from the confines of *Savoy*, through the territories of *Burgundy*, into *Lorrain*, the Duke of that ftate intended to join his army, already amounting to four thoufand effective foot and eight hundred horfe: fo that the confederate Princes imagined that the King's *Germans* (even if he himfelf fhould advance with all his forces to receive them) would not be able to oppofe their progrefs, and at their entrance into the kingdom, muft either difperfe of themfelves, or be defeated.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*, after his departure from the Affembly, had marched with the utmoft expedition to *Roüen*; in which city, the people, diffatisfied with the government of the Vifcount *De Tavannes*, had furioufly rifen in arms to drive him out: and *Andrew Brancacc*, Sieur *De Villers*, Governor of *Havre de Grace*, being come thither with fome forces, for fear the city fhould revolt and put itfelf into the King's power, there afterwards arofe fuch a jealoufy and enmity betwixt thofe two commanders, that it was expected they would attack each other; which could not have happened without much bloodfhed, nor without exceeding great hazard of the city's falling into the enemy's hands. The Duke, however, arrived fo opportunely, that if he had ftaid but one day longer, things could not have been compofed without a great deal of mifchief. But his coming gave a check to the fury of both parties: and being unwilling that private difcords fhould endanger a place of fo great moment, he fatisfied the defires of the people and Parliament, by chufing his fon, *Henry de Lorrain*, to be Governor of that city: and becaufe he was very young, he made the fame Sieur *De Villers* his Lieutenant, who was a man of exceeding high fpirit and fingular valour; and fent the Vifcount *De Tavannes*, his old dependant, to command, as Field-Marfhal, under the government of the Duke of *Aumale*, in the province of *Picardy*.

About the fame time, *La Fere*, a place of very great importance on the confines of *Picardy*, was near revolting: for the Marquis *De Menelay*, who had that government (though he had been moft obftinately attached to the League from the beginning, yet at this time, whatever might be his reafon) having changed his mind, had fecretly agreed to

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1591. deliver up the place, and to go over to the King's party. For this purpose, the King himself still waited with his army in those parts; but the Duke, either having had intelligence of the matter, or, as some said, only suspecting it, immediately sent the Vice Seneschal *De Montelimar* (whom, on account of his great sagacity, he used to employ upon the most urgent occasions) together with the Sieur *De Magny*, Lieutenant of his guards, to *La Fere*, with orders, that, if they could not get the Marquis out of the place by other means, they should endeavour to have him assassinated as soon as they possibly could. Nor did they fail to execute what was given them in charge: for after they were arrived there, and had delivered letters from the Duke to the officers of the garrison, whilst the Governor was at mass, without staying till he should resolve upon any thing, they fell suddenly upon him as he came out of the church, and having taken him at unawares and unprovided, presently dispatched him at two stabs, and made themselves masters of the place without any opposition. This action, which looked more like the proceedings of an absolute Prince than the head of a confederacy, disgusted many, though the Duke took much pains to shew, that extreme necessity had produced it, contrary to his will: and it still gave greater offence, that the government was conferred on *Montelimar*, one of the assassins; so that people did not scruple to say publickly, "That the arms of the League never had any edge, but when they were employed against their friends."

Great was the ferment that this event occasioned in men's minds, on account of the Marquis's family and connections, and because it displeased every one that the Duke should arrogate so absolute a power to himself. Seeing therefore he had lost much of his credit, and that it was necessary to retrieve it by some new enterprise of importance (as later actions commonly in a great measure cancel and abolish the memory of former ones) he resolved to give a scalado to *Mante*, where the King's Council and many other Lords, Prelates, and most of the Officers of the Crown that adhered to him, then resided, but without such a guard as the quality of their persons and the weakness of the place required. And imagining that if he should succeed in this undertaking, it would gain him great reputation, and exceedingly weaken the King's party and interest, he drew out the forces that were in *Paris*, together with the garrisons of *Meaux*, *Dreux*, and *Pontoise*, and having made choice of a very dark and rainy night, he approached on two sides with scaling-ladders to the walls of the town (the situation of which he was perfectly acquainted with long before) in full assurance of entering it without much difficulty, on account of the small number of soldiers that were in it. But it happened that he found the sentinels awake at both places, and so alert, that they

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immediately gave the alarm to the guards, who took to their arms and ran to defend the wall: and yet this would have proved but of little service, and they could not long have resisted the assailants, if the Lords of the Council themselves, now their own safety was so nearly concerned, had not taken arms with more courage than could be expected from men of the gown, and ran, with their attendants to reinforce the guards. Upon which, the Duke's soldiers being not only tired, but, almost drowned with the rain, and in a great measure deprived of the use of their fire-arms, and not able to get up to the top of the wall, which they thought they should have found slenderly guarded: but, on the contrary, many of their ladders falling and being broken, they were driven back by the people of the town, and retired without gaining any advantage; so that the assault was attended with more noise and tumult, than bloodshed or loss on either side. This repulse, however, did not damp the Duke's courage: but being informed that part of the King's *Swiss* were quartered at *Hudan*, he marched the next day, with the same expedition, to attack them, but to no purpose; for having found them very strongly fortified and entrenched, he was forced to retire from thence also without any success; to the great praise of the vigilance and good discipline of the King's soldiers, who had so effectually frustrated the Duke's celerity and well-laid designs.

But the danger of *Mante* had been so great in the opinion of all prudent men, that *Giovanni Mocenigo*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, represented to the Council, and the other Lords that were there, that it would be downright rashness to stay in a place so weak and poorly manned, till the Duke assaulted it a second time; and persuaded them to retire to *Chartres*, where, besides the largeness and commodiousness of the city, they might reside with more dignity and security, considering the strength of the place and of the garrison that was in it. The King approved of this resolution, which (as one person cannot attend to every thing at the same time) had not occurred to him before: and being come to *Compiegne*, began to put his army in order, that he might advance to receive his foreign supplies. But because he had not yet had any intelligence of their marching, he resolved in the mean while (that he might not throw away his time in doing nothing) to lay siege to *Noyon*, a town upon the confines of *Champagne* and *Picardy*, which being much better provided with horse than foot, infested all the roads round about it, and greatly incommoded those places that adhered to him in that country. What induced him to attempt that place, made it also more easy to be taken: for as there were such numbers of horse in it, and but few foot, and a very small quantity of ammunition, and other things necessary for the defence of it, the siege could not be attended with much difficulty. Wherefore,

1591. fore, having drawn all his army together, upon the 25th of *July*, he ordered the Marſhal *De Biron* to lodge himſelf within a mile of the town: and the ſame day the Sieur *De Rieux*, perceiving the King's intention, left *Pierrefont* with ſixty horſe and as many foot mounted behind them, each man having a bag of powder at his ſaddle-bow, and paſſing ſecretly through the woods, got ſafe into the city, to the great relief of thoſe that were in it.

Noyon is ſituated betwixt a mountain, on the north ſide, which is very ſteep and craggy; and a fen, on the ſouth ſide, occaſioned by the overflowing of the river *Oyſe* in that place. Behind it, thick and ſpacious woods extend themſelves for many miles: and there is no open road that leads to it, except in the front, over a ſmall plain that reaches to the gate of *St. Ely*, and to a rich abbey that ſtands near the Fauxbourg. The town was ſurrounded with an old wall, and great towers at proper diſtance from each other; but both the towers and the curtain were very well lined with earth. The Marſhal *De Biron*, therefore, having viewed the ſituation, encamped not far from the river, with a deſign to attack the Fauxbourg and abbey that were contiguous to the plain, and ſtood out of the fen; and by that means to open himſelf a way to the moat, which is of a conſiderable breadth, and encompaſſes the town on that ſide. On the other hand, Monſieur *De Ville*, Governor of the place, knowing the weakneſs of the garriſon, and the want of many neceſſaries, had been very importunate for relief, ſeveral days before the ſiege, and even after the army appeared, in repeated letters and meſſages both to the Viſcount *De Tavannes* and the Duke of *Aumale*, Governor of the province: who, being no leſs ſollicitous for the ſafety of the place, firſt diſpatched the Sieur *De Griboval* with an hundred foot and about twenty horſe, and then the Sieur *De Tremblecourt* with his regiment of foot, which was now reduced to a very ſmall number, to try if they could get privately through the woods into the town: but both of them, being charged by the garriſons of *Chauny*, *Corbie*, and *Catelet*, were defeated by the way: ſo that *Griboval* only, and ſixteen of his men, entered with much difficulty, and *Tremblecourt* could not come within many miles of *Noyon*. The miſcarriage of theſe ſupplies obliged the Viſcount *De Tavannes* to attempt to get in himſelf: for which purpoſe he left *Roye*, on the 1ſt of *Auguſt* in the evening, with five hundred firelocks and three hundred horſe to eſcort them, and, under favour of the night, drew near the guards of the army an hour before day, in great hopes of paſſing betwixt guard and guard, before the King's army had put itſelf in order to oppoſe them. But the Sieur *D'Arges*, who, by the Marſhal's order, had been out the ſame night with a party of ſixty light horſe to ſcour the roads, happened to meet him on a ſudden, and not being daunted, though he had ſo few men with

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him, bravely began a ſkirmiſh with a ſmall volley of his ſmall arms, which occaſioned all the other parties that were abroad to haſten to the ſame place. Upon which, the forces of the League finding themſelves diſcovered, and not well knowing in the dark by what number of enemies they were ſo reſolutely attacked (as encounters in the night are commonly attended with more terror than bloodſhed) preſently diſordered themſelves without making any reſiſtance, and fled, by different ways, in a very great panick: the Viſcount alone, whilſt he was endeavouring to ſtop the flight of his men with his ſword in hand, being wounded both in the arm and thigh, was at laſt taken priſoner by the Sieur *D'Arges* himſelf.

1591.

The Duke of *Aumale*, being intruſted with the government of that province, was not a little mortified at the ill ſucceſs of his officers, and was reſolved to attempt the relief of *Noyon* himſelf, being very certain, that if both foot and ammunition were not thrown into the town, it muſt of courſe be loſt in a few days. He therefore marched from *Han*, on the 7th of *Auguſt* in the evening, with ſix hundred horſe and nine hundred foot: and, that his men might proceed in good order to the execution of his deſign, and not be thrown into confuſion by the darkneſs of the night, as the others had been, he reſolved to beat up one of the King's quarters at break of day, and whilſt they were in alarm and fully engaged there, to endeavour to ſuccour the town by day-light, rather than expoſe himſelf to the danger of being diſordered in the dark. With this intention, he marched up to the plain, along the great highway that leads directly to the gate, where he ſuddenly fell upon one of the quarters of the King's light horſe that lay without the trenches, under the cover of ſome ſcattered houſes upon the ſame road. The attack was fierce, and it was no leſs reſolutely ſuſtained by the Sieur *D'Arges* (a young Gentleman of high courage) and the men that he had under his command. But the Duke of *Aumale* being ſtill reinforced with freſh ſupplies of horſe, and Colonel *Beranglise* coming up with the foot that followed him, the light horſe, though they fought valiantly, would have been forced to quit their poſt, and leave the way open to relief, if *Biron* had not ſeaſonably come to their aſſiſtance with three hundred cuiraſſiers and two hundred Reiters: at whoſe arrival, the Duke being furiouſly charged in the flank, and the light horſe (who had began to give way) now recovering themſelves after their ſurpriſe, the further advance of the enemy was ſtopped, till new ſupplies came up after each other, and the infantry of the camp, already in arms, had fallen into their ranks to defend their poſts; upon which the Duke of *Aumale* was obliged to retire, though he made good his retreat by an obſtinate oppoſition, wherein, beſides the death of ſixty private men, he loſt the Sieur *De Longchamp*, a ſoldier of great experience,

1591. rience, and *Francisco Guevara*, a Captain of the *Spanish* light horse, and was pursued to the very gates of *Han*, without being able to give the least relief to the besieged.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne*, being informed that *Noyon* was besieged, had dispatched expresses in all haste for the Sieur *De Rhosnè*, with the forces that were in *Champagne*, and for the Prince of *Ascoli*, who had been sent by the Duke of *Parma* with eight hundred horse, and three thousand foot; and being joined by them at *La Fere*, came up to *Han*, on the 10th of *August*, where he posted his army upon the road that leads toward *Noyon*, but with the river betwixt them: imagining his presence would give sufficient courage to the besieged. But the King having taken possession of the most convenient places, had carried his approaches so far, that he had already begun to batter the abbey that stood without the Fauxbourg: which was resolutely defended by those within it, to keep the enemy as far as they possibly could from the walls. The five pieces of cannon, however, with which it was battered, had demolished it to such a degree, that the foot took it on the 8th day by assault, in which thirty of the besieged were killed, and above fifty more taken prisoners, to the great diminution of the garrison, which of itself was too weak at first to defend the compass of the walls. The Duke of *Mayenne's* arrival, however, made it necessary to suspend the progress of the siege: for as he had ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse with him, it was thought, if he could not relieve the place any other way, he would venture a battle with the King, rather than see it taken.

Yet the opinions in his camp were very different: for the Prince of *Ascoli* did not think the loss of the town of so much importance, that it was worth while to hazard a battle to prevent it, with the risque of the only army they had in being to make head against the enemy: and said, "That, as the Pope's and the King of *Spain's* supplies had already passed the mountains, and were very soon expected, it would be an unaccountable piece of rashness, to put that now into the power of fortune, which might be more effectually secured, and indeed made certain, in a few days." The Duke of *Aumale*, on the other hand, being thoroughly picqued at his late disgrace, and impatient to wipe it off, argued, that the safety of the place was of very great censequence to the affairs of the province, since there was no other strong town left in those parts that adhered to their party: but that their reputation was of still greater importance, which would be much tarnished, if they should suffer the place to be taken from them without striking a stroke, when they had advanced to the very face of the enemy with forces not inferior in number to theirs. The Duke of *Mayenne* inclined to the safer side, partly, because he was naturally averse to hazardous enterprizes, and partly, because he had it

 not

not ſo much in his power to command as to perſuade the Prince of *Aſcoli* 1591. and the *Spaniards*, whom he ſaw thoroughly determined not to conſent to the hazard of a battle.

In the mean time, the King, being deſirous to diſcover the enemy's intentions with ſome certainty, and having no more expeditious way of doing it, ordered the Marſhal *De Biron* to paſs the river with the greater part of his horſe, to ſee whether the Duke would come out to engage him, or ſtill continue in his quarters. But as ſoon as the Marſhal was advanced within ſight of *Han*, and of the army of the League, which was encamped acroſs the main road, he found the country quite clear: nor did any part of them ſtir out of their quarters to ſkirmiſh in the open field: which being repeated for three days together with the like event, the King apprehending, that the Duke thought to relieve *Noyon* only with the report of his being ſo near it, went on with the ſiege, and cauſed the courtain of *St. Ely* to be battered on the 15th, and having beaten down the works on each ſide, on the 16th in the morning, being reſolved to make an aſſault, he ordered the cavalry to paſs over the river as uſual, that they might be in readineſs if the enemy ſhould ſtir: and after he had drawn up his infantry in a proper manner, gave orders to the Baron *De Biron* to advance to the attack. Upon which Monſieur *De Ville*, who had held out as long as he poſſibly could, and expected relief in vain, now ſeeing himſelf in ſuch a condition, that he was not able to oppoſe ſo fierce an aſſault as was preparing againſt him, ſignified to the King, that he would capitulate, and in a few hours agreed to ſurrender, if the Duke of *Mayenne* did not either advance to engage him, or throw at leaſt five hundred men into the town within two days: which being concluded upon, and hoſtages given on both ſides, he diſpatched a Gentleman to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to let him know of the agreement: who having conſulted again with his Commanders, and come to the ſame concluſion as before, drew off to the walls of *Han* the ſame evening; and the Sieur *De Ville*, punctually performing the agreement, delivered up the town on the 18th into the hands of Monſieur *D'Eſtrée* for the King.

After the taking of *Noyon*, the attention of both ſides was chiefly taken up with expectation of the foreign forces, which did not yet happen to make their appearance on either. For the *Germans*, who, to the number of eight thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, had been raiſed by the Viſcount *De Turenne*, with the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtant Princes, were not willing to ſtir without money, and expected that a large ſum ſhould have been diſburſed from *England* for their pay and ſubſiſtance: which the Queen being obliged to raiſe upon her ſubjects, who had promiſed to grant it upon certain conditions, things were not ſo ſoon ſettled, nor were the terms equally ſatisfactory to both ſides. For the *Engliſh* being ſtill deſirous

1591. desirous to recover footing in *France*, and particularly in *Normandy*, a province long possessed by them in former times, had promised the Queen three hundred thousand ducats, to be employed in the affairs of *France*, provided she could get some convenient sea-port to be assigned to her, not only as a security for their money, but also for a store-house for their merchandizes, and that they might carry on their commerce with more convenience in the kingdom of *France*: which demand having been formerly made, and now earnestly repeated by the Queen, who likewise insisted upon liberty of conscience for the *Hugonots*, on pretence of complying with the earnest importunities of her subjects, gave the King a good deal of trouble and uneasiness, as he was not willing to deprive himself of *Dieppe*, a place where he successfully made the first trials of his fortune: much less of *Calais*, to which the *English* made very strong pretensions: and all the other places were in the possession of the League. He therefore at last proposed, and made a firm promise to the Queen, by the Sieur *De Salette*, a *Hugonot* Gentleman, whom he sent on purpose, that he would lay siege to the city of *Roüen*, and if the *English* would assist him with men and money to take it, he would give them a reasonable jurisdiction in it, that they might carry on their commerce with freedom and security thereafter, which, if he could make himself master of *Caudebec* and *Harfleur*, towns near that city, he would also consign one of those ports to them, which might serve for a convenient retreat for their shipping, upon occasion. But whilst the *English* demurred to these conditions, and whilst they were treated of with the usual precautions on both sides, the march of the *Germans* was deferred, nor could they be prevailed upon to move, till the first hundred thousand ducats were paid down, and assignments given them for the other two hundred thousand.

On the other hand, the Duke of *Monte Marciano*, and the forces which were marching from *Milan* towards *Flanders*, at the Duke of *Savoy's* reiterated instances, had received orders to stay some days in his territories, that by their countenance and assistance, he might not only recover some places that had been taken from him, but suppress the forces of Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, who was very active, and harrassed him exceedingly, both in *Dauphinè* and *Provence*. The Duke was picqued, that the King's party had taken some places, though of no great importance; but he was much more alarmed at a fort which *Les Diguieres* had begun to build over against *Mont-meillan*. Upon which account, as he had permission to detain the *Italian* army, and the four thousand *Swiss* raised by the Pope, sometime with him, he sent Don *Amadeo* before him to attempt the taking of that fort, which was called *Morestello*, from the place where it was erected, whilst he himself entered *Dauphinè* with other forces by a different side, and Count *Francisco Martinengo*, with the main strength of his army,

army, laid close siege to the town of *Barre* in *Provence*. In the mean time Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, who was sometimes obliged to attend to the affairs of *Dauphinè*, sometimes to assist Monsieur *De la Valette* in *Provence*, had set out to raise the siege of *Barre*, whilst *La Valette* invested and battered *Gravion*: but not arriving till the besieged had already agreed to surrender the town, after some slight skirmishes, he returned with wonderful celerity to relieve fort *Morestello*, and was advanced with four hundred horse and three thousand foot, as far as *Ponte-Chiarra*, a place near the fort, and very convenient for his design: which being soon discovered by the *Savoyards*, who were reinforced by part of the Pope's troops, they rose silently from the siege, after it had been carried on many days, and leaving the fort behind them, encamped upon the road by which they saw the *French* army seemed resolved to advance. But *Les Diguieres* having personally reconnoitred the camp and number of the enemy, and making small account of the raw men which composed that army, in comparison of his veterans, determined to fight them, imagining that he should soon put them into disorder by a bold and furious onset. Both the armies, therefore, being betwixt the mountain and the river *Isare*, in a narrow pass, which was of great advantage to him, considering the inferiority of his forces, he divided his infantry into two bodies, one of which he sent up by the steep of the hill, and the other along the bank of the river, whilst he himself kept the plain with his cavalry, drawn up in four squadrons, amongst which there were some musketiers placed at proper intervals, and resolutely advanced in this manner to attack the enemy. The *Savoyards* having drawn up their army in very good order, likewise advanced, and sustained the first encounter in the front with great courage: but whilst they were thus warmly engaged, and had their eyes and attention wholly taken up with the enemy that was before them, they were suddenly charged in the flank by the foot that were come round by the way of the hill, which they had not taken care to make good: so that being thrown into confusion by this unexpected attack, they broke their ranks, and, without making much further resistance, soon took to flight. When they came into the plain, however, that lay behind them, they recovered their spirits, and endeavoured to rally and face about again: as they were stronger in cavalry, and had a spacious open field, which gave them an opportunity of renewing the battle with great advantage. But the conquerors pressed upon them so close, and with so much impetuosity, that it terrified them to such a degree, that they dispersed and were pursued to the very walls of *Montmeillan*, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, two Cornets, eighteen pair of colours belonging to the foot, and a great quantity of spoil and baggage. This unlucky accident, which put an end to all hopes of making any

1591.

1591. further progreſs at that time, together with the importunities of the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Lorrain* to have the Pope's and *Spaniſh* forces march to prevent the paſſage of the *Germans*, determined them to leave *Savoy*, and advance through the county of *Burgundy* directly towards *Lorrain*.

Whilſt the King was victoriouſly overrunning the whole country, after the taking of *Noyon*, the Duke of *Mayenne* ſtill continued at *Han*, to reinforce his army and put it in order: at which place Preſident *Jeannine* came to him at his return from the court of *Spain*, but did not bring back a ſatisfactory anſwer to any of thoſe demands that he had been negociating with his Catholick Majeſty. The Duke of *Mayenne* had long conceived a ſuſpicion, that the artful and reſerved behaviour of the *Spaniards* proceeded from the temper and diſpoſition of their miniſters, whom he thought either ill affected to his perſon, or ambitious to do more than was given them in charge by the council of *Spain*: he imagined that the Duke of *Parma*, a very cautious and experienced commander, would not willingly hazard his reputation againſt the King, who was followed by almoſt an invincible body of Nobility, and was ſo wonderfully expeditious, intrepid, and reſolute in all his undertakings: he apprehended that *Diego d'Ivarra* and *Mendozza* (who, on many accounts, were ill diſpoſed towards him) either to diminiſh his credit, or out of avarice, miſapplied thoſe ſums of money that were ſent for his ſervice, and often diſpoſed of them, without his privacy, at their own pleaſure; and was fully perſuaded, that as ſoon as his Catholick Majeſty was once thoroughly informed of the affairs of *France* in general, of the private intereſts of different perſons, and of the great authority which his pains and endeavours had procured him in particular, he would ſoon not only determine in his favour, but give him ſufficient aſſiſtance to make an end of the war, and ſuffer him to take ſuch meaſures as he thought proper to fix the Crown upon his own head: for which purpoſe, he had deprived himſelf of the advice and aſſiſtance of Preſident *Jeannine*, by ſending him to that court, as a man privy to his moſt ſecret deſigns, well informed of all particulars, of great prudence and circumſpection, and by his eloquence and experience, ſufficiently qualified for ſo difficult and important a negociation. But both he and the Preſident found themſelves much deceived in their opinion: for (whether it had been the intention of the *Spaniards* from the beginning, or the advice given and repeated by their miniſters that reſided in *France* had occaſioned that reſolution) the court of *Spain* was deſirous to have the war ſpun out and carried on very ſlowly, to prevent the Duke of *Mayenne* from riſing to ſuch a height of credit and authority with his party, as to be able to diſpoſe of things in his own manner, and that a way might be opened, by degrees, either for the union of

the two Crowns, or the election of the Infanta *Isabella*, which could not be effected without great length of time and much patience; or at least, if nothing else could be done, to secure themselves, that so many vast sums of money, and such a series of labours, should at last, in some measure, redound to the emolument and augmentation of their monarchy. When *Jeannine* arrived, therefore, at that court, he found in his first audience, that King *Philip* was already fully informed of all particulars, and very far from being so partially inclined to the Duke's interests, as he, at so great a distance, had vainly flattered himself: yet he endeavoured, by all possible arts and means, in his subsequent audiences, to remove those impressions, which he thought had been made upon him to the Duke's prejudice, and to persuade his Majesty to concur with him to promote the same end. But all was in vain, nor was he able to succeed in any one point: for when they treated about supplies of money, he not only found the King averse to granting larger sums than he was wont, but now determined, that even those that he had been used to furnish the Duke of *Mayenne* with, should pass through the hands of his own ministers for the future, though with the Duke's privity; alledging, "That he had seen but very small benefit arise from such heavy expences, and that he was not willing to have his supplies kept secret, but that every one should see and know from whence they came, and be obliged to him for them, as the principal source. As for his armies, he said, it was his pleasure that they should advance into *France* to support the cause of religion, which seemed to be in danger, and to establish a King who should be a Catholick, and generally approved of: but that the Duke of *Parma* could not so soon leave the *Low Countries*, as the States of *Holland* had lately taken *Zutfen* in *Friesland*, and other places in *Brabant*; and that he would not proceed any further in the dark, or without knowing what bottom he was going upon: that therefore it was necessary to assemble the States to resolve upon the election of a King, that they might go on with order and deliberation to one certain and determinate end. Lastly, as for what related to the paying of the *French* forces, which the Duke of *Mayenne* was desirous to raise and command himself, he said, he was ready to do it, when the principal resolution was once taken; that he would send a new Ambassador into *France*, to declare his intention to the States, and to cause that to be determined upon, which was necessary for the completion of such an undertaking: that in the mean time he would give orders to the Duke of *Parma* to return into *France* as soon as the affairs of *Flanders* would admit him: but that no time was to be lost in calling an Assembly of the States together, till the end of which he was not inclined to grant any larger supplies, either of men or money." This was his final resolution: nor could *Jeannine* obtain any thing further,

1591. notwithstanding he made use of his utmost address in setting forth the present state of affairs, the jealousies of the *French*, the merits of the house of *Lorrain* in general, the labours and authority of the Duke of *Mayenne* in particular, and the interest of his party. He was returned, therefore, to give an account of this negociation to the Duke, which reduced him to greater perplexity than ever he had been in before: for having now lost all hopes of over-reaching the *Spaniards*, he was likewise involved in fresh troubles and difficulties, by the escape which his nephew, *Charles* Duke of *Guise*, had lately made out of his confinement.

That Prince had been detained prisoner ever since the death of his father: nor had any attempt been made to release him, though it had often been talked of: and when the King was applied to for that purpose, he always peremptorily refused to exchange him for any other person or persons whatsoever, alledging, that he was not a prisoner of war, but of justice. And though his mother had made the most heavy and reiterated complaints upon that head, the Duke of *Mayenne* had never been very sollicitous about obtaining his liberty, foreseeing it would probably occasion a division in his party, on account of the dependance that many would have on him, in gratitude to the memory of his father, and for the favours received from him; which might induce the common people to concur unanimously in his exaltation: so that if he would not submit to acknowledge his uncle's superiority, but should endeavour to advance himself to the rank long held by his father and grandfather, the League must certainly be disunited, if not dissolved: for which reasons, he never intended to apply himself in good earnest to procure his freedom, till things were brought to such a point, that it should not be in his power to alter or disturb the course of them, even if he was at liberty. But now, whether the King (as some thought) foresaw the consequences, and privately connived at his enlargement, or that it was happily contrived by the Sieur *De la Chastre*, who had the adjacent government of *Berry*, and was one of his father's old friends and dependants, it is certain, that after it had been agreed upon, that a groom and another servant, with a very fleet horse, sent by *La Chastre*, should be laid for him in the fields under the castle of *Tours*, where he was kept prisoner, he took an opportunity of making his escape in the following manner. On the 15th of *August* in the afternoon, when he retired from the table, and had shut the doors of his apartment in order to repose himself, whilst his guards and the other attendants were making themselves merry with good cheer, he silently locked them up in the room where they were at dinner, and went up to the top of a tower that looked towards the fields, from whence he descended, with exceeding great danger, by a ladder of silk, which had been privately sent him in a pye; and having got safe to the bottom, ran

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along the side of the river *Loire* towards the place appointed, where he found the horse, and those that waited for him, and made all possible haste to join the Baron *De Maison*, son to *La Chastre*, who had appointed to meet him some few miles on the other side of the river *Cher*, with three hundred horse: under the escort of which he was safely conducted into *Berry*, and there received, with demonstrations of the utmost joy, in the city of *Bourges*. Monsieur *De Souvray*, Governor of *Tours*, and Colonel *Grillon*, who had staid in that town ever since the wound which he received in the attack made upon the suburbs of it, having advice that *La Chastre's* forces were roving about those parts, and apprehending they might have some correspondence in the city, had for some days kept the gates shut, and attended more strictly to their guards than they used to do: but being immediately informed of the Duke's sudden escape by Captain *Rouvray*, Governor of the castle, they either had in reality, or pretended to have, a much stronger suspicion than before, and would not let the gates be opened, without the precaution of first drawing up the soldiers under arms, and then causing a diligent search to be made quite through the town; so that the Duke, having the advantage of above an hour and a half, could not afterwards be overtaken by those that pursued him, which confirmed the suspicion some had conceived, that the King had given secret orders to permit his escape, as letters, and messages, and presents of all kinds, were allowed to be sent to him, without restraint, about that time, amongst which was the pye, with the silk ladder in it, without which it could not possibly have been effected.

1591.

The news of this event affected the heads of the two parties in a very different manner: for as it did not displease the King, who hoped to reap some advantage thereby, so it stung the Duke of *Mayenne* to the quick, especially at a juncture when he was diffident of the *Spaniards*, and of many of the *French* of his party, who were dissatisfied with him: yet he dissembled his vexation, and did not lose his spirits, but having expressed great joy at his nephew's escape, he exhorted him to come to him as soon as possible; thinking, that as he was not much acquainted with affairs, and known but to few, he might, perhaps, when he was with him, be induced to submit to his maturer age and experience, and the great authority which he saw him in possession of: and having recourse to artifice himself, to counteract the schemes of the other confederates, he immediately, by means of Monsieur *De Villeroy*, caused a correspondence and sort of a treaty to be set on foot with the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the other Princes of the Blood, who he knew, by the relation of the Sieur *Des Portes*, were discontented with the King, to try if they could raise a third and different party, hoping by that means to create a jealousy in the *Spaniards*, and necessitate them to comply, if not with all, at least with many

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1591. of his demands. *Villeroy*, therefore, who had been always desirous to see the war end in an accommodation, was not tardy in his endeavours to promote that treaty, by the assistance of his brother the Abbè *De Chesy*, which was still artfully kept alive, from time to time, with vain hopes and imaginary conditions.

But the King, who had got some intimation of the affair, being distressed, on one hand by these machinations, which in a manner necessitated him to hasten his conversion; and, on the other, by the repeated importunities of the *English* and the Princes of *Germany* (who pressed him to give them strong places in his kingdom, and security for the liberty of the Protestant religion, in which they insisted, that he himself must persevere if he expected any assistancce from them) was in no less perplexity than the Duke of *Mayenne*; which was still increased after he arrived at *Sedan*, when he found the money promised by *England* was not yet disbursed, and the *Germans* had therefore delayed their coming so long, that it was thought the Pope's and the King of *Spain's* forces would get into *Lorrain* before them. And it was no inconsiderable addition to his other troubles, that *Charlotte de la Mark* (who resided at *Sedan*, and was heiress of that duchy) being now grown up to years of maturity, he was obliged to take a resolution of giving her in marriage to some body in his interest, lest the Duke of *Lorrain* should be before-hand with him (as he was very desirous) and marry her to one of his sons. As the importance of that duchy, therefore, and particularly of *Sedan*, made it necessary for the King to take care, that it might not fall into the hands of the Duke of *Lorrain*, so it occasioned much doubt in him, when he considered to whom it would be most proper to give that Lady in marriage, who had the inheritance of a state that was of so great consequence. *Carlo Gonzaga*, son to the Duke of *Nevers*, aspired to this match, as the duchy of *Retelois*, whereof he bore the title, lay contiguous to her territories: but she being of the *Hugonot* religion, as the common people and Noblesse of those parts were in general, the King could not resolve to gratify him in that respect, lest he should alienate the affections of that party, and disgust those whom he had taken so much pains to keep firm to him. On the other hand, he was afraid the Duke of *Nevers* (who was naturally apt to take offence) would be affronted, if he should propose any other match of inferior quality to his son. These considerations, so opposite, held him some days in suspense, but it being necessary to come to a resolution, he at last determined to marry her to the Viscount *De Turenne*, not only on account of the confidence he had in him, but because he was of the same religion: and much more, that he might have an opportunity of rewarding him for the eminent service he had done him in raising and conducting the foreign army. And indeed it immediately produced the effect which the King had before apprehended:

hended: for the Duke of *Nevers* was exaſperated to ſuch a degree, that he began to take part with thoſe that were ſo urgent for his converſion, and to hold a ſecret correſpondence with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Longueville*, his ſon-in-law, and the reſt of the new party, who pretended to exert themſelves principally for the ſake of the Catholick religion, which they ſaid was trampled under foot, and themſelves impoſed upon, from time to time, by thoſe who were profeſſedly determined to live and die *Hugonots*, and only endeavoured to eſtabliſh themſelves in power and ſtrength, notwithſtanding the many promiſes they had made them to the contrary. Nor was there any other remedy againſt the dangers with which the King ſaw himſelf threatned, except to keep his party in continual action, and not to ſuffer idleneſs to feed theſe diſcontents, but to lull and extinguiſh all private animoſities by warlike and victorious enterpriſes. Upon which conſideration, he was ſo importunate in ſolliciting the march of the *German* army, and ſo diligent in ſending them thoſe ſums of money, by little and little, which he had been able to get together from ſeveral parts with infinite difficulty, that he was at laſt joined by them before the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* armies came up to prevent that union, as the Duke of *Mayenne* had always ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to do: an error ſo great in their Commanders, that it rendered all thoſe vaſt expences and pains which they had been at in aſſembling and conducting thoſe forces, entirely vain and of no effect: for having imprudently thrown away their time in *Savoy*, in attending to things that in no wiſe conduced to advance the main deſign of the war, they could not arrive ſoon enough to hinder the junction of the King's army with the *Germans*, upon which the further ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms this year principally depended.

The King being thus joined by the Viſcount *De Turenne*, without any oppoſition, after taking many caſtles about *Metz* and *Sedan*, at laſt aſſaulted *Attigny*, a large town, into which all the riches, valuable furniture, and cattle of the neighbouring country were put, as a place of ſafety: and having made himſelf maſter of it, he gave all the plunder, which was very great, to the *Germans*, who, being ill provided with money, were refreſhed and ſatisfied with it for ſome time: after which, the King, always inclined to bold reſolutions, determined to try whether the Commanders of the League had the courage to venture a battle. For this purpoſe, though he was informed, that the forces of the Pope, the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, were alſo at laſt joined at *Verdun*, he reſolved to advance towards them, and provoke them by his preſence, and all other poſſible means, to come to an engagement; imagining the *Italian* forces were yet raw, and not well diſciplined, and the Duke of *Lorrain's* not in any wiſe comparable to his.

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1591. With this intention he left *Attigny* on the 1st of *October*, and lodged that night with his vanguard at *Grandprè*: Upon which day Monsieur *D'Amblise*, who commanded part of the *Lorrain* forces, having marched from *Mont-faucon*, joined the army of the League. The next day about noon, the King arrived in sight of *Verdun* with his army, which he drew up, and extended a great way along the plain. On the other side, the Chiefs of the League, who were encamped without the city, put their forces in order of battle under the walls: the *Italians* having the right wing, the Duke of *Lorrain* the main battle, and the Duke of *Mayenne's French* the left: though the Duke himself commanded, and drew up the whole army, as he thought most proper. At the first approach there began so furious a skirmish betwixt the two armies, that many of the Commanders themselves thought a general engagement would have ensued: for the Sieurs *De Pralin*, *De la Curée*, *D'Arges*, and the Baron *De Givry*, with the King's light horse in four divisions, flanked on the right and left by the Count *De Brienne* and the Sieur *De Marivaut*, with two hundred cuirassiers, advanced to the very face of the enemy: and on the other side, the Cavalier *D'Avolio*, *Ottavio Cesis*, and *Ascanio della Cornia*, likewise advanced with the Pope's light horse, flanked by the Sieur *D'Amblise* with a body of *Lorrain* lances. But, though the skirmish was very hot in the beginning, the Sieur *De Pralin's* horse being killed under him, and *La Curée* thrown to the ground with the shock of a lance, the *Italians* behaving themselves very gallantly every where; yet the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Lorrain* were resolved not to engage, because his Catholick Majesty's forces that came out of *Italy* (according to their wonted behaviour) had refused to follow them, and were marched directly to join the Duke of *Parma*, and the Pope's *Swiss* did not amount to above three thousand: so that, as they did not think themselves a match for the King's army in so open a place as the plain before *Verdun*, they ordered the skirmish to cease by degrees, and drew back their men under the walls again, yet without any shew of fear: whilst the King took up his quarters, and entrenched himself, within sight of the town, and of their army.

All sorts of provisions were carried, in great plenty, to the camp of the League, and the city furnished them with many conveniencies, not only of victuals, but of lodging under cover: whereas the King, being in the midst of an enemy's country, and the weather very rainy, suffered much for want of provisions and other conveniencies, nor could his soldiers, accustomed to another manner of living, endure the hardship of lying abroad in so adverse a season. Besides these discouragements, there was a most violent storm that night, with thunder, whirlwinds, and exceeding heavy rain, which spoiled the soldiers tents, overflowed the plain, and

and put the whole army in great confusion. Wherefore, after the King 1591. had ſtood in order of battle for many hours the next day, and none of the enemy's forces appeared in the field, he faced about, and marched back with his army to quarter again at *Grandpré*: where the *Germans* had like to have mutinied, for want of the money that had been promiſed them. So that the King, who was now obliged to perform his engagements to the Queen of *England*, that he might receive the other two hundred thouſand ducats, having raiſed a certain ſum of money at *Sedan*, upon the jewels and credit of the Princeſs *Charlotte*, to quiet the *Germans*, immediately took the rout toward *Normandy*, with a deſign, at laſt, to beſiege the city of *Roüen*.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, contrary to whoſe expectation the Pope's forces had ſo long deferred their coming, and who had alſo ſeen the King of *Spain's* march directly towards *Flanders*, without making any ſtay, immediately diſpatched the Count *De Briſac* to the Duke of *Parma* to inform him, that if he did not either enter the kingdom himſelf, or ſend ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be ſufficient to oppoſe the King, the affairs of the League, and the ſtate of religion, would be very much endangered, and that he ſhould not be able to prevent many from making their peace, and leaving him, as (ſeeing the tardineſs and evil deſigns of their allies) they daily threatened. He made the ſame declaration, though more at large, to *Diego d'Ivarra*, who was there with him, ſhewing him the fatal conſequences which the delays and ſecret practices of the *Spaniards* produced: for if all his Catholick Majeſty's expences, and the forces which he had granted ſeparately, firſt to one perſon, and then to another, in *Bretagne*, *Provence*, *Savoy*, and *Languedoc*, had been collected into one body, and all employed to promote the main undertaking, a compleat victory over the King muſt neceſſarily have enſued, with the total ſuppreſſion of their enemies. But whilſt a diviſion of the League was attempted, whilſt his own advice was neglected, and whilſt the Duke of *Parma* would not advance, the King had found an opportunity of receiving foreign ſupplies; and was now grown ſo powerful, that he over-ran all *France* at his pleaſure, to the great concern and aſtoniſhment of all good men. But theſe arguments and repreſentations having no weight with *D'Ivarra*, who had received another impreſſion, and was differently inclined; and the cauſe from whence this coldneſs proceeded being clearly perceived, from the report of Preſident *Jeannine*, the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Lorrain*, not being able to find any other remedy, ſecretly agreed, in general, to keep cloſely united together, and to uſe their joint endeavours not to ſuffer any one to be advanced to the throne, who was not of their own family, much leſs a foreigner: and, if they ſhould be forced to chuſe another perſon, not to conſent to his election, except he was a Catholick,

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1591. and Prince of the Blood, or that the kingdom ſhould ever be either alienated or divided. With this reſolution, confirmed alſo by an inſtrument in writing, which they both ſigned, the Duke of *Mayenne* began to make preparations for carrying on the war: and having left *Verdun* with the Pope's army and his own, and the ſupplies which he had obtained from the Duke of *Lorrain* (who conſented that the Count *De Vaudemont*, the Count *De Chaligny*, and the Sieur *De Baſſompierre*, ſhould follow him) he took the road towards *Champagne*, that he might be near the confines, till he heard what was determined upon in *Flanders*.

When the Duke arrived at *Retel* in *Champagne*, he was joined by the Duke of *Guiſe* with ſix hundred horſe, all Gentlemen, who, upon the report of his being at liberty, were come in to him: and though their ſalutations and outward deportment ſeemed very affectionate, and full of confidence in each other, yet their private conferences did but ill agree with this outſide ſhew of kindneſs: for, as the Duke of *Mayenne* had always apprehended, all thoſe that were diſſatisfied with his conduct, immediately turned their eyes upon this young Prince, who was of a great and generous ſpirit, of a handſome preſence, courteous and affable in his behaviour, and, which was ſtill of more importance, heir to his father's reputation, and to that extravagant affection that had been borne him by all the people of *France*. The *Pariſians*, and particularly *The council of ſixteen*, who could not endure to be kept under by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and that he ſhould diſpoſe of all offices in their city juſt as he pleaſed, without confiding in any of them, openly declared for, and deſired the exaltation of this Prince: and even the *Spaniards*, by ſhewing him all poſſible favour and reſpect, endeavoured to ſet him up, as a counterpoiſe to the Duke of *Mayenne*, with whom they were out of conceit, becauſe they ſaw him ſo little inclined to encourage their deſigns. He was ſupported, in particular, by the Sieurs *De la Chaſtre*, *De Vins*, and Colonel *St. Paul*, and, in general, by all thoſe that had been obliged to, or dependent upon his father: and he himſelf, though but juſt come upon the ſtage, and not much acquainted with the ſituation of affairs, was not in any wiſe deficient in his endeavours to advance his own intereſts. For, being informed by the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Sieur *De Baſſompierre*, of what they had agreed upon with the Duke of *Lorrain*, namely, to endeavour not to ſuffer any one to wear the Crown, that was not of their family, and, in caſe they were forced to elect another perſon, to make choice of a Catholick Prince of the Blood, he at firſt excuſed himſelf for not concurring with them, by ſaying, he was as yet in a great meaſure a ſtranger to the preſent ſtate of affairs, and afterwards deſired further time to conſult with the Ducheſs his mother: and at laſt reſolved not to detach himſelf from the *Spaniards*, but firſt to hear the Duke of *Parma's* opinion, and then

to diſpatch proper perſons to the court of *Spain*, to negotiate his affairs with his Catholick Majeſty. Which reſolution the Duke of *Mayenne*, always cool and moderate in his proceedings, and accuſtomed to overcome all difficulties by patience, much commended in his nephew, and ſeeming inclined to favour his advancement to the utmoſt of his power, at the ſame time endeavoured to keep him near his perſon, that he might have neither means nor opportunity of attempting, or ſo much as projecting new deſigns.

1591.

Whilſt they were thus employed at *Retel*, and ſtaid there in expectation of the Count *De Briſac's* return with an anſwer from *Flanders*, they had advice of the Pope's death, which gave a new turn to things, and greatly embarraſſed them. For the Duke of *Monte Marciano*, not knowing what the Cardinals would determine upon, during the vacancy of the See, nor what part the Pope that ſhould be choſen might act, began to raiſe objections, and ſaid, he muſt concur with whatſoever the Duke of *Parma* ſhould reſolve upon: and Monſignor *Matteuci*, Atchbiſhop of *Raguſa*, and Commiſſary General of the army, having but little money left, propoſed the diſmiſſing of the *Swiſs*, till he received further inſtructions (which were to be waited for) from *Rome*. But whilſt the Duke of *Mayenne* was detained by theſe impediments at the ſame place, an unforeſeen accident happened, that occaſioned freſh perplexity amongſt them, and had like to have thrown the affairs of the League into the utmoſt confuſion.

The council of ſixteen at *Paris*, in ſtrict conjunction with the preachers and the college of *Sorbonne*, having from the very beginning been the baſis and foundation of the League, had always pretended to diſpoſe of matters after their own will, in which they were influenced by thoſe paſſions and affections, that are generally incident to factious perſons, without any regard to the conſervation of the dominions of the Crown, or the honour and dignity of the *French* nation, and made it their ſole care and endeavour to ſuppreſs the King, whom they bitterly hated, to extinguiſh the party and name of the *Hugonots*, and to put the reins of government into the hands of perſons that ſhould rule according to their appetites and deſires. The Duke of *Mayenne*, however, though he originally owed his own exaltation, the ſupport of the League, the maintenance of the war, and the late defence of *Paris*, chiefly to theſe men, did not yet chuſe to be governed by their caprice; but, as he was wholly bent upon keeping the kingdom entire, rather endeavoured to bridle and moderate their turbulent ſpirits. For this purpoſe, he had from the beginning inſtituted a Council of State, diſtinct from this, in which there were many cool and prudent men, who balanced and reſtrained the violence of their proceedings: amongſt theſe were the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, the Sieur *De*

 Villeroy,

1591. *Villeroy*, President *Jeannine*, the Bishop of *Meaux*, and the Sieur *De Videville*, who were all averse to the designs of the *Spaniards*, and disgusted at the intemperate zeal of the preachers. The Duke had likewise always endeavoured to maintain the authority of the Parliament in credit and vigour, referring many important affairs to it, and shewing great deference to the decrees which were published by the Counsellors, upon divers occasions: and though the first President *Brisson*, and many others, had been suspected of endeavouring to make the city revolt to the King, yet he dissembled his suspicions, and was not sorry to see that one Council was such a check upon the other, but always displeased when the *Sixteen* accused them, or any members of the other Council, of betraying their trust: for though he well knew, that some of them were inclined to favour the King's party, and were endeavouring to promote his interests, he thought, at the same time, they could not do him much injury, but would rather be of great service in restraining the impetuous career of the *Sixteen*, by which he was afraid of being overturned, if the Parliament should lose its credit and authority.

In the mean time, this secret jealousy betwixt the Parliament and the Council of State, on one hand, and the *The council of sixteen*, on the other, began to discover itself by degrees, and at last flamed out to such a height, that one side determined to support the greatness and authority of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other immediately concurred with the views of *Spain*, and entered into many other designs that were most likely to be prejudicial to the interests of the Duke. The last were chiefly such as had caused many of the citizens, who were suspected of favouring the King's party, to be precipitately executed, during the siege: these men, at the instigation of the Duke of *Nemours*, had opposed the choice that the Duke had made of the magistrates and officers of the city: and these were the very same persons that were the authors and advisers of introducing a *Spanish* garrison into the city, and used their utmost endeavours that his Catholick Majesty might be invested with *the marks of justice*, and acknowledged as patron of the League and protector of the Crown of *France*. But now their passions began to rise much higher, and being not only dissatisfied with the Duke of *Mayenne's* proceedings, whom they accused of cowardice and meanness of spirit, but furiously exasperated against the Parliament, whose weight, they saw, was a curb upon their power, they were grown intolerably insolent and audacious, since the Duke of *Guise* was at liberty, and since the *Spaniards*, who had discovered the private agreement betwixt the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Lorrain*, openly endeavoured to deprive the former of his authority, and to draw over the forces of the party to themselves, the main strength of which was founded upon the affections of the *Parisians*. These leaders had the common

people

people at their devotion, not only on account of their natural dependence as fellow citizens, but alſo becauſe they were tired out with contributions, which the griping diſpoſition of the Duke of *Mayenne* often tempted him to multiply, without reaſon or neceſſity, eſpecially as they were not afterwards applied in ſuch a manner as either tended to his honour and reputation, or was ſufficient to juſtify the impoſition of ſo heavy a burden. Some of the chiefs of the *Sixteen*, therefore, that were the moſt ſtrenuous for the party (which they diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Zealots)* began to conſider of means how to leſſen the authority of the Parliament, that they might be able more eaſily to diſpoſe of the affairs of the city at their own pleaſure, and put it either under the Duke of *Guiſe*, or the immediate protection of his Catholick Majeſty. The *Spaniſh* Miniſters aſſented to, or rather gladly concurred in, this deſign, as did the Biſhop of *Piacenza* with no leſs alacrity, who, ſince the Pope's death, was wholly gone over into the intereſts of *Spain:* and they were ſupported by Monſieur *De Buſſy*, Governor of the *Baſtile*, the Sieur *De Cromay*, a member of the great Council, the Commiſſary *Louchart*, one *Ameline* an Advocate, *Olivier* the Treaſurer, *Boucher* a Divine, Father *Commolet* a Jeſuit, and ſeveral others of the ſame rank and condition. After many conſultations and debates, they choſe four of the *Sixteen*, by the advice of the Biſhop of *Piacenza*, who ſhould carry their complaints to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and demand that the Council of State might be filled with able and honeſt men, and ſuch as the city could confide in: That the ſame Council ſhould always reſide in *Paris*; that the Treaſurer's accounts ſhould be examined, eſpecially thoſe of one *Ribes*, who kept the Duke of *Mayenne's* private coffers: That this ſhould be done by ſelect perſons, approved of by the Council of the Union: That the *Gabels* ſhould be taken away, which had been newly impoſed by the Governor *Belin* and the *Prevôt des marchands:* That the city garriſon ſhould be paid and augmented for their ſecurity: And, laſtly; that the Preſident *Briſſon*, againſt whom they preferred a multitude of complaints, and ſome other principal men of the Parliament, ſhould not only be deprived of their offices, but expelled that court, and puniſhed in a ſevere and exemplary manner, as traitors and rebe[ls].

1591.

The four Deputies came to *Rheims*, at a time when the Duke of *Mayenne* was gone into *Lorrain*; and having waited for him many days, they at laſt found him at *Retel*, where, at their firſt audience, he gave them a ſharp rebuke, as men that took too much upon them and aſpired to abſolute power: but afterwards, that he might not totally alienate them, he treated them with more gentleneſs and affability; repreſenting to them, that he was at preſent ſo fully taken up in watching the motions of the enemy, that he could not poſſibly attend to thoſe matters: that he would

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1591. come himſelf to *Paris* the very firſt opportunity, and give them all manner of due ſatisfaction, adviſing them, in the mean time, to deſiſt from any new projects which might throw things into confuſion, to their own prejudice and the manifeſt advantage of the enemy. With this anſwer, they returned to *Paris* much diſſatisfied, and particularly offended with the reception they met with at their firſt audience: ſo that, inſtead of moderating, they ſtill added freſh fuel to the paſſions of the reſt, by making new complaints of the Duke's behaviour, and ſaying, That it was neceſſary to come to ſome reſolution, as they found him ſo thoroughly averſe to their deſigns: upon which report, as they thought themſelves deſpiſed and undervalued by the Duke, they were all enraged to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved either to humble, or totally to change, the Parliament, that they might govern the city as they pleaſed; and began to excite the people to a revolt, by inſinuating to them, that religion was betrayed, and that the Parliament was endeavouring to put the city into the hands of the *Navarreſe*.

It happened that *Brigard*, one of the firſt fomenters of the League at *Paris*, having been accuſed before the Parliament, of changing his principles, and holding a ſecret correſpondence in favour of the King, was violently hurried away to priſon, at the inſtigation of the *Sixteen:* but whilſt they were proceeding ſlowly againſt him in a judicial manner, he found means, either by corruption or ſome other artifice, not only to make his eſcape out of the place where he was confined, but out of the city, and ſo got clear of his enemies: which creating a vehement ſuſpicion in *The council of ſixteen*, that the judges themſelves, who were concerned in forming his proceſs, had purpoſely contrived his eſcape, the *Spaniſh* Miniſters and the garriſon that depended upon them, took this opportunity of blowing them up to ſuch a pitch of fury, that on the 15th of *November*, in the morning, they raiſed the people in arms, and, having put themſelves under the command of the Sieur *De Buſſy* and the Commiſſary *Louchart*, without further conſideration, immediately blocked up all the avenues to the place where the Parliament was aſſembled, and ſeized upon the firſt Preſident *Briſſon*, *Claude l'Archer*, and *John Tardif*, one of them a Counſellor of the *Chaſtelet*, the other of that court, who were the perſons that had been employed to manage the proceſs againſt *Brigard:* and having brought them faſt bound to the *Chaſtelet*, they cauſed them to be ſtrangled in priſon the very ſame day, without any lawful form of proceeding, except ſome precipitate informations taken by the Sieur *De Cromay*, and the next morning to be ignominiouſly hanged up in publick upon a gallows. After which, they ran armed up and down the city with the common people in a frantick manner, as if they had gained ſome notable victory, placing guards in many parts of it, and threat-

threatning to take the ſame courſe with ſeveral others. In the mean time, the Governor, being deſirous to put a ſtop to theſe violent proceedings, had begun, by the advice of the Ducheſſes of *Montpenſier* and *Nemours*, to try if the foreign garriſon would ſhew any obedience to his authority: but finding them in general diſpoſed to favour *The council of ſixteen*, and their preſent deſigns, and *Aleſſandro de Monti* having openly declared, that he would not ſtir a finger againſt people that had ſo cordially engaged in the cauſe of God and all good men, he thought it the beſt way to go out unarmed to reaſon with them, and to ſee if he could appeaſe the multitude, and in ſome meaſure prevent the evils that were likely to enſue. But this expedient met with no better ſucceſs than the other; for they paid very little regard to him, and much leſs to the *Prevôt des marchands*; on the contrary, they ſtrenuouſly inſiſted that both of them ſhould be turned out of their offices. This tumult continued all the 16th; and on the 17th in the morning, their Council being aſſembled at the houſe of one *Pelletier*, a Divine, and Curate of *St. James de la Boucherie*, they readily agreed to put themſelves under the protection of the King of *Spain*, and, in the mean time, to preſent ſome articles to the Council of State, for the government of the city, which they were determined, at all events, to get accepted and put in execution. The ſubſtance of the articles was, " That a court of juſtice ſhould be formed of men of their party, who ſhould proceed againſt Hereticks and favourers of the *Navarreſe*, hoping to reduce, and at laſt utterly to annihilate, the power of the Parliament by this juriſdiction: That all commerce with the people of *St. Dennis* ſhould be diſcontinued, which the Duke of *Mayenne* had eſtabliſhed, to facilitate the means of bringing proviſions into *Paris*: That the impoſts upon wine ſhould be taken off; and that the accounts of all ſuch ſhould be examined as had been entruſted with the management of the monies raiſed by the *Gabels* and contributions of the city: That the ſums that accrued from the ordinary impoſts ſhould only be applied to the payment of the garriſon, which ſhould be reinforced by foreigners, either *Walloons*, *Italians*, or *Spaniards*: That the Council of State ſhould be filled up to a certain number, by ſuch perſons as they had ſet down in a liſt: That a Council of war alſo ſhould be appointed, which ſhould conſiſt of ſome Colonels of the city and the chief Commanders of the foreign forces, and that the Governor ſhould not have it in his power to determine upon any thing, without the conſent of this Council: and, laſtly, that the ſeals of the Crown, which the Duke of *Mayenne* carried with him whitherſoever he went, ſhould conſtantly be kept in the city, and not be removed to any other place. This being reſolved upon, they preſently diſpatched Father *Claudio* to the court of *Spain*, with letters to his Catholick Majeſty, in which they intreated him to take them

1591. them under his government and protection: and having obliged the Council of State to assemble, by their threats and clamours, they offered the articles to be confirmed, that they might be put in execution. The Governor and *Prevôt des marchands*, with some of the most prudent of the *Eschevins*, endeavoured to gain time, by objecting that the day was too far spent, in hopes the ardour of the people would be something cooled by delay: but the Council having, by their advice, determined to wait till the next day, the *Sixteen*, at the head of the people, all in arms, stopped Madam *De Nemours*, as she was coming out from the Council, and peremptorily insisted upon the articles being immediately confirmed: which the Council having complied with, as the less evil, the Duchess herself carried out the decree to them that was made upon it; intreating them, in the softest terms, to forbear the execution of it, till her son the Duke of *Mayenne* had given his consent to it, without whose knowledge, it was not decent, that things of so great importance should be precipitately concluded upon: adding, that it would occasion a delay only of a few days, and that the Council, nay, she herself, would instantly dispatch the Sieur *Du Bourg* with the decree to the Duke for his confirmation, and that they should receive full satisfaction in every respect. The fury of the people being in some measure appeased by these concessions, they began to lay down their arms and to grow quiet again, with a resolution to continue so till they had an answer from the Duke; who being gone from *Retel* to *Laon* to meet the Duchess, mother to the Duke of *Guise*, on the 20th in the evening, received the news of what had happened at *Paris*.

The Duke was exceedingly shocked at the account of so dangerous an event, as it seemed to strike directly at the foundation of his authority; yet he dissembled his chagrin, and did not outwardly shew much emotion upon the occasion, lest the Duke of *Guise*, who was present, should think he harboured any thoughts of revenge upon people that had now attached themselves to his interests, but only said, "That he would wait for the arrival of the Sieur *Du Bourg* (who, as the Governor wrote him word, was setting out immediately) to be better informed of the affair; that it was the best way to allay popular commotions by gentleness, and not to proceed with harshness and severity, for fear of incurring further scandals, and falling into greater difficulties and dangers, as the people, when they are too zealous, which may happen even in a good cause, often act without necessary foresight and consideration." This declaration gave the Duke of *Guise* much satisfaction, who was apprehensive that he would have treated his dependants with extreme vigour; and what passed betwixt them in conversation the next day, made him still more easy upon that head: so that, though the Duke of *Mayenne* said he would

would go directly to *Paris*, to prevent the evil consequences that might ensue from these divisions amongst the people, yet he suffered himself to be prevailed upon to stay where he was, because he had the command of the army, and was to meet the Duke of *Parma*; who being already come to *Valenciennes*, was to proceed to *Guise* about the end of the month, where they were to agree upon the time and manner of his entring the kingdom again with his army. The Sieur *Du Bourg* arrived the next day, from whom the Duke had a particular relation of the whole affair, and of the decree that had been made in the Council of State to appease the people: upon which, he determined to set out as soon as possible for *Paris*, and to take this opportunity of thoroughly establishing his own power and authority there. For this purpose, he dispatched Monsieur *De Rhosnè* to the Duke of *Parma*, to excuse him if he should not be at the place appointed upon the day prefixed, and left the charge of the army and of meeting the Duke of *Parma* to the Duke of *Guise*: but with such precaution, however, that, to prevent him from being able to attempt any military enterprise, he gave secret orders to *Rhosnè* and the Viscount *De Tavannes*, who were Marshals of the field, that they should neither draw out the artillery nor ammunition, which were all at *La Fere*: nor did he acquaint the Duke of *Guise* with any of the particulars that were to be treated of with the Duke of *Parma*, that so he might not have it in his power to conclude upon any thing of moment. And having first prevailed upon the Duke of *Monte Marciano* and the Commissary *Matteucci*, not to disband the *Swiss* at present, and that all the forces should continue together till his return, pretending his presence was immediately required at *Paris*, he took with him the Counts *De Vaudemont*, *Chaligny*, and *Brissac*, the Sieurs *De Bassompierre* and *Villeroy*, with seven hundred of the flower of his horse, consisting altogether of *French* and *Lorrainers*, and departed, on the 25th in the morning, for that city, leaving President *Jeannine* with the Duke of *Guise* to moderate his counsels, and to have a strict eye upon his motions. And though the Duke had earnestly desired the *Spanish* Minister, Don *Diego d'Ivarra*, to stay with the army, yet he likewise set out for *Paris* the very same evening, resolving not to suffer himself to be deluded by fair speeches, as the Duke of *Guise* had been, but to use his utmost endeavours, by his presence and advice, to divert the storm with which he saw the adherents of his master were threatned.

The Duke, though he proceeded in his journey with very great expedition, was yet determined to take with him two regiments of foot that lay at *Soissons*, and being joined by the Sieur *De Vitry* with two hundred more horse at *Meaux*, he arrived near *Paris* on the 28th in the evening. Upon which, the *Sixteen*, with the preachers and the college

1591. of *Sorbonne*, seeing the Duke come attended with such a body of forces, and knowing that the Governor and the *Prevôt des marchands*, with the dependants of the Council of State, would make a powerful party in the city (though the Sieur *De Bussy* held the *Bastile* for them) were under great apprehensions of feeling the effects of his displeasure, and resolved to spare no compliments or demonstrations of affection that might in any wise tend to mitigate it: for which purpose they sent four of their chiefs to wait upon him, and endeavour to appease that resentment which they imagined he had conceived against them. These Deputies met him at the abbey of *St. Anthony*, without the walls, and took great pains, in a very submissive and elaborate speech, to persuade him, that whatsoever had been done was with a most upright intention, for the safety of the city, the conservation of the Catholick religion, the maintenance of his own authority, and to satisfy the people, who were grown desperate, because no notice at all was taken of those rebels and disturbers of the publick peace: that this course had been taken as liable to be attended with the least mischief, and to prevent the people from running into sedition and bloodshed in the height of their fury: that those who had been executed were notoriously guilty, as he might be convinced by the proofs, which, though not accompanied with the usual forms of justice, were nevertheless clear and manifest: that the articles proposed to the Counsellors of State were such as they thought but just and reasonable, which yet they submitted to his censure: and, lastly, they put him in mind how much they had done and suffered to promote the grandeur of his house and his own exaltation, intreating him to behave towards them like a tender and indulgent father, and not like a rigorous and severe Prince. The Duke, who was desirous to prevent any opposition that might hinder his entring *Paris*, and of being peaceably admitted with his forces, admirably dissembled his sense of the affront that had been put upon him, and having received them separately, in a very gracious manner, answered in general terms, "That he was come to the city for no other purpose, and with no other design, than to secure it, as he well knew the support of religion, and his own hopes, all depended upon the safety of the *Parisians*, and particularly of *the council of sixteen*, the first authors and founders of his party." With these professions and outward appearances of affection, having in a great measure quieted their apprehensions, he entered the city that night when it was late, and being conducted to his *hôtel*, repeated the same assurances to many others; knowing, that, by such a manner of proceeding, in case he should meet with any opposition, the pardon of past offences might fairly be attributed to his declared design of shewing lenity and mercy: and if he should be able to accomplish his intentions, those outward demonstrations and professions could

not

not be of any prejudice, or lay any reſtraint upon him. Soon after arrived 1591.
Diego d'Ivarra, who being come to wait upon him with the other *Spaniſh* Miniſters, they jointly endeavoured to perſuade him not to take any revenge for what was paſt, but rather to give the people ſatisfaction for the time to come, ſince the things that had been done, though not according to the due courſe and formalities of juſtice, were yet good in themſelves, and neceſſary for the conſervation of religion: alledging further, " That in the diſtractions of civil wars, the common rules of good government cannot be ſo well obſerved, but many things muſt be done to promote a laudable end, in extremity of danger, which ought not by any means to be ſuffered in quiet and peaceable times: That he himſelf had acted in the ſame manner at *La Fere*, without forming any proceſs againſt the Marquis *De Menelay*, whom he had cauſed to be aſſaſſinated, as the place could not otherwiſe have been kept; that, therefore, it would be better to compoſe things, by approving of what had happened, than by going about to puniſh any one, to raiſe new diſcords and more dangerous tumults." To all which the Duke returned an anſwer, with the ſame appearance of kindneſs and moderation that he had ſhewn to the Deputies. After they were gone, however, he began to make a ſtrict enquiry into the ſtrength of the forces that were in the city; and being informed by the Governor and the *Prevôt des marchands*, that the much greater and better part of the people were at his devotion, he cauſed the Colonels of the city to keep a guard in their ſeveral quarters that night; and in the morning, having drawn up all the horſe and foot that he brought with him, under arms, he marched through *St. Anthony's ſtreet*, and ſent to order the Sieur *De Buſſy* to deliver up the *Baſtile* into his hands that inſtant. But he excuſing himſelf, and raiſing objections, and demanding ſecurity for his perſon, the Duke cauſed the artillery to be brought out of the arſenal and to be drawn that way: at which the Governor of the *Baſtile* being terrified (as he was a man but little accuſtomed to military operations) and not ſeeing that any party in the city offered to ſtir in his favour, the Governor and *Prevôt* having taken poſſeſſion of all the avenues, he at laſt, after a long capitulation, agreed to quit the *Baſtile*, upon a promiſe, not o[illegible] from the Duke, but from many others, that his life ſhould be ſpared: and yet when he came to his own houſe, it was attacked the ſame evening, and he ſaved himſelf with much difficulty and very great danger, by getting over the tops of ſome houſes: and after a few days (by the Duke's connivance) fled ſecretly out of the city and went to live in another place. *Buſſy* having thus given up the *Baſtile*, the Duke appointed the Sieur *Du Bourg*, a man of known valour and fidelity, to be Governor of it in his room, and put ſuch a garriſon into it, as was ſufficient to ſecure it from the danger of any

1591. ſudden ſurpriſe. After which, he ſent the Sieur *De Vitry* the next morning with his horſe, whilſt the ſtreets were ſtill blocked up and the ſoldiery in arms, and cauſed the Commiſſary *Louchart*, Captain *Emmonot*, *Bartholomew Auroux*, Colonel of the quarter of the *Carmelites*, and *Ameline*, the Advocate, to be ſeized upon at their own houſes; *Cromay*, the Counſellor, having ſecretly ſtolen away and made his eſcape: for being favoured by the *Spaniards*, he continued ſome days in the habit of a ſoldier, amongſt thoſe forces in the town that were under their command, and afterwards fled into the *Low Countries*, where he lived in great indigence and diſtreſs. Theſe four, who were deemed to be the moſt guilty of the *Sixteen*, were ſtrangled the next day in one of the apartments in the *Louvre*, by the common executioner, and afterwards publickly hanged upon a gallows: an example, that the Duke thought ſufficient to reſtore his authority, without dipping his hands in the blood of many others, who were accomplices in the late inſurrection, as it might look too much like cruelty and revenge. This piece of ſeverity ſtruck a wonderful terror into the preachers and the college of *Sorbonne*. But the Duke, for fear of entirely alienating their affections, and of occaſioning further obloquy and ſcandal, or of raiſing ſuch a diſguſt as might create a diviſion in his party, went perſonally to the church of the *Sorbonne*, where he aſſured them, in a mild and gracious, but pathetick ſpeech, of his future favour and protection, and ſaid, "That, in conſideration of their former zeal and conſtancy, he would pardon the diſobedience and conſpiracy they had lately been guilty of fomenting:" and ſeeming to do it upon their account alone, he cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, in which he declared, "That juſtice was ſatisfied by the puniſhment already inflicted upon four of the principal offenders only, and that he granted a full pardon to all the reſt, with a perpetual oblivion of every thing that had happened." From the benefit of this pardon, he excluded the Counſellor *Cromay*, *Adrian Cocher*, and the Notary that drew up the ſentence againſt *Briſſon*, who were afterwards all put to death at different times and in different manners. It was likewiſe declared by the ſame edict, "That, as experience had fully ſhewn how miſchievous thoſe ſecret meetings and cabals had been, which were aſſembled without the privity of the magiſtrates, no one ſhould thereafter preſume, on pain of death, to aſſemble any council, either within the city or without it, except the ordinary Council of the Union, with the preſence and aſſiſtance of the lawful magiſtrates. This edict, which was regiſtred by the unanimous conſent of the Parliament, entirely aboliſhed the power of the *Sixteen*, and in ſome meaſure checked and retarded the machinations of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters.

But as ſoon as the Duke of *Parma* was particularly informed of what had been done at *Paris*, he was exceedingly diſpleaſed at it, publickly

blaming the little foresight and consideration of the other Ministers; who, 1591. to gain the insignificant support of the dregs of the people, had disgusted and alienated the Duke of *Mayenne*, a person that had the arms and strength of the party in his hands, and without whose assistance it was not to be expected, they should ever be able bring their designs to a happy conclusion. He therefore protested to the Sieur *De Rhosnè*, that those things had been done without his knowledge; at the same time commending the Duke of *Mayenne* for punishing the delinquents, and for his prudent moderation: and though he shewed the Duke of *Guise* all possible respect when he came to him at *Valenciennes*, yet he refused to treat with him about any thing, without his uncle's presence and consent. He saw, that all the rest of the party stood upon a weak foundation; that there was no certain dependance upon the common people: that the Nobility were firmly attached to the Duke, the strong places held by men that he could confide in, and that he was the only proper head to rule and direct all the rest. Upon which considerations, he had always been against exasperating and reducing him to despair, as he was sensible, the agreement betwixt him and the Duke of *Lorrain* had been the effect of that, and knew for a certainty, that when he should once see himself unable to support his dignity, and the rank which he held, he would presently come to an accommodation with the King: nor was there any room to doubt, but all the rest of the *French*, except some very few, would follow his example and authority; so that he was convinced, if they hoped to carry on their designs with success, that it was necessary to proceed slowly, and with care and deliberation, and not to throw every thing into confusion, and create terror and suspicion in the *French*, by such furious and precipitate measures.

To this effect he wrote into *Spain*, and gave the same advice to the *Spanish* Ministers in *France*, though they were of a different opinion in both places, particularly in the Council of *Spain*, where they thought by sending small supplies into several provinces, they should gain themselves many dependants, and alienate them from the Duke of *Mayenne*; by which means the war would be kept alive, and prolonged with less expence, and more advantage to them. With this view, they had sent a supply of forces to the Duke *De Joyeuse*, in *Gascony*, to carry on the war on that side near the *Pireneſe*: they had likewise furnished the Duke of *Savoy* with three thousand foot, and three hundred thousand ducats, to support himself in *Provence* and *Dauphinè*: and for the same purpose, they had ordered *Aquila's* division to march into *Bretagne*, to gain the friendship of the Duke of *Mercœur*; who, made such a progress by their assistance, that he had almost driven the Prince of *Dombes* out of the confines of that province, in the beginning of this year. But at the arrival

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1591. of the *English*, who landed at *Brest* without any opposition, their strength was pretty nearly balanced again; so that after many petty encounters, which were not of much importance in the main, the two armies at last came to face each other.

The Duke of *Mercœur* had a powerful body of light horse, commanded by the Marquis *De Belle-isle*, son to the Marshal *De Retz*, and was now strong in foot by the addition of the *Spanish* forces, most of whom were not only inured to arms, but to all other sorts of labour. On the other hand, the Prince was attended by a great number of the Noblesse, and consequently had a considerable body of horse; but his foot were not to be compared to those of the League, as the *English* were chiefly raw, new raised men, and the *French* all musketiers. For this reason, though they were within half a mile of each other, the Duke kept himself intrenched in such mountainous and woody places, as were most advantagious for foot: and the Prince had drawn out his forces into the plain, where his squadrons of cavalry might extend themselves at their pleasure: yet neither of them being willing to give up their advantage of ground, after they had obstinately continued in this situation three days, during which there happened many skirmishes, they both resolved to retire, and marched away, with a design to besiege different places.

But the King having sent the Sieur *De la Noüe*, about this time, with eight hundred *Germans*, to assist the Prince, as his Lieutenant, in conducting the war, they resolved, now they were so strong in foot, to turn back again upon the enemy's army, to see if they could find some opportunity of engaging it. But that was no easy matter: for the Duke of *Mercœur*, who was an experienced and circumspect Commander, would not put all that he had got in that province (which was very considerable) into the power of fortune: but endeavoured to tire out the enemy, by the money and assistance of his Catholick Majesty: and on the other side, *La Noüe*, wisely moderating the Prince's eagerness to engage, would not suffer him to hazard a battle without manifest advantage. Wherefore, after various skirmishes and attempts to annoy each other, they both filed off, the Duke to make an attack upon *St. Maximin*, and the Prince to invest *Lambale*: and having battered that place with his artillery, till he made a sufficient breach in the wall, the Sieur *De la Noüe* going personally to view it and the rest of the fortifications, received a shot in the head from a musket, of which he died a few days after; losing his life (as it often happens) in an inconsiderable action, after he had bravely exposed it in so many more dangerous and glorious enterprises. Upon his death, the King sent the Sieur *De Lavardine* into *Bretagne* to supply his place; and as he proceeded with the same caution, they never came to a general engagement, though there were frequent skirmishes in all parts of the province,

province, with various fortune: For the Prince thought it sufficient to keep up his own reputation, and support his party, in so large a province, and where his interest and strength were inferior to those of the enemy.

1591.

Such was the state of the war in *Bretagne*. In *Dauphinè* the King's affairs had a much better aspect; for though the Duke of *Savoy* was exceeding active in those parts, and exerted his utmost endeavours to oppose him with a large body of his own forces, and powerful supplies from *Spain*: yet the main strength of the province being on the King's side, under a vigilant, experienced, and brave Commander; who often effected that by policy which could not so easily be obtained by force, the League was almost driven out of *Dauphinè*, after the defeat at *Ponte Chiarra*, and the war was carried into the Duke of *Savoy's* own dominions.

On the other hand, the *Savoyards* had the advantage in *Provence*: for having *Marseilles* (which, if not wholly subject to the Duke, was at least very partial to the League) together with *Aix*, *Arles*, and many other of the most principal cities at their devotion: after *Berre* was taken, they had struck a terror into the province, as Monsieur *De Valette* had not forces sufficient to make head against them: so that Count *Francisco Martinengo*, after he had taken many towns and castles there, without much opposition, over-ran all that part that extends itself along the sea-coast. But having at last laid siege to *Vinon*, which he battered with great fury, Monsieur *De la Valette* resolved to shew his courage, though he had not much strength, and rather trust the affairs of the province to the arbitrement of fortune, than to waste his forces insensibly, by continually retreating before the enemy in all places. For this purpose, he advanced that way with seven hundred horse, and not more than twelve hundred foot, and having drawn them up in four divisions, one of which was commanded by the Viscount *De Governette*, and placed in the rear, as a reserve and reinforcement to the rest, he marched directly, without any other advantage, to attack the enemy; who having risen from the siege, and passed a rivulet that was betwixt them, came resolutely on to meet him. The action was such as might have been expected from the valour of the Commanders: for the victory was obstinately disputed on both sides with equal courage for many hours, till the Viscount entering fresh into the battle, with the squadron of horse that was reserved as their last hope in case of necessity, the *Savoyards*, already wearied with so long an engagement, began to give ground to an enemy that was fresh and full of spirits: upon which *La Valette's* other squadrons recovering their vigour, charged them so warmly, that they drove them upon a gallop over the water again, and might have pursued them with great execution, if the loss which they likewise had sustained themselves, had not induced them to desist,

1591. desist. But in the heat of the action, the garrison that was in *Vinon* sallying boldly out of their fortifications, attacked the party that was posted to guard the *Savoyards* artillery, and having routed them, and nailed up some of their heavy pieces, set fire to a great quantity of ammunition, and did them much other damage. This defeat checked the Duke's proceedings, and for some time secured the King's affairs in *Provence*.

The war was carried on with no less vigour in the territories of *Geneva*: for the Sieur *De Sancy*, who was gone to *Basil*, to raise a body of *Swiss* in that canton, having received intelligence, that an hundred thousand ducats were then upon the road from *Milan*, to make levies in *Germany*, and that they were under a very weak convoy, he laid an ambush for them in the forest of *Basil* with so good success, that he took all the money, and coming with it to *Geneva*, in a few days hired a regiment of *Swiss* in the canton of *Bern*; where being also joined by three hundred horse, raised in the state of *Venice* by Monsieur *De Metz*, the King's Ambassador to that Republick, under the command of *Pausania Brazzoduro* and Count *Mutio Portio*, both of *Vicenza*, and Captain *Nicolo Nasi*, a *Florentine*, he had in a short time recovered the territory of *Geneva*, and was advanced to attack the places that were held by the *Savoyards*. During the siege of *Boringes*, however, which was one of them, some companies of *Neapolitans* and *Milanese*, sent thither by his Catholick Majesty to assist the Duke of *Savoy*, marched up to dislodge them: but being furiously charged by the *Italian* cavalry, who were desirous to signalize themselves by some gallant action, they were routed and dispersed, and *Boringes* surrendered to the discretion of the enemy.

In the mean time, Don *Amadeo* having rallied his forces, advanced to stop the incursions of the enemy, who upon his approach, sent back their heavy cannon to *Geneva*, and encamped themselves in an advantagious situation, taking up the top of a hill with the body of their army, and a wood that was at the bottom of it, with their vanguard. Don *Amadeo*, therefore, having observed how they were posted, ordered his vanguard to advance to make themselves masters of the wood: from whence, they of the King's party, after a faint resistance, retired in disorder to the rest of their army, which stood in battalia upon the roads of the hill: but the *Italian* cavalry going down to the plain, fell furiously upon the enemy's vanguard, and repulsed it with considerable slaughter: so that they also, in their turn, retired half routed to their main body. But as the Duke of *Savoy* was aware, that his forces could make very little progress in those narrow defiles, with which the territories of *Geneva* abound, and would be exposed at the same time to much danger: whilst these forces were thus engaged with those of that state, he ordered Don *Amadeo* to retire,

retire, and only to defend what he was already poffeffed of, till thefe fupplies fhould either be divided, or called away to other places, as he was in hopes they foon would be. Nor was he difappointed in that expectation: for the Sieur * *De Guitry*, who commanded the *French* forces, and the *Italian* cavalry, feeing the *Savoyards* retreated to defend their own poffeffions, refolved to go to the affiftance of the Marfhal *D'Aumont* in *Bourbonnois*, where he found it very difficult to make head againft the Duke of *Nemours*, a Prince, who by his courage and activity kept all thofe places that lay near his forces in great terror and alarm. But the war was carried on in a feeble manner on that fide alfo: for the Marfhal having laid fiege to *Autun*, a ftrong and well garrifoned town, which infefted all the country round about, after many efforts and affaults, was forced to retire from it by the Duke of *Nemours*, with no inconfiderable lofs.

About the fame time that the Duke of *Mayenne* was bufied in the affairs of *Paris*, there was a battle in the country near *Cahors*, where the Marquis *De Villers*, who was chief of the League in thofe parts, and the Duke of *Ventadour* Commander for the King, happened to meet each other, with a great number of the Nobleffe, and a large body of foot on both fides: in which engagement, after it had continued full two hours with much obftinacy, the King's party at laft had the advantage; and having killed fix hundred of the enemy, amongft whom were many Gentlemen of great reputation, became mafters of the field, and of their baggage: and afterwards took *Cadenet*, an exeeeding ftrong town, and many other fmaller places. In which actions Captain *Vivans*, and the Sieur *De Temines* diftinguifhed themfelves in fuch a manner, that the chief merit of the victory, and of fo happy a progrefs, was attributed to their valour.

Whilft thefe things were thus carrying on with various fuccefs in different parts of the kingdom, the King marched with his whole army towards *Normandy*, with a refolution to befiege *Roüen*, not only on account of the promifes by which he ftood engaged, either to give the Queen of *England* fome jurifdiction in that city, or to affign her fome other place upon the fea-coafts, but out of a defire to reduce all that large and exceeding rich province to his devotion: for except *Roüen* and *Havre de Grace*, there was no place of moment that did not adhere to his party: and by making himfelf entirely mafter of it, befides the immenfe fums of money that would accrue to him from the impofts and revenues of it, he would be in poffeffion of a large country, full of great towns and caftles, abounding in Gentry, very well peopled, plentiful in provifions,

* The *French* fay *De Vitry*.

1591. and so situated, that on one side it was open to the sea, and consequently lay very commodiously for receiving speedy supplies at any time from *England:* and on the other, it extended itself almost to *Paris,* and afforded many opportunities of cutting off the passage of the river *Seine,* which was of the utmost consequence to the support of that city. Being wholly intent therefore upon this expedition, he had given orders to the Marshal *De Biron* (whom he left behind him with part of the army in those parts, when he went into *Lorrain)* to endeavour to possess himself of all the places about it, and to get together as great a quantity of provisions, ammunition, and other things necessary for that siege, as he possibly could. *Biron,* after the taking of *Louviers,* where he found a vast quantity of corn, which he caused to be very carefully laid up, had assaulted and taken *Gournay;* and then penetrating further into the country of *Caux,* had also reduced *Caudebec,* situated upon the river *Seine,* betwixt *Havre de Grace* and *Roüen,* and possessed himself of the castle of *Eu,* which stands upon the main road to *Picardy.* After which acquisitions, being absolute master of the field, he began with the utmost diligence to gather provisions together, laying up corn at *Evreux,* and *Ponteau de Mer,* but chiefly at *Pont de l'Arche,* because it was the nearest place to *Roüen.* At *Caën* he had a great number of tents and cloaths made for the use of the soldiers. At *Dieppe* he lodged plenty of ammunition, and of such iron instruments as were necessary for the intended siege: and proceeded with wonderful order and expedition in every thing, but with as little noise or bustle as possible.

But, notwithstanding all his precaution, it was generally known to the other party, that preparations were making to besiege *Roüen:* and the Duke of *Mayenne* being thoroughly convinced that it was the King's intention, was no less active in taking such measures as were proper for the defence of it: and to add life to his proceedings, he sent his son *Henry* thither, that he might give such orders as he saw convenient, and at the same time, to encourage the inhabitants, and to assure them, that they should not be left destitute of relief. The care of the military operations, and the chief part of the defence, he committed to the Sieur *De Villers,* a Cavalier, not only of great courage and resolution, but absolutely dependent upon his name and authority; who going first to *Havre de Grace,* a fortress abundantly furnished by former Kings, and leaving the government of it to the Sieur *Guijon* (a *Provençal* by birth) returned to *Roüen* with two and thirty pieces of cannon of different sizes, and every thing else necessary for their service, all which he caused to be carried up the river in great boats. He also brought thither six hundred horse, raised in that country, and twelve hundred of those *Provençal* foot that had long served under his command in those parts: and as he was a man of letters, and

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grown so wise by the experience of many years, that he well knew the advantage that results from good order in military enterprizes, and was desirous that all things should be conducted in a regular manner by proper managers, that so every one might know, and execute his own duty without confusion; he called together all the heads of the Clergy, the principal Counsellors of the Parliament, with the leading men of the people, and chief Officers of the soldiery, and distributed to every man his province, and the part that he was to act in their future defence. He appointed the Sieur *De la Londe*, an old soldier, who had lived in the city many years, and was well known in it, to be Serjeant Major: for the defence of *St. Catherine's* mount and its forts, which was a place of the utmost importance, he made choice of the Chevalier *Piccard*, with his regiment, and two hundred other musketiers, commanded by the Sieur *De Jessan*. The care of the old palace, which stands betwixt the *Porte de Caux* and the river *Seine* on the north side, he committed to the Sieur *De Bauquemare*, First President of the Parliament, with an hundred *Swiss* and three hundred *French*: the old castle, with the part adjoining, towards the north west, he assigned to his brother, the Chevalier *D'Oyse*, with the regiments of Colonel *Boniface* and the Commendatory *Grillon*: and the west side towards the Fauxbourg *De St. Severe*, beyond the river, to Captain *Giacopo Argenti* of *Ferrara*, with his own regiment. *Carlo Siginulfi*, a *Neopolitan* engineer of great experience, commanded the artillery: Captain *Basin* the fireworks, of which a very large quantity was made: and at every gate, one of the Presidents and one of the oldest Counsellors of the Parliament assisted, as well for the honour as security of the city. The citizens were divided into ten companies, under ten Commanders chosen by themselves: eight of which were to guard eight bastions or towers, lined with earth, that were in the circuit of the walls: and the other two had the main guard in the great square: and in the palace of *Justice* were lodged two hundred *Swiss*, and as many *French* firelocks, to be ready to assist where occasion should require. The Governor also caused some little barks to be armed, with light pieces of artillery, and manned with twenty soldiers in each, both on the upper and lower parts of the *Seine*: which were to scour the river, under the command of their Admiral the Sieur *D'Anquetil*, to make prizes of such vessels as they should meet with, and to take in cattle and other provisions along the banks, that the city might be furnished with plenty of victuals. Two Counsellors of the Parliament, and two Deputies of the city, were employed to distribute the bread: and the old Sieur *De Corsi* had the charge of delivering out the ammunition. With this order, well disposed and carefully executed by the diligence of the Governor, and the experience of those to whom it was entrusted, things were carried on with such regularity and success, that during the

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1591. whole time of the siege, there neither happened any disorder, nor did any one suffer for want of victuals, as the price of them was not much above the common rate.

Against these provisions, the Marshal *De Biron*, after he was joined by three thousand *English* foot, which landed at *Boulogne*, under the command of the Earl of *Essex*, had with him betwixt nine and ten thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse. And, that he might make a beginning of the siege, he advanced with his army to a place called *Darnetal*, within sight of the city, upon the 11th of *November*. The same day his cavalry over-ran all the plain to the very walls of the city, and of *St. Catherine's*: upon which, Captain *Borosay*, an officer of great valour, with two hundred horse, and Colonel *Boniface* with five hundred foot, sallied out of the *Porte Cauchoise*, and first charged the cavalry, and then the regiments of *English*, maintaining a hot skirmish with them for many hours, though at last both sides were so tired, that they were glad to retreat, without much advantage gained on either; yet the besieged thought they had some reason to boast of a happy beginning, from the death of the Earl of *Essex's* brother, who having couragiously pushed into the thickest of the battle, was slain by *Borosay* with a pistol shot in the throat. In the mean time Captain *Padriel*, with two hundred horse, and Captain *Basin*, with four hundred foot, likewise made a sally at the *Porte de Martinville*, and having skirmished a considerable time with the *French* light horse, conducted by *Francis Orsin* Sieur *De la Chapelle*, were obliged to retire, though they did not sustain any great damage, as they were covered in their retreat by the cannon of the nearest fortifications.

But the Marshal, having soon thrown up a trench round *Darnetal*, to secure his army from the sallies of the garrison, which he saw so active and alert, employed himself for some days following, without advancing any nearer the city, in diverting the course of the *Robec*, a little rivulet that ran through the adjacent fields into the town, and turned eleven mills near *St. Hilary's* gate, to the great conveniency of the inhabitants: nor was it very difficult to turn the stream another way, which would have exceedingly incommoded the town, if *Villers* had not foreseen the danger, and wisely provided against it, by causing a number of hand-mills to be made, which were kept continually going by the peasants, a great many of whom had fled into the town, to avoid the fury of the enemy. Whilst they were thus busied in altering the course of the water, the Marshal, having recourse to art as well as force, had begun a correspondence with one Captain *Graveron* in the city, in hopes of prevailing upon him to deliver up the *Porte de Beauvais*, of which he had the charge, into his hands: and this was carried on by one of the Marshal's servants, who was related to the Captain, and had often gone into the city in disguise

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for that purpose, before the siege began. But *Graveron* having discovered 1591. these practices to the Governor, and received instructions how to draw the enemy into an ambush by night, did not, however, conduct the matter so well as to prevent its being discovered; which put an end to the treaty with little damage on either side. The next day the Chevalier *Piccard* sallying out of *St. Catherine's* to skirmish, and the Earl of *Essex*, with the *English*, coming out of the wood of *Turinge* to meet him, they had a sharp contest both in blows and words: for *Piccard* upbraiding the *English*, that they had not courage enough to revenge the death of the Earl's brother in an open and generous manner, but endeavoured to promote their designs by mean practices and underhand dealings, they came to ill language, and gave each other the lie, for which, as soon as the skirmish was over, there came an *English* trumpet from the Earl of *Essex*, to challenge the Governor to a single combat. But the Chevalier *Piccard* (who had spoke the words) taking upon himself to answer it, they did not come to a duel: for the Earl said, he would not equal himself with any other person but the Governor: and the Governor, though he did not refuse the challenge, yet referred their meeting to another time, by saying, he could not accept of it at present, as he was entrusted with the charge of defending the town, which was a publick concern, and ought to be preferred to any private quarrel whatsoever.

All the month of *November* was spent in continual skirmishes and encounters, the Marshal in the mean time being taken up in fortifying his quarters, drawing artillery and ammunition together, and causing provisions to be brought in, expecting to be joined by the King with the rest of the army: at whose arrival in the camp on the 3d of *December*, they sent a herald to summon the city to surrender: but having received a resolute answer from the Governor, they broke ground the next day, in order to make their approaches to the wall. The King lay at *Darnetal*, with the Marshal *De Biron*, and the greatest of the Nobility that followed him, having the *Swiss*, flanked with a regiment of his guards, for the defence of his own quarters. The Viscount *De Turenne* (now Duke of *Bouillon*, in right of his wife) was quartered on the right hand, with the cavalry, and the *German* infantry, which extended themselves a long way through the neighbouring villages, upon the road that leads toward *Dieppe*. The *French* infantry, now they had lost their old Commander, the Sieur *De Chastillon*, who died a while before of a natural death, was commanded by several officers of great reputation, and lay close by the *Germans*, but on the right of the King's quarters, towards the *Porte Cauchoise*, and the *Porte de Beauvais*. The *English* foot were on the left of the King, and the *Swiss* entrenched under the wood of *Turenge*, over against the *Porte de St. Hilaire* and *St. Catherine's* mount. On the left

1591. of theſe, the Baron *De Givry* and the Sieur *De la Chapelle*, with the light horſe, ſpread themſelves upon the high road that leads to *De l'Arche*, and from thence to *Paris*. And the Count *De Soiſſons*, with Captain *Raulet*, were quarted on the other ſide of the *Seine*, over which there was a paſſage made by pontoons, oppoſite to the Fauxbourg of *St. Severe*.

When the town was thus inveſted on every ſide, without the advantage or diſadvantage of the ſuburbs, which the Governor had burnt down upon the arrival of the army, the King ordered Colonel *St. Dennis* to take poſſeſſion of the church of *St. Andrew*, which being built of ſtone, was the only edifice that eſcaped the flames, though the beſieged had endeavoured to demoliſh it: but he ſoon perceived that *Villers* had foreſeen the damage which he might receive from thence, and had provided an effectual remedy: for he had mounted two very large culverines upon a cavalier, that was raiſed within the town, which played ſo furiouſly upon the church, that the *French* had no ſooner poſſeſſed themſelves of it, but they were forced to abandoned it. This attempt being fruſtrated, the King gave orders to have two trenches thrown up, one to make his approaches towards *St. Catherine's* mount, which was drawn from the wood of *Turinge*, and carried on by the *Engliſh*: and the other, to the end juſt over againſt *St. Hilary's* gate, at which the *French* infantry wrought by turns. But the Sieur *De Villers*, beſides other works which were thrown up day and night by a great number of labourers (who in a ſhort time had lined *St. Hilary's* gate with earth) having raiſed a very high cavalier cloſe by it, filled the foſs with caſemates, and fortified the counterſcarp with ſmall ravelines, and had alſo made a breaſt-work of eighteen or twenty feet thick (before the forts of *St. Catherine's*, where the main ſtreſs of the ſiege was pointed) flanked with two ravelines, to be manned with muſketiers only, as it had neither ſhoulders, nor * orillons, nor retreats, but a trench of thirty feet wide, and ten deep, in the front of it, which he thought ſufficient to ſuſtain the firſt attacks of the aſſailants. After this diſpoſition for the defence of the town, he reſolved to harraſs the enemy with frequent ſallies, and endeavour to hinder their approaches, as it was full of people, and had a garriſon of five thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe, beſides the common inhabitants, and a vaſt number of peaſants, who were very active upon all occaſions, and ready to undergo any ſort of duty. This plan he thought moſt likely, not only to retard the progreſs of the beſiegers, but to gain him reputation and applauſe, even if they ſhould ſucceed in their attempt, as it ſhewed great courage and reſolution: ſo that the two trenches were hardly began, when five companies of foot, ſupported by *Boroſay*, with an hundred and twenty horſe.

* An orillon is a maſs of earth faced with ſtone, built upon the ſhoulders of a baſtion, which has caſemates to cover the cannon of the retired flank.

horſe, ſallied out of the *Porte de Cauchoiſe*; and on the other ſide of the town, three hundred *Provençals*, armed with corſlets, halberds, and broad ſwords, flanked by an hundred *French* firelocks, came down from *St. Catherine's*, and made a furious attack upon thoſe that were at work in the redoubts. On one hand, the *Engliſh*, and on the other, Colonel *St. Dennis*, *La Luſerne*, and *Parabiere*, ran together to oppoſe this ſally: ſo that the ſkirmiſh grew ſo hot on both ſides, that it laſted above three hours with great ſlaughter, till the Baron *De Biron* came up with a body of four thouſand *Germans* and two troops of horſe and repulſed the ſalliers, amongſt whom the Sieur *De St. Sulpice* was ſlain, with above forty private men, though there were more than two hundred killed on the King's ſide.

The pioneers were diſcouraged at this attack, and ſo retarded in their work, firſt by exceſſive rains, and then by a very deep ſnow and hard froſt, that the approaches went on but ſlowly; whilſt the beſieged, who had the convenience of lying under cover, were not prevented by theſe difficulties from going on with the fortifications which they had begun, but raiſed new cavaliers and ravelines, and threw up freſh trenches and caſemates every day, and made ſuch vigorous and effectual ſallies, that they kept the whole army almoſt continually under arms. In which the Sieur *De Villers* highly diſtinguiſhed his valour and military ſkill; for though he could not ſtir up and down without great difficulty, as he was lame of one foot, yet he would be perſonally in all actions, mounted ſometimes upon a pad, ſometimes upon a charger, ſurveying the works, giving neceſſary orders, and animating his men with his own preſence. The moſt courageous of the ſalliers, and who were afterwards well known, whenever they came out, by all the King's army, were Captain *Boroſay*, Captain *Baſin*, and one *Goville*, a prieſt, who being much fitter for a military life than the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion, and ſo bold upon every occaſion, that he deſpiſed the greateſt dangers, was conſtantly one of the firſt in all ſallies, in which, as often as he happened to encounter a ſingle man only, he always got the better of him, with infinite applauſe from his party.

The approaches, however, that had been carrying on before *St. Catherine's*, were at laſt finiſhed, though they were very ſtrait and had only three redoubts; but they were flanked on the right hand by a long battery of fourteen cannon, and on the left by ſeven more, though planted at ſuch a diſtance, that the gunners had not filled their gabions: yet under the ſhelter of theſe batteries the works were ſo far advanced, that they reached the counterſcarp of the fortification that was newly made, which being ſomething high, and the trench of the beſiegers carried on too much in a right line at that end, through the ignorance of the *Engliſh* engineer,

1591. gineer, a great number of men were killed by the vollies of musket-shot, which were continually poured upon them by those that were behind the parapet of the same counterscarp. Wherefore, as it was necessary to drive them away from thence, and that could not be done by day-light, on account of the shelter which they received from the curtain, from whence they kept a regular and constant fire with their small arms; the King coming personally into the trench, with three hundred Gentlemen and four hundred resolute musketiers, made a furious assault upon that place in the darkest time of the night, which the guards not being able to sustain, were obliged to quit the counterscarp, and filing off to the right and left, retired under the cover of their fortifications into the foss. Upon this, Colonel *Roger Williams*, a brave officer, immediately entered with eight hundred *English*, and having caused a great number of gabions to be brought in, he worked all the rest of the night with the utmost diligence, to cover himself, upon the very edge of the foss. But the night following, the Sieur *De Villers* (having placed a thousand musketiers upon the curtain, who kept an incessant fire, even in the dark, against the angle of the counterscarp) sent the Chevalier *Piccard* and Captain *Basin* with four hundred *Provençals*, and sixty Gentlemen at the head of them, compleatly armed and furnished with targets, who advancing to the attack by the same way that they had retired the night before, bravely regained that post and dislodged the *English*, who being fired upon by continual vollies of the musketry, durst not stand up to handle their pikes: but being not a little picqued at the disgrace they had undergone, they made all necessary preparations the two following days, and on the 3d at night assaulted the counterscarp once more, in the King's presence, with so much fury, that they drove the enemy out of it a second time, and not only got possession of it again, but fell to work with so much diligence and expedition, that they had presently covered and fortified themselves in a sufficient manner.

The end of the trench was thrown open into the foss upon the 30th of *December*, and the next day two batteries were raised; one of fourteen pieces of cannon, which plaid upon the old fortifications; and the other of seven, planted against the new works. And though they never ceased firing all that day and the following night, that the besieged might not have time to repair their damages, yet they made no considerable progress, as the forts were all of good earth and newly covered with turfs and clods, and the artillery being planted much lower than they were, had but little effect. They began, therefore, on the second day of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-two, to make a platform in the midway betwixt the two batteries, that they might proceed with greater vigour against the forts. The besieged likewise were resolved not to pass that

that night in doing nothing, but came down betwixt the hill and the city, and made an assault upon the trenches that were at the counterscarp of the old works: and having put the guards into disorder, not only killed above sixty of them, but carried away many of their working tools, and would have destroyed all their labours, if *Roger Williams* himself, seconded by a few others, had not opposed them at the gorge of the first redoubt, and there sustained the fury of the enemy some time: for laying hold of a pike, and two Captains, an Ensign, and a Serjeant doing the same, they made so resolute a stand against the efforts of the enemy, that it gave time to some few other soldiers, who were at work a little behind them, to make a breach in the redoubt, by which they let in fresh men, who ran to the assistance of their friends at the first report of the action: so that they sustained the heat of the attack, till other detachments from the army coming up one after another, those of the city were at last obliged to desist from that attempt, and retreated, though with much gallantry and reputation: but their endeavours to annoy the enemy did not cease upon their retreat, for they were continually at work to disturb and interrupt the progress of the battery with their artillery, musketoons, fireworks, and many other ways.

1592.

At the other trench, which was thrown up against *St. Hilary's* gate, and finished on the 3d of *January*, there was a battery raised of four pieces of cannon and two culverines, which made but an inconsiderable progress, as the gate was very well lined with earth; so that it was proposed to quit that place and open fresh works against the port *De Beauvais*, which stood lower: a proposal that was much approved of by the *French* officers, because the place was more convenient for them, and near the quarter where they were posted. But in the mean time, whilst the commanders were engaged in this consultation, which proved something long, on account of the different opinions amongst them, the Chevalier *D'Oyse* sallying out at the *Porte Cauchoise*, attacked that very trench, and made a great slaughter of Colonel *St. Dennis's* men, who upon this emergency were destitute of the presence and conduct of their commander: for, as it was then in debate, whether the post should be abandoned or not, he was gone to the consultation, and to receive the Marshal *De Biron's* orders upon that point. The next day they began to work at a place that was something lower, where the *French*, vying with the *English* foot, whom they saw upon the counterscarp of *St. Catherine's*, proceeded with such diligence, that the trench was finished in a few days: which being done, and the gate battered with seven pieces of cannon, Colonel *St. Dennis* bravely advanced to the assault, without staying till the breach was sufficiently wide: and at the same time Colonel *Piles*, with his regiment, rushing out of the same trench, raised several

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1592. ſcaling-ladders againſt the curtain that joined to the gate. The aſſault was fierce, and no leſs reſolutely ſuſtained; but the breach in the wall being narrow, and at a conſiderable height from the ground, and great quantities of fireworks, ſtones, and ſcalding water being thrown down from the curtain, the aſſailants were forced to retire with the loſs of above ſeventy of their men: this action happened on the 14th of *January*.

Whilſt they were warmly engaged on this ſide, the forces that lay beyond the river, over-againſt the Fauxbourg *de St. Severe*, having no orders to attempt any thing further than to prevent ſupplies of men and proviſions from being thrown into the town, were chiefly employed in fainter and leſs bloody ſkirmiſhes: in one of which the beſiegers having taken Lieutenant *Landon* of the Commendatory *Grillon's* regiment, endeavoured to corrupt him, and prevail upon him to make them a promiſe, that, as ſoon as it ſhould be his turn to have the guard of the fort at the bridge over the *Seine*, he would let them into it. *Landon*, pretending to conſent to it, becauſe he had formerly ſerved under Captain *Raulet* and received ſome kindneſſes from him, was ſet at liberty: and ſeeming to keep his promiſe, on the 18th of *January* at night, when it was his guard, he made the ſignal that had been agreed upon; which being obſerved by thoſe without, Captain *Raulet* advanced to be let into the fort, with twenty Gentlemen on foot compleatly armed, and thirty firelocks, the Count *De Soiſſons* ſtanding with the reſt of his forces drawn up under arms and ready to ſupport him. But *Landon*, having diſcovered the whole to the Governor, ſallied out of the fort with ſixty choice men, at the approach of the enemy, and fell ſo fiercely upon them, that both the Gentlemen and private ſoldiers being terrified at ſo unexpected an attack, immediately ran away: Captain *Raulet*, who ſtood his ground, was taken priſoner by him; and the Count *De Soiſſons*, advancing to diſengage him, could not come ſoon enough to effect it. About the ſame time there were other practices of this kind on foot with the Sieur *De la Fountaine*, in which there was more ſincerity on his ſide; but theſe being alſo diſcovered by one *Mauclerc*, an Advocate, who lived in the town, all the accomplices were apprehended and condemned to the gallows.

They now carried on their works in many places with more expedition than uſual; for the ſoldiers of different nations vying with each other for honour, and having ſet their hearts upon taking the place, exerted themſelves with greater alacrity: to increaſe which, the King, having taken poſſeſſion of a new poſt betwixt *St. Catherine's* and *Martinville*, lodged three thouſand *German* foot there, who were no leſs active than the reſt in making their approaches with a trench to the counterſcarp of the foſs. On the other hand, the beſieged, being animated by the happy

ſucceſs

ſucceſs they had met with in their ſallies, were unanimous amongſt them- 1592.
ſelves in whatſoever related to their defence: to which the example of the Governor did not a little contribute, who was preſent and aſſiſted at all undertakings. And being likewiſe ſpurred up by *La Londe*, who was continually going round the city with unwearied vigilance, and providing againſt every exigency, they laboured without intermiſſion; ſometimes in repairing the works which the artillery had demoliſhed, ſometimes in raiſing new forts and making freſh caſemates, and ſometimes in putting their warlike inſtruments and fireworks in order. But above all, they were remarkably alert in making ſallies, to which not only the ſoldiers, but even the companies of townſmen alſo, often ran, with wonderful eagerneſs: ſo that, on the 21ſt, they iſſued out of the *Porte Cauchoiſe* on one ſide, and the *Porte de Martinville* on the other, and began a very furious engagement: but the King having cauſed ſome field-pieces to be ſecretly planted on the flank of his poſts, they were repulſed by a hot fire from them with great loſs, leaving a Lieutenant of the Governor's guards, two of the city Captains, and above thirty ſoldiers dead upon the ſpot. But the action was attended with much more danger that happened on the 23d, at which time three hundred horſe and a thouſand foot, ſallying out of the ſame gate, divided themſelves and took different ways: for the cavalry went towards the field that leads directly to *Darnetal*, to attack the regiment of guards in their quarters: and the foot, that their deſign might be the more private, marched along a dry channel of the *Robec*, and came to the wood of *Turinge*, where the *Engliſh* lay. The engagement began about noon, and was not very fierce at the firſt, becauſe *Grillon*, Colonel of the guards, was hardly able to get an hundred of his men together, and the *Engliſh* firing but ſlowly, and at a diſtance, did not ſeem inclined to cloſe with the enemy: but afterwards, when the other commanders come up, it grew ſo hot, that it looked like a general battle. For the Baron *De Biron* and *Francis de Montmorancy* Sieur *Du Hallot*, aſſiſted at both places, with two ſquadrons of valiant Gentlemen; and the Baron *De Givry* and *La Chapelle* ran to reinforce their party with the light horſe. On the other ſide, *Villers*, ſeeing the danger of his men, who were ſo far advanced, came out himſelf to bring them off, with *Boroſay's* and *Perdriel's* horſe, followed by the Sieur *De la Londe*, with *Giacopo Argenti's* regiment and three companies of townſmen: ſo that the action became not only general, in a manner, but very hot and bloody, as freſh and numerous ſupplies arrived from all ſides to ſupport their reſpective parties. But the King having left his poſt near the battery of *Martinville*, had advanced with great danger (as he was attended only by a few horſe) over a little bank that was raiſed to ſtop the courſe of the *Robec*, to the place of action; and hearing that the

1592. Sieur *Du Hallot* was wounded in the thigh with a muſket-ball and carried to the next quarters, and that the Baron *De Biron* had been hurt in the face, though but ſlightly, and was in great danger of being taken or killed, he preſently ſent the Duke *De Bouillon* with a ſquadron of Reiters to his relief, who charged the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that *Villers* having his horſe killed under him, and ſeeing many of thoſe that were round him thrown to the ground, and himſelf wounded, though not dangerouſly, in one of his hands, with very great difficulty retired under the artillery of the walls. In this engagement Captain *Laurier*, the Sieur *De Plumetot*, a Gentleman of the county of *Caux*, *Bois-Pulain*, Captain of horſe, the Captain of the Governor's guard, the Sieurs *De Molart* and *Brebion*, with above an hundred ſoldiers, were killed: and on the King's ſide were ſlain above an hundred and fifty, and many more wounded; amongſt whom *Grillon*, Colonel of the guards, received ſo grievous a wound with a brace of balls below his elbow, that he continued a long time diſabled for action.

The ſame night, the Chevalier *De Varneville*, of the order of *Jeruſalem*, died in the city, of the wounds that he had received ſome time before: and the Cavalier *Piccard*, having had his thigh carried away by a cannon-ball in the late action, ſurvived him but a few days. This loſs was increaſed by the death of Captain *Baſin*, after he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf with ſo much bravery upon all occaſions; for as he was looking out of one of the * embraſures, to take a ſurvey of the works that were carrying on at the foſs, he received a muſket-ball in his forehead, and lay dead a good while before any body perceived it. *Goville* the prieſt was likewiſe killed the next day; for having ſtrained his foot in climbing up one of the trenches, and being obliged to retire very ſlowly, he was overtaken by the enemy, and after an obſtinate defence, loſt his life by a muſket-ſhot in the throat. The ſtrength of the beſieged being very much reduced by theſe misfortunes, they were forced to abate the vigour of their ſallies, whilſt the approaches of the enemy were ſtill carried on with ſuch diligence, that they had not only fortified themſelves in many places upon the counterſcarps, and near the old fort of *St. Catherine's* and under the curtain of *Martinville*, but had alſo paſſed the foſs and were working mines under the walls, beſides which, they had likewiſe ſprung a mine, at the *Porte de Beauvais*, though with no great ſucceſs. The pioneers being conſtantly animated in theſe labours by the Marſhal *De Biron*, exerted themſelves with ſo much ardour, that they had advanced their ſap till they were got under the rampart of the old fort, and having ſupported the whole of it with piles, the commanders were of opinion

* Embraſures are thoſe apertures in the wall of a fortification, through which the cannon are run out.

that

that it would immediately fall of itſelf, without any blaſt, as ſoon as thoſe ſupports were deſtroyed. In expectation of this, the piles were ſet on fire, and two parties drawn up ready to march on to the aſſault; but the ſoil upon which the foundation was built being naturally firm, and well tempered by labour, ſunk down ſo gently, that, without cracking or dividing, the rampart only fell to a lower level, though it was ſtill entire on every ſide: ſo that the forces which were deſtined to the aſſault returned to their trenches without making any further attempt in thoſe circumſtances. The deſign upon that fort, however, was not given up, for they immediately began to ſink a mine in the ſame place, to try if they could effect that by dint of powder, which they had failed in before, and in the mean time the *Germans* alſo wrought under the curtain of *Martinville*: from which place *La Fountaine Martel*, and *Aqueville*, a young Gentleman of that country, prompted by the emulation that ſubſiſted betwixt them, ſallied out at one of the embraſures of the next rampart, each with ten firelocks, and twenty other men armed with corſlets, and boldly aſſaulted the principal avenue of the trench: but being overpowered by numbers, and there being no means of aſſiſting them from the walls, as the outworks were in a great meaſure demoliſhed, they with much difficulty at laſt got themſelves drawn up again at the ſame embraſure. The mine at the old fort being now finiſhed, was to be ſprung the next morning; but Colonel *Boniface* going his rounds to viſit the guards in the dead of the night, heard the ſound of the workmens tools in that place, and having cauſed ſeveral fireworks to be thrown into the foſs, to diſcover what the enemy were about, thoſe fires running up and down, and ſcattering themſelves into different places, accidentally fell into the mouth of the mine, and ſet fire to it before the time deſigned, in ſuch a manner, that the blaſt not only threw down one part of the rampart, but burnt many, and buried the reſt of the out-guard, and wounded ſeveral of thoſe that were preparing againſt the next morning to give the aſſault: yet the breach was ſo large, and the point of the rampart ſo demoliſhed, by the ſinking of the earth, that it might eaſily have been carried, if that ſudden accident, and the death of ſo many of their friends, had not terrified the aſſailants: ſo that the Baron *De Biron*, who was to give the ſignal for the aſſault, not being in the trench, and the foot that were to advance, not drawn up in readineſs, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Colonel *Williams*, who were at that poſt, ſent in all haſte for inſtructions how to proceed, and in the mean time, the beſieged laboured with the utmoſt diligence to repair the breach with faſcines and ſacks full of earth, as they ſoon did.

1592.

The ſiege of *Roüen* was of ſuch importance, that from the very beginning, it had given great uneaſineſs to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who having left *Paris*, and returned to the army, had diſpatched the Sieur *De Rhoſné* to

Landrecy,

1592. *Landrecy*, where the Duke of *Parma* then was, to follicite his coming, or at leaft to know his refolution. The Duke *De Monte Marciano*, and Commiffary *Matteucci*, had alfo fent *Antonio Maria Pallavicino*, to let him know, that if he did not enter the confines of *France* with his army by the middle of *December*, they had orders from *Rome* to difband their forces. *Diego d'Ivarra* was likewife gone himfelf, not only to acquaint him with the whole of what had happened at *Paris*, but to reprefent to him the dangerous confequences of fuffering the King to make himfelf mafter of *Roüen*, which he had already invefted. The Duke, therefore, in purfuance of the inftructions that were fent him from *Spain*, and of his own defign, never to let the King's party grow fo ftrong as to fuppress the League: and perceiving, that he ought no longer to delay the affiftance he had promifed the Duke of *Mayenne*, refolved to fuccour him immediately, but ftill perfevered in his former determination, not to fhew any interefted view, but merely a defire of fupporting the Catholick religion, left he fhould throw things into confufion, and create an unreafonable jealoufy in the *French* of that party. *D'Ivarra* was of another opinion, and faid it was not only his own judgment, but that of the other *Spanifh* Minifters, who were in *France*, that fo urgent a neceffity afforded them an opportunity of compelling the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other *French* Lords, to affemble the States General of the kingdom, and to caufe the Infanta *Ifabella* to be declared Queen, who fhould afterwards take fuch a hufband as was approved of by the confederate Princes: after which it would be proper to act with the utmoft vigour, and to attack the King with all their forces, and never to defift till he was totally vanquifhed and fuppreffed. But the Duke, though he knew this was the ultimate intention of his Catholick Majefty, and the *Spanifh* Council, did not think the prefent a convenient juncture to proceed in fuch a manner, not only becaufe the *French* Nobility, when they faw themfelves deceived, and that the *Spaniards* took the advantage of their diftrefs to put a yoke upon their necks, would throw themfelves, in defpair, upon the King's clemency, who left no arts untried to reconcile them to him: but alfo becaufe there was not time to conduct that defign with fuch patience and addrefs as it required, now *Roüen* was befieged, and the neceffity of relieving it admitted of no delay. Upon which the *Spaniards*, and particularly *D'Ivarra*, who was naturally of a fiery difpofition, and did not ufe to exprefs himfelf in the mildeft terms, replied, "That as the Duke of *Parma* was an *Italian*, his own private intereft, and that of the other *Italian* Princes, made them jealous of the *Spanifh* monarchy growing too powerful, which was the reafon that he took no lefs pains than the *French* Lords themfelves to raife new difficulties and delays upon all occafions." But the events that afterwards happened, fufficiently evinced the wifdom and

and expedience of the Duke of *Parma's* advice; who, being ſtill deter- 1592. mined to aſſiſt the confederates in a time of ſo great need, was come to *Guiſe*, where he met the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Monte Marciano*, and having appointed Count *Mansfelt* Governor of the *Low Countries*, he ordered his ſon, Prince *Ranuccio*, and the other Commanders, to draw the army together, and conduct it towards the confines of *France*.

The Duke, however, thought himſelf obliged to remind the Duke of *Mayenne* and his friends, of what King *Philip* himſelf had told Preſident *Jeannine*, namely, that it was neceſſary, for the future, not to proceed at random and without any determinate end, but to aſſemble the States, and to acquaint them with his Catholick Majeſty's intention, which he would ſignify to them by new Ambaſſadors, that they might concert a proper plan of operation, and not always go on upon the ſame uncertain bottom: and when he perceived, that the Duke of *Mayenne* anſwered very coldly to that particular, he cauſed it to be repeated to him afterwards by Preſident *Richardot*, one of his Counſellors. Upon which, though the Duke did not abſolutely refuſe to convene the States, yet, he ſaid, it was neceſſary to defer it till another time; that he muſt firſt conſult the Dukes of *Lorrain*, *Nemours*, and *Mercœur*, and that the meaſures which they ſhould unanimouſly agree upon, ſhould be ſteddily purſued, that they might not indeed act at random, as he ſaid, nor cauſe a diviſion amongſt the confederates. Which objections being thought reaſonable by the Duke of *Parma* himſelf, who obſerved, that all the *French* Lords were likewiſe ſtaggered at this propoſal, and Madam *De Guiſe* (who was preſent) no leſs than they, he ſeemed to be ſatisfied, and ſaid no more of that matter, but contented himſelf with only demanding *La Fere* for a place of ſafety, where he might lodge all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of his army; as it was not fit they ſhould lie open and expoſed to the attacks of the King's forces, and that when he was advanced into the middle of an enemy's country, he ſhould not have ſo much as one town whither he might retire upon occaſion. Yet it was not an eaſy matter to obtain even this; for the Duke of *Mayenne* peremptorily refuſed to alienate any place from the Crown: but having diſcovered that the Vice-Seneſchal *De Montelimar*, Governor of that fortreſs, held a correſpondence with the *Spaniards*, and being apprehenſive that they would get poſſeſſion of it by ſome other means whether he would or not, he at laſt conſented, that the Duke ſhould bring his artillery and military ſtores thither, and that he ſhould leave a garriſon there of five hundred *Walloons*, paid by his Catholick Majeſty: but inſiſted, that the town ſhould ſtill continue under the protection of the Crown, and that the ſame *French* Magiſtrates ſhould reſide in it to adminiſter juſtice: and not thinking this ſufficient, he alſo demanded a ſecurity under the Duke of *Parma's* own hand, that he

would

1592. would leave it free to him again, whensoever he should draw out his artillery and other provisions.

About the same time the Duke of *Parma* did a very prudent and generous thing, with which the confederates were wonderfully pleased: for some Deputies being come to him from *Orleans*, to let him know, that their principals (not having money to pay the soldiers of the garrison, who had many months arrears due to them, and seeing the Duke of *Mayenne* did not give himself much trouble about their affairs) were desirous to put themselves under the protection of his Catholick Majesty, and ready to admit any garrison that he should think proper to send them: he was so far from accepting their offer, that he gave them a severe rebuke for endeavouring to throw off their obedience to the Lieutenant of the Crown; and when *Juan Baptista Tassis*, and *Diego d Ivarra* earnestly persuaded him to listen to their proposals, he only answered, "That if they thought to get possession of the Crown of *France* by reducing the cities one by one, the world would be at an end before they had accomplished their design, and that it was necessary to strike at the root, not to throw away their time in lopping off the branches."

The *French* Lords being soothed in this manner, it was necessary also to secure the favour of the Ministers of *Rome*: for after the death of *Gregory* the fourteenth, *Giovanni Antonio Facchinetto* being elected Pope, by the name of *Innocent* the ninth, did not seem to attend to the affairs of the League with the same zeal that his predecessors had done, and plainly told both the *French* and *Spanish* Agents, that he would not concern himself about sending any succours into *France*, till an independent Catholick King, and such a one as was generally approved of, should be chosen: by which declaration he seemed to point at a Prince of the Blood, as *Scipio Balbani* had communicated the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* pretensions to many, and engaged them in his favour. Nor was the Pope himself much averse to this new design; for being earnestly sollicited to assist the League, at a time when they were so much distressed, and not to desert the cause of religion, he answered, "That he could not make the print of the foot longer than the foot itself; that the expences which his predecessors had been at upon their account, exceeded the abilities of the Apostolick See, and that he would contribute fifteen thousand ducats a month till things were adjusted; after which, he would exert himself as far as ever the strength of his treasury would bear." This answer being reported by many, in their letters to *France*, not only gave the *French* Lords great uneasiness, but also made the Duke *De Monte Marciano* and Commissary *Maticucci* doubtful how to behave themselves. Nevertheless, his Holiness created the Bishop of *Piacenza* Cardinal, and appointed him his Legate in *France*, as an experienced man, and one who was already well acquainted

1592.

with the affairs of that nation, knowing that new Miniſters too often embarraſs things before they have had ſufficient time to apprehend and underſtand the nature and circumſtances of them. As ſoon as he had fixed upon a Legate, he wrote into *France*, that if the Duke of *Parma* came into the kingdom by the 15th of *December* at the furtheſt, the forces of the Apoſtolick See ſhould then follow his camp, but if he did not enter it before that term was expired, they ſhould certainly be diſbanded: a declaration that did not at all pleaſe the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, who ſaw from thence, that the Pope was not much inclined to concur in their meaſures; but much leſs the Duke of *Mayenne*, when he found that he had no room to expect ſuch aid as was neceſſary to accompliſh his deſigns. But his death, which happened in the ſecond month of his Pontificate, ſo perplexed the Legate, and all the reſt of them, that the Duke of *Parma* was obliged to make uſe not only of entreaties, but all his authority likewiſe, to make them continue with him upon ſo urgent an occaſion, and to promiſe the *Swiſs*, that he would pay them with his own money, if the next Pope ſhould refuſe to do it.

Things being thus ſettled, and the forces drawn together from all parts, the two armies joined, and advanced by eaſy marches towards *Neſle*. At their arrival there, on the 4th of *January*, the Duke of *Parma* thought fit to make a general review of his forces, which he muſtered, and gave them a week's pay. The Duke of *Mayenne*, the Count *De Vaudemont*, and the Duke *De Monte Marciano* likewiſe reviewed their reſpective forces; for which purpoſe, and to ſtay till the artillery and ammunition came up, which moved more ſlowly, they lay there twelve days. On the 16th in the morning, they proceeded in their march directly towards *Roüen*, by the way of *Amiens*, which, though round about, is yet a much better road, and more abundant in proviſions. When they had paſſed *Amiens*, and left the river *Somme* behind them, the Duke of *Parma* drew up his army in battalia, and made them conſtantly march in that manner; for as he had entered an enemy's country, which was alſo very rough and full of woods and rivulets, he was determined not to expoſe himſelf to the danger of being ſuddenly attacked by the King, when he was not ready to receive him, of whoſe activity and reſolution he had before had ſufficient experience. There were in this army about ſix thouſand horſe: eight hundred Reiters, under the command of the Baron of *Swartzenbourg*: two thouſand light horſe, commanded, in the abſence of the Duke of *Paſtrana*, by *Georgio Baſti*, Commiſſary of the cavalry: four hundred *Flemiſh* lances, under the Prince of *Chimay*: one hundred *Italian* lances, belonging to the General of the church, conducted by his Lieutenant *Ludovico Melzi*: ſeven hundred *Lorrain* lances and cuiraſſiers, led by the Count *De Vaudemont*: and two thouſand horſe, conſiſting of *French*

Nobleſſe,

1592. Noblesse, that followed the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Guise*, and the other Princes and Lords of that party. The infantry amounted to twenty-four thousand; of which two thousand were *Swiss*, being all that were left of those that had been raised by the church: three *Spanish* divisions, under *Antonio Zuniga*, *Ludovico Velasco*, and *Alonso Idiaques*: two of *Germans*, under the conduct of the Counts of *Barlemont* and *Arembergh*: four of *Walloons*, under Monsieur *Du Vert*, *Octavio* Count of *Mansfelt*, the Count *De Bossu*, and Colonel *Claude de la Berlotte*: two divisions of *Italians*, namely, *Camillo Capizucchi's*, and part of that which formerly was *Pietro Caietano's*, led by his Serjeant Major: and four thousand *French*, under the Sieurs *De Bois Dauphine* and *Balagny*, and Colonel *St. Paul*. The whole was divided into three parts: the vanguard, led by the Duke of *Guise*, with the Sieurs *De Vitry* and *De la Chastre*: the main battle, in which were the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne*, the Count *De Vaudemont*, and the Duke of *Monte Marciano*: and the rear guard, commanded by the Duke of *Aumale* and the Count *De Chaligny*, with many other Lords. The first body of foot was led by *Camillo Capizucchi*, in which were all the *Italians*: the *Swiss* guarded the artillery, under the command of the Sieurs *De la Motte* and *Bassompierre*: *Georgio Basti*, with a considerable squadron of carbineers and light horse, marched before the main army, to scour and secure the roads; and the Sieur *De Rhosne* had the post of Serjeant Major General.

When the King was informed that this army was approaching, he maturely considered what was to be done, and remembring what had happened to him at the siege of *Paris*, resolved to leave the Marshal *De Biron*, with all the infantry, and part of the cavalry, before *Roüen*, to continue the siege, and to go himself, with the other part of the horse, to meet the enemy: not with a design to engage them in the open field, but to harrass them at passes, to retard and interrupt their march, and to take the advantage of such opportunities, as the nature of situations and the motions of the confederates might afford him. What induced him to take this resolution was, that he found himself very strong in horse: for the Duke of *Nevers*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count *De St. Paul*, and many other Lords, being lately come to the camp, he had in all, above ten thousand horse, and almost eight and twenty thousand foot: so powerful an army, encouraged him to leave the greater part of the *German* cavalry, which were very ungovernable, and some of the *French* also, in the camp before *Roüen*: and he himself set out on the 29th of *January*, to seek the enemy, with two thousand cuirassiers, five hundred light horse, a thousand Reiters, commanded by the Prince of *Anhalt*, and two thousand harquebusiers on horseback.

Upon his arrival at *Folleville*, a little town on the frontiers of *Picardy*, he

1592.

he received intelligence, that the enemy continued their course directly towards *Roüen*, and were passing by, a little lower, at that very time, to gain a large plain, that lay on both sides of the high-road. Wherefore, having sent the Sieur *De Arambures* before, with fifteen light horse, to reconnoitre them, he drew out the Grand Escuyer with forty Gentlemen, whom he placed on his right hand, and the Sieur *De Lavardine* with thirty more, on his left, betwixt which two little troops, he himself advanced with sixscore horse, that he might distinctly observe what order the army of the League kept in their march. When they had advanced almost three miles in this manner, *Lavardine* discovered some *Spanish* foot, who were resting themselves under a tree, and had set up their pikes round about it, and being resolved to attack them, he rode forwards till he came pretty near the tree, when the troop on the right hand perceived two large bodies of horse (which had been on guard at the end of a high road) already moving towards him: of which they immediately gave him notice, by calling out to him, that *the fruit was sour*. But he boldly faced about with his men, and made a fierce attack upon the enemy, who killed his horse under him at the first encounter, and warmly beset him on all sides: though the skirmish did not continue long; for, upon the King's coming up with his troop, the horse of the League retired to their main body, which lay in sight upon the plain; but there was so strict a guard kept in every quarter, that the King found he could not come any nearer to them, and therefore, after he had joined the rest of his men, he retired that night to *Berteville*.

From thence, in pursuance of his design, he came on the 4th of *February* to *Aumale*, a castle situated upon a river, that divides the confines of *Picardy* from *Upper Normandy*, where he quartered his men in the Bourg: and the next morning, being desirous to see what order the enemy's army observed, he advanced in person, with the archers of his guard, two hundred other light horse, and three hundred chosen Gentlemen, along the road where the army of the League was marching, leaving the command of the other troops that were at *Aumale* to the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Longueville*. But as he was often led into sudden and very great dangers by his courage, and the desire he had of being at the head of the first parties, to take a view of things with his own eyes: so it happened that day. For having traversed a country exceeding full of vineyards, that extends itself from *Aumale* beyond the river, to the foot of a high hill, he had no sooner gained the top of it, where there is a spacious plain, but he fell in with the *avant-coureurs* of the League, though he thought they had yet been some miles from him. And as the hill, which was betwixt them, had hindered each party from discovering the other before, the encounter was so sudden, that, not having time either to retire,

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1592. or to form themselves, they were obliged to fall on as they could, without any order or disposition. The King himself was at the head of his troops, with the Baron *De Biron*, the Count *De St. Paul*, the Sieurs *De Marivaut*, *De Chasceron*, *De Pralin*, *D'Aubigny*, *D'Arambures*, *De Champlivaut*, and many other brave officers: so that there was no doubt but the *avant-coureurs* of the League, who were much inferior both in number and courage, must give way to their valour and conduct, as indeed they soon did, and saved themselves by flight.

The Duke of *Parma's* army then appeared in sight, drawn up in order of battle, and marching along the same plain. The form of their main body was quadrangular, and had an open in the front, through which the middle ranks might advance to engage: there were also two intervals at the angles of the rear: that in the front being almost closed by a flying squadron before it, and those in the rear, by two squadrons of horse, which were to begin the action if the attack was on that side. The flanks were defended by the common carriages, which kept up with them in very good order, and without straggling: these were guarded by foot of different nations drawn up in their several divisions. On the outside, and at some distance from this large square body, all the light horse and carbineers, divided into many squadrons, filled up the whole extent of the plain: and in the middle of the main battle, the Duke himself was carried in an open chair, giving orders and instructions, and regulating every thing that was amiss. But the King had hardly made a stand upon the plain, to take a hasty view of this admirable disposition, when *Georgio Basti* (being informed by the *avant-coureurs* of what had happened to them) came up with the enemy's light horse and carbines, to attack him: upon which, seeing himself entangled betwixt two large bodies of harquebusiers on horseback, who poured their vollies upon him on both sides like hail, he was forced, though very late, to think of some means of retiring. Almost all the Gentlemen that followed him were without their head-pieces: because they had neither had time to put them on, in such a sudden and unexpected encounter, nor to draw up in a regular manner: so that they were in great confusion and disorder, and were only restrained by mere courage and a sense of honour, and the King's presence, from turning their backs, which, however, was very necessary in their circumstances, as there was no other way of saving their lives. But great numbers of them being killed on every side, since even the best of their armour was not proof against balls fired from pieces of so large a bore, and the first body of infantry, which had heard the report of the harquebusses, coming up likewise very fast to fall upon them, the King ordered his men to wheel about, but not to return to the charge, and retired on a round trot towards the descent of the hill,

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1592.

to meet his light horſe and harquebuſiers, who had followed him at no very great diſtance, under the command of the Baron *De Givry* and the Sieur *De Lavardine*. But the enemy was preſently cloſe at his heels again, and the Commanders of light horſe took great pains to cut off his retreat on every ſide: for, as he was known by his countenance, his plume, and other marks of diſtinction, every one cried out to his companion, *That it was the King of Navarre*, and mutually encouraging each other in the purſuit, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to get him into their hands. In ſo precipitate a retreat down hill, many of their horſes ſtumbled and fell, which ſo much retarded it, and put them into ſuch diſorder, that the King himſelf thought it neceſſary to ſtay with the hindmoſt of his men, to check the fury of the enemy, though the peril was imminent, and a ſtorm of ſhot was poured upon him from all quarters, one of which at laſt pierced through the peak of his ſaddle, and wounded him, though not dangerouſly, a little below the reins. As this misfortune obliged him to retire as faſt as he could, to ſave himſelf, ſo it likewiſe occaſioned the utter rout of his men, who being come into the fields below, were entangled in ſuch a manner amongſt the ſtakes and fences of the vines, and the great number of encloſures, that both they and their horſes fell down at every ſtep, and were left expoſed to the fury of the enemy, who made a terrible ſlaughter amongſt them with their carbines; for beſides a great many of the Gentlemen, the archers of the King's guard were almoſt all killed upon the place. But his light horſe, which had already advanced into the middle of a ſmall plain that lay betwixt the Bourg and the field of battle, being met by thoſe that ran away, and brought the news of the King being wounded, and almoſt dead, broke their ranks without ever coming to any engagement, and fled back like the reſt, towards *Aumale*. The Baron *De Givry*, however, with thirty other Officers, who had been at the head of them, advanced with a reſolution to relieve the King, if poſſible, in a time of ſo great diſtreſs, and not only threw his own cloak about his ſhoulders, but ſupported him himſelf, till he was got out of the reach of the enemy. At the ſame time, the Sieur *De Lavardine* advanced with ſixty of his harquebuſiers on horſeback (for all the reſt of them had likewiſe deſerted him) and planting himſelf behind the bank of a ditch by the road-ſide, endeavoured to ſtop the career of the enemy. But he being wounded himſelf at their firſt volley, *Givry's* horſe killed under him, which cruſhed his left leg and knee very dangerouſly in the fall, the Sieur *D'Aubigny* diſmounted, *Chaſeron* wounded, *D'Arambures* all over blood and bruiſes, not one of them would have eſcaped, if the Duke of *Nevers* had not advanced to diſengage them, with a ſtrong ſquadron of horſe, in which were the Counts of *Torigny* and *Montgomery*, the Sieur *De Montigny*, and the Grand

1592. Grand Efcuyer. The Duke, as foon as he heard of the fkirmifh, and that the King was defeated, had very wifely pofted that divifion of the harquebufiers on horfeback which ftayed with him, along the bank of the river, to fecure the ford, and favour the paffage of thofe that were retreating: whilft he himfelf paffed the river with the main body of the cavalry, all well armed and in excellent order, to relieve and fupport his men, who he faw, from a diftance, were overpowered and hard preffed by the enemy; and indeed his arrival was very feafonable: for if he had not come up when he did, both the King himfelf and all the reft that were in the plain, muft inevitably either have been killed or taken prifoners. He proceeded, therefore, till he came to a place where, the river having overflowed its banks, he was forced to pafs along a narrow caufeway, and there feeing not only the *Spanifh* carbineers animated with fuccefs, and in clofe purfuit of thofe that fled, but alfo the Sieur *De Vitry*, the Baron *De la Chaftre*, and the Count *De Chaligny*, who had left the main body and were come to reinforce their party, he refolved to retire without paffing any further, for fear the Gentlemen that were with him fhould be deftroyed to no purpofe, if they were expofed at fo great a difadvantage to the whole army of the League, which was every minute expected to charge them. So that after he had brought thofe off that had loft their horfes, and could not otherwife have got clear of the enemy, efpecially *Givry* and *Lavardine*, who were both very much hurt, and having picked up many other Gentlemen that were fcattered about the field, he wheeled off and returned, often facing about till he came back to the river, which he paffed again in good order, under the cover of the harquebufiers whom he had pofted along the bank, and having drawn up his men, immediately followed the King, who had retired with the utmoft fpeed towards a wood for greater fecurity.

It is moft certain, that if the main army of the League had advanced on the right-hand and on the left with the fame expedition that the carbineers did (which they eafily might have done, as there was nothing at all that could hinder their march to the very banks of the river) the King and all his men muft have been furrounded on every fide and taken prifoners by the enemy, before the Duke of *Nevers* could come up: for even though they did not advance, he had both great difficulty and exceeding good fortune to make his efcape as he did. But when a confufed account was brought, that the enemy was at hand, that the King himfelf was amongft them, that they had been engaged and were running away; the Duke of *Parma* not much trufting to common reports, and thinking it impoffible that the King fhould rafhly have ventured himfelf amongft the *avant-coureurs*, except it was to favour fome ftratagem, began to fufpect that an ambufcade might be laid for him in a country where he was not much

much acquainted. He therefore caused his army to make a halt, and having countermanded the flying squadron which was already advancing, he resolved not to proceed any further, till he had more particularly informed himself of these things, for fear of being caught in a snare: which circumspection, though prudent and necessary, gave the King an opportunity of escaping. For though the Duke of *Mayenne*, after he had earnestly, but in vain, desired that the whole army might advance, had set out with a body of horse, on a round trot, to follow him, yet, as it was already night when they entered the Bourg of *Aumale*, he despaired of overtaking him, and resolved to go no further.

1592.

The King caused his wound to be hastily dressed in a wood, about half a league from *Aumale*, and having found that it was not very deep (as the ball was damped by passing through the saddle, and struck but a little way into his flesh) he pursued his journey with the utmost expedition, and did not stop till he came within the walls of *Neuf-chastel*; where the Duke of *Nevers* also arrived in a short time with all his men entire and safe, after he had so well acted the part of a brave and prudent commander. It was apprehended, that the Duke of *Parma* would continue his march the next day and hasten directly to *Roüen*, where the report of the King's being routed and wounded, might occasion terror and confusion in the army before it, and perhaps their utter defeat and dispersion. Nor did there appear any other expedient to retard his march, but to make a defence at *Neuf-chastel*, which they thought he would attempt to make himself master of, and not leave it upon his back, as it stood upon the road; especially, if it was strongly garrisoned, lest it might be a means of obstructing the highways, and hinder the conveyance of provisions, which must of necessity all pass through those parts. But the town being weak, and the exigency requiring a speedy resolution, the Baron *De Givry* offered to stay there himself, though his foot was grievously hurt, and to defend it so long, that the enemy might not come suddenly upon *Roüen*: but that the King's army, when the first terror was over, might have time to recover its spirits, and the King get so well of his wound (which they hoped he would in a few days) as to be able to appear on horseback again, and animate them with his presence, that being the only way to support his affairs. Three hundred cuirassiers and four hundred harquebusiers on horseback being left, therefore, at *Neuf-chastel* with *Givry*, the King and the Baron *De Biron* went to *Dieppe* to have their wounds taken better care of, and the Duke of *Nevers* returned to *Roüen* with the rest of the troops to reinforce the army.

The Duke of *Parma* quartered the next day at *Aumale*, where the *French* Lords began to murmur, and said, "That if he had advanced that day, an end might easily have been put to the war:" but he told them.

1592. them, "That if it were to be done again, he ſhould act in the ſame manner, as he had proceeded according to the dictates of reaſon and prudence, having till then been perſuaded, that he had a Captain-General of an army to deal with, and not a mere Captain of light horſe, as he now perceived the King of *Navarre* was." This event, however, created great differences amongſt the Chiefs of the League: for the *Spaniards* and *Italians* commended the Duke of *Parma's* circumſpection and cautious manner of proceeding; whilſt the *French* extolled the ardour and magnanimity of their own countrymen, and propoſed the vigour and celerity of the King in all his actions, as an example worthy of imitation. But the ſituation and circumſtances of one were very different from thoſe of the other: for the King being General of a volunteer army, was neceſſitated to expoſe his own perſon, and to be amongſt the foremoſt of his men in all dangers: but the Duke of *Parma*, coming only to aſſiſt the confederates, was not willing to ſtake both his hopes in *France* and the poſſeſſion of *Flanders* upon one throw, without a great probability of gaining ſuch an advantage by a victory, as might juſtify him in running ſo conſiderable a riſque: and therefore he wiſely reſolved, as he had done at the ſiege of *Paris*, neither abſolutely to conquer, nor to ſuffer himſelf to be conquered. Whatſoever might be the cauſe, it is certain that, from this time, differences and diſputes began to ariſe betwixt him and the Duke of *Mayenne*, which afterwards grew higher and higher every day.

The army of the League advancing in the ſame order by eaſy marches, ſat down before *Neuf-chaſtel*, which was ſo weak, that they did not expect it would have made any reſiſtance. But the Duke of *Parma*, provoked at the obſtinacy of thoſe within it, and the delay that it occaſioned in his progreſs, cauſed his artillery to be planted with as much expedition as poſſible, and began to batter the part of the wall that ſtood next to his camp, which being old and not lined with earth, a breach was ſoon made in it large enough to be aſſaulted: ſo that Monſieur *De Givry* thought fit to capitulate; and though the Duke was at firſt highly incenſed at the reſiſtance he made, yet being appeaſed by the interceſſion of Monſieur *De la Chaſtre*, *Givry's* father-in-law, and admiring the valour of that Cavalier, who had voluntarily expoſed himſelf to ſo great danger, only to give his party time to recover breath, he granted him honourable terms, though there was ſome diſpute about the performance of them. For Monſieur *De Rebours*, a Colonel of the *French* infantry, who had ſhut himſelf up in the town with *Givry*, not having been particularly mentioned in the capitulation, the Duke of *Parma* inſiſted that, as he had not been named, he ought not to enjoy the benefit of the articles, but to be detained priſoner: and Monſieur *De Givry* argued, that as he had made a compoſition for himſelf and all his ſoldiers, tho'

Rebours was not specified indeed with the other officers, because he had not his men there with him, he was nevertheless comprehended and ought to go free with all the rest: which being disputed awhile, the Duke of *Parma* generously referred the matter to the King's own decision, who best knew whether he had left *Rebours* with command, or without command, for the defence of the place. Upon which, the King, having called a council of war, and heard every one's opinion, gave judgment, that *Rebours* was to be understood as included in the conditions of the capitulation.

1592.

But the delay that was occasioned by the siege of *Neuf-chastel* was of great service to the King's affairs, though it had held out no longer than four days: for during that time, which was very precious in his circumstances, most of the victuals being consumed that were brought along with the army of the League, it became necessary to stay there awhile to make new provisions, as the country all round about *Roüen*, which was thoroughly ravaged during a siege of so many months in the sterility of the winter, did not afford any thing, and the victuals that were to be brought from *Picardy* could not be expected to come safely to their hands, except they were under strong convoys, and escorted by large bodies of cavalry, because the King and the Baron *De Biron*, one of whom lay at *Dieppe*, the other at *Arques*, caused all the roads to be scoured with their horse. Here they stayed ten days, which raised great discontent and murmurings amongst the *French*: for the Duke was resolved not to engage himself too far in an enemy's country that was all ruined and laid waste, without provisions abundantly sufficient to supply his camp, not being used to leave the event of his enterprises to chance. In this interval there happened many fierce encounters: for the King being well again, would not suffer the enemy to rest without danger or alarm: but the success of them was almost equal, the skirmishes being chiefly betwixt the cavalry, in which the number of Gentlemen on each side, the boldness of their attempts, their valour, expedition, and resolution were pretty well balanced.

It happened one day, that the King having advanced to the top of a hill that lay on the right-hand of the great road, along which the enemy's army continued their march, ordered the Sieur *De Montigny* with a squadron of light horse, and the Sieur *De Pralin* with another of cuirassiers, to fall suddenly upon the quarters of the Duke of *Aumale* (who brought up the rear) just as he was encamping: but after a short skirmish rather than a battle, being charged in their retreat by the Count *De Chaligny* and the Sieur *De Rhosnè*, there ensued a warm engagement in the adjoining plain: to which the Sieur *De Fervaques* and the Count *De Torigny*, son to the Marshal *De Matignon*, coming up with the troops of

1592. *Normandy*, they fought with ſingular bravery on both ſides above two hours. But when the party that belonged to the army of the League would have retired, they found themſelves attacked by the Baron *De Biron*, who had fallen upon their flank with another troop: ſo that they were obliged to turn their backs and run away as faſt as they could, to ſave themſelves: which the Count *De Chaligny* diſdaining to do, and ſtill fighting gallantly in the midſt of the enemy, was taken priſoner by *Chicot* the King's jeſter, but a ſtout and hardy fellow, who, in taking him, received ſuch a wound in his head, that he died of it not many days after. The Count being introduced into the King's preſence, and ſeeming much aſhamed of having been taken by a fellow of ſo baſe a profeſſion, the King, to comfort him, told him, "*Chicot* was a brave fellow, and that he ought rather to lay the blame upon himſelf for having advanced ſo far:" to which the Count anſwering, "That a deſire of ſeeing and learning had made him ſo forward:" the King replied, with his uſual pleaſantry, "That thoſe of his own party knew not how to teach him, and that if he had a mind to learn the art of war, he muſt fight under his ſtandard and near his perſon." The money that he paid for his ranſom was given by his Majeſty to the Ducheſs of *Longueville* and her daughters, who having been taken at *Corbie*, after many months impriſonment, were obliged to buy their liberty with thirty thouſand ducats.

The next day, juſt as the army of the League was coming out of their quarters upon the plain, the Baron *De Biron* attacked the firſt troops of them, led by the Sieurs *De Vitry* and *De la Chaſtre*; upon which an exceeding hot and obſtinate ſkirmiſh enſued. But as the whole army ſtill continued advancing that way in battalia, the Baron thought fit to retire amongſt the hills, which being very woody on all ſides, gave the King an opportunity of annoying the enemy with his flying ſquadrons, and of retiring with ſecurity when occaſion required. Theſe dangerous attacks, which were repeated day and night, obliged the Duke of *Parma* to march with his army always drawn up in good order; ſo that he advanced but ſlowly, and would not move at all till the day was very clear, and he had firſt reconnoitred the country round: beſides which precautions, he conſtantly took up his quarters ſo early in the afternoon, that he might have ſufficient time to fortify and intrench his camp.

But he now drew near *Roüen*, and it was neceſſary to reſolve upon ſome method, either to raiſe the ſiege or relieve the place: for which purpoſe, *Georgio Baſti* offered himſelf to march away in the night with a body of light horſe and two ſquadrons of lances, and attempt to force his way through the King's quarters into the town. *Camillo Capizucchi* offered to do the ſame, with his diviſion and a certain number of horſe.

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But the Duke did not think that ſufficient in the preſent exigency, as the town ought not only to be relieved, but totally delivered and ſecured from the enemy; conſidering likewiſe how dangerous it would be to hazard ſo ſmall a body, though of good men, againſt the whole ſtrength of a royal army. He therefore determined, after mature deliberation, to attempt the deliverance of the town with all his forces together. The King at that time was poſted, with the greater part of his cavalry, five or ſix leagues from *Roüen*, about the middle of the way, and on the right hand of the road that leads to *Dieppe*, through the country of *Caux*, to ſcour the roads and obſtruct the army of the League in their march, and had divided his men into ſeparate parties, at a little diſtance from each other. The Baron *De Biron*, with the remainder of the horſe, was quartered at *Dieppe* and *Arques*, to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy on that ſide, and to cut off their proviſions, by making excurſions in their rear. The Marſhal *De Biron*, with the infantry only, continued before *Roüen*. Things being thus circumſtanced, the Duke of *Parma* reſolved to move in the afternoon from the place where he was then quartered, and to bend his courſe to the left, along the road that leads directly to *Pont de l'Arche*, and after he had taken a circuit round the wood of *Bellancomble*, to turn to the right, and march all night, that he might arrive at *Roüen* by break of day, and fall unexpectedly upon the Marſhal *De Biron's* infantry in their poſts: which he made no doubt of routing, and totally diſſipating (eſpecially if the beſieged ſallied out of the town at the ſame time with their uſual vigour) before the King could poſſibly come up to their aſſiſtance with his cavalry, as he would hardly be able to gueſs, upon the firſt intelligence of their moving, what ſhould be the meaning of ſo extraordinary a march.

1592.

With this intention he ſuddenly decamped on the 26th of *February* (a day that was very favourable, conſidering the time of the year) and took the left hand road towards *Bellancomble*. But the vigilance and bravery of the Sieur *De Villers*, had in a great meaſure already made this attempt unneceſſary. For ſeeing the King had left his camp with all the cavalry, and that the infantry were divided from each other at ſeveral different poſts; and being unwilling that any other perſon ſhould have the glory of raiſing the ſiege, if he could do it himſelf, he determined to try whether it was not poſſible to throw the enemy into confuſion by a vigorous ſally from the town. And being informed by an *Iriſhman*, who had deſerted from the camp, that ſince the departure of the King and the principal Lords of his party, the guards were not ſo ſtrictly viſited in their poſts as they had been before, becauſe the Marſhal *De Biron* could not attend at every place, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the High Chancellor, and the Lords of the Council, who were left at *Darnetal*, had no

1592. experience in military affairs, he determined to make a fally, on the 25th, from four different places, and to fall upon all their pofts at the fame time. For this purpofe, he caufed the townfmen to be drawn up in their feveral companies, to defend the walls, under the command of the Sieur *De la Londe*, whilft he himfelf went out to the attack, which was to be made in the following manner. Colonel *Boniface* was to fally from *St. Catherine's* with his regiment of foot, and two hundred Gentlemen and Officers at the head of it, fupported by the Chevalier *D'Oyfe*, with two troops of horfe, who were to fally from *Martinville* to attack the poft of *Turinge*. *Pericard* with his regiment, feconded by Captain *Borofay* and the Sieur *De Quitry*, had orders to affault the batteries planted againft the old fort. Captain *Giacopo Argenti*, with his divifion of infantry, followed by the Sieur *De Cannonville's* horfe, was to fally out at the *Porte Cauchoife*, and march towards the convent of the *Carthufians*, to make head againft the main body at *Darnetal*, in cafe they fhould move to fuccour their men in the trenches. The Governor himfelf, with a felect body of Gentlemen and foldiers, fupported by Captain *Perdriel*, were to fally out of the *Porte de Beauvais*, and make an attack upon the battery newly raifed by the *French* regiments. This difpofition being made, and the fignal given at day-break by a cannon, they rufhed out with fo much courage and impetuofity, that they prefently made themfelves mafters of all the avenues to the trenches, both before and behind the enemy's works, and furrounded the guards in fuch a manner, that they not only made a terrible flaughter amongft them at every poft, but took their cannon, fome of which they nailed up, and drew the reft into the fofs: they likewife either demolifhed, or carried off all their engines and inftruments of war, gave vent to their mines, blew up their ammunition, and filled every place with terror and deftruction: fo that the whole body of the infantry, after making but a very feeble refiftance, fled in the utmoft diforder towards *Darnetal*. Upon the firft intelligence of this fally, the Marfhal *De Biron* immediately advanced with four thoufand *Swifs* and *Germans*, and all the Nobleffe that were left in the camp, to fuccour his men in the trenches; but Captain *Perdriel*, who had followed the Governor out of the *Porte de Beauvais* with three troops of horfe, over-ran the whole plain, and by wheeling about, and often returning to the fkirmifh, endeavoured to keep him warmly engaged: the Chevaliers *D'Oyfe*, *Borofay*, *Quitry*, and *Cannonville* did the fame, till their men had fully performed what was intended in the trenches. After which, thofe four fquadrons likewife advanced to meet the Marfhal *De Biron*, and had a very bloody engagement with him, betwixt *Darnetal* and the trenches: and though the Sieur *De l'Archant*, a brave Cavalier, and Captain of the King's guards, was killed, and the Marfhal himfelf grievoufly wounded in the thigh by

a musket ball, yet, the *Germans* coming up, and the *English* and *French* infantry rallying on all sides, the garrison was repulsed, though not without much difficulty, and driven back again to their very gates. But as the ammunition was blown up, the artillery taken, and every thing turned upside down, the loss was very great, and not to be repaired in a short time. On the King's side, above eight hundred men were slain in the trenches, amongst whom were two *French* Colonels, and fourteen Captains of different nations: and of the garrison not above fifty.

As soon as the action was over, the Governor immediately dispatched the Sieur *De Franqueville* through the woods, to acquaint the Duke of *Mayenne* with his success, and to let him know there was no occasion to precipitate matters for the relief of the city, as it would be many days before the enemy could be in a condition to do them any further damage. Upon this intelligence, which the Duke received on the 26th in the evening, whilst the army of the League was continuing its march, they made a halt, and the chief Commanders were called to a council of war. The Duke of *Parma* was of opinion, that it would be the best way to pursue their first design; for, the infantry being dismayed by the blow that had been given them the day before, it would be much more easy to rout them, and make themselves masters of their quarters, by which the siege would be utterly raised, and the end accomplished for which they had advanced so far. But the Duke of *Mayenne* said, that what they had intended to do, was already done, the mines and trenches destroyed, the artillery taken, the ammunition blown up, and that there remained nothing further to be done but to drive the infantry out of their quarters at *Darnetal*, whither they had all retired; but as they were very strongly fortified, that undertaking must necessarily be attended with some difficulty, and perhaps might find them employment for many hours, during which, the King would come up with all his cavalry, whom they must be obliged to engage, when their own men were fatigued with their march, and their ardour damped by the first action: that since the city was not in such circumstances as required them to hurry on with so much precipitation, it would be better to proceed with the same precaution and circumspection that they had constantly done till that time. His opinion was approved of and assented to; though many of the *Spaniards* thought he gave this advice, that the Duke of *Parma* might not reap the glory of having relieved *Roüen*.

The army, therefore, faced about, and returned in the same order to their last quarters: where they entered into a consultation what further measures were proper to be taken. The Duke of *Mayenne's* opinion, in which the other *French* Lords concurred, was, that the siege of *Roüen* could

1592. could not be effectually raiſed without coming to a battle, the event of which he thought very precarious, on account of the great number of the Nobility that followed the King at that time; ſo that, as *Roüen* was in no danger of being much diſtreſſed for many weeks, he adviſed, that only ſix or ſeven hundred foot ſhould be thrown into the city, for a reinforcement, and to repair the loſs of thoſe that had been killed: and that the reſt of the army ſhould take a different rout, ſince they were now no longer under any apprehenſion from the ſiege, and ought to employ themſelves in other undertakings: he added, that the Nobility that attended the King, being tired out with the hardſhips and expences of a whole winter, would preſently retire to their own houſes, with their uſual haſte, and that many others would follow their example, and leave his camp, when they ſaw there was no likelihood of any engagement for a long time, and that the enemy was at a diſtance from them: upon which, the army of the League might ſpeedily return to *Roüen*, from whence the King would be obliged to draw off his forces, or, if he came to an engagement, muſt certainly be defeated. The *Spaniards* and *Italians*, however, being loath that others ſhould, who were jealous, reap the fruit and honour of their labours, perſuaded the Duke of *Parma* to proceed in his firſt deſign, and ſince they had already made ſuch a progreſs, were deſirous to go through with their undertaking: this advice was ſupported by Prince *Ranuccio*, who was ſtill more eager and ambitious of glory than any of the reſt. But the Duke of *Parma* choſe to follow the advice of the *French*; and having ſent eight hundred *Walloons* to *Roüen*, drawn out of the regiments of the Count *De Boſſu* and *De la Berlotte*, which entered by night without oppoſition, he immediately decamped, and paſſing the river *Somme*, marched away with the reſt of his army to beſiege *St. Eſprit de Rue*, an exceeding ſtrong place, ſituated near the confines.

After the army of the League had retired, though the King could not gueſs at the meaning of it, he reſolved nevertheleſs to carry on the ſiege of *Roüen* with more vigour than ever. And as the men of war were arrived, which the States of *Holland* ſent to his aſſiſtance, under the command of *Philip*, one of the Counts of *Naſſau*, with many pieces of cannon, a large quantity of ammunition, and above three thouſand foot on board, he cauſed the artillery and ammunition to be immediately landed, of which they ſtood in very great need, ſince the capture and deſtruction that had been made of their own in the laſt ſally; and gave orders, that the men of war ſhould not only ſcour the river to prevent the conveyance of proviſions and other neceſſaries from *Havre de Grace* to *Roüen*, but alſo, that they ſhould come up cloſe to the city to annoy it ſtill more by battering

battering the old palace and other places near the river. He likewiſe had ſeveral barks manned on the upper part of the river toward *Pont de l'Arche*, commanded by Monſieur *De l'Hoſpital*, High Chancellor of *Navarre*, to ſcour it on that ſide, and block it up more cloſely. Theſe barks were met at their very firſt ſetting out, by Monſieur *D'Anquetil*, with whom they had a ſharp engagement, in which one of the veſſels belonging to the town was burnt, and another ſunk, and the reſt retired under the protection of the walls, tho' the King's alſo received much damage. The *Holland* ſhips drew near at the ſame time on the lower ſide, and fired a vaſt number of ſhot into the town, which, however, did very little execution: but the Governor having cauſed three culverines to be planted upon a cavalier, which had been formerly raiſed by the river ſide; after the *Hollanders* ſaw one of their ſhips pierced through and through in many places, and the main maſt of another carried away by them, they drew off again, to attend more diligently to the blocking up of the river, and landed two thouſand foot to reinforce the army.

1592.

The King, in the mean time, employed himſelf in throwing up new trenches, and raiſing redoubts on all ſides, haſtening the works by his own preſence, and that of the Princes and Lords, who aſſiſted by turns; and as they wrought at them day and night, they were finiſhed in a few days. The firſt, being drawn from *Turinge*, was carried on with more expedition than the reſt, to try if they could recover their cannon, which had been thrown into the foſs on that ſide. But the beſieged perceiving their deſign, raiſed an engine to draw them up into the town: and though there were many ſkirmiſhes, and the garriſon were much annoyed by the artillery and fireworks on every ſide, yet they drew them up to the top of the rampart of the old fort: and having brought them into the city with great joy and triumph, they lodged them up in the court of the Archbiſhop's palace, where the Governor reſided, becauſe it ſtood at an equal diſtance from the places which the enemy were then battering. The works neverthleſs went briſkly on every where, and the Count *De Soiſſons* having paſſed over into the Fauxbourg of *St. Severe*, had alſo begun to raiſe a battery on that ſide, to divide the forces of the beſieged, and to diſtreſs them in all parts. But *Villers*, to ſhew that he was neither in fear nor diſtreſs, cauſed a number of cavaliers to go out to a place betwixt the gate *De Martinville* and that of *St. Hilary*, to entertain themſelves with a tournament, and running at the ring, and other ſuch diverſions, whilſt he ſeemed to be perfectly at eaſe, and unconcerned, in the midſt of ſo great and ſuch continual toil and fatigue. The King did not impute this to vanity (which *Villers* was very far from) but to weakneſs, and

thought

1592. thought he endeavoured in that manner to disguise the extreme necessity he was reduced to, and therefore pursued his batteries and mines in every place with redoubled assiduity. The besieged likewise continued their sallies with various fortune, though their number was now so diminished, that they were forced to abate much of their vigour; the Sieur *De Franquevillle* having been slain in one of them, and Serjeant Major *Le Londe*, with many other Officers, wounded. And yet they made so brisk a one from the side toward *St. Severe*, that the Count *De Soissons* himself ran into the trenches to support and encourage his men: and part of the garrison having seized upon a redoubt, advanced into the plain, and began a very fierce and bloody skirmish with the Baron *De Givry*, whom they met there with some troops of light horse: in which *Givry* himself was so grievously wounded in his shoulder, that his life was despaired of. At the news of this accident the King was so affected, that he said, with a deep sigh, "He had now no-body left to whom he could commit so important a trust, as the command of the light horse." A speech that gave great offence to many, particularly the Sieurs *De Montigny* and *De la Chapelle*, who both aspired to that post. *Montigny*, however, continued to serve his Majesty with singular valour, and in course of time succeeded in his pretensions: *La Chapelle*, on the contrary, exceedingly disgusted, and become desperate by such a declaration, soon after went over to the enemy: though *Givry's* wound, after all, proved to be neither mortal nor dangerous, and the garrison were repulsed with the loss of many men.

To increase their misfortunes, on the 24th of *March*, about seventy yards of the wall fell down of itself, betwixt the *Porte Cauchoise* and the monastery of *St. Dominick*; and whilst the besieged were labouring to repair the breach, with earth, woolpacks, fascines, and other materials, the King having caused some small pieces of artillery to be hastily drawn to that side, did them more damage than they had received during the whole siege. Upon which, *Villers*, now distressed on all sides, having but few men left, and not able to hold out any longer against such furious and obstinate attacks, was obliged to write to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that if he was not relieved by the 20th of *April* at furthest, he must be forced to capitulate. But in the mean time, as the Duke of *Mayenne* had truly foretold, the Nobility tired out with the hardships of a whole winter, having spent their money, worn out their equipages, and jaded their horses, now there no longer appeared any prospect of the two armies coming to an engagement, had left the camp, as they always used to do, and were gone to their own houses again: by which the army was so diminished, that, out of almost ten thousand, there remained not many more than five

five thousand horse: and they, now the country all round was utterly laid waste, and exhausted by their long continuance there, at a season when the old crop was consumed, and the new one not yet grown up, were reduced to such difficulties to support themselves, that they were forced to divide, and lie widely separated in many different quarters.

The Marshal *De Biron* and the Duke *De Bouillon* had foreseen this evil, and used their utmost endeavours to prevail upon them to keep all together, and have patience for fifteen or twenty days longer, in which time they would certainly see the final event of this undertaking. But so urgent were the necessities of many, and so headstrong the resolution of the voluntiers, that they could not by any means be detained, as several, even of the commanders, were firmly persuaded, that the Duke of *Parma* had given up all hopes of relieving *Roüen*; and had in good earnest undertaken the siege of *St. Esprit de Rue*, to try what effect such a diversion might have; that therefore there was no reason to fear his return, and that the infantry, with the new supplies from *Holland*, were sufficient to reduce *Roüen*. Which conceit was become so general in the camp (as the *French* are naturally apt to have too high an opinion of themselves) that the King himself was possessed with it, and made so little account of the Duke of *Parma* and his army, that he thought he should not have much farther occasion for his cavalry at that time. On the other hand, the foot, which had passed all the winter in the trenches, were half drowned with heavy and incessant rains that fell after a deep snow, and worn out with continual duty and watching; so that they were in no better condition than the horse, but had more need of rest, than of being employed in any new and dangerous undertaking. The distempers likewise which spread, as usual, amongst the *Germans*, and much more amongst the *English*, had exceedingly diminished those forces; and the *French* infantry, not being able to endure any further hardships, began to desert every hour. Nor was it in the King's power to furnish his camp with sufficient plenty of provisions, after so great a consumption as had been occasioned by continuing five months in the same place, though he used his utmost endeavours to do it, when he at last perceived how much his army was reduced and dispirited. The Duke of *Parma*, and more particularly the Duke of *Mayenne*, being well informed of these things, had deferred their return till the arrival of the last letters from the Governor of *Roüen*, that the King's army might be so much the more diminished. But as soon as they received them, they suddenly decamped from before *Rue*, where they had rather made a shew of employing themselves, than taken any effectual pains to

1592. reduce the town: and being well ſupplied with proviſions, paſſed the river *Somme* at a place called *Blanquetaque*, where it is not only much wider and ſhallower, but leſs rapid, and in ſix days arrived very near *Roüen*; having proceeded with ſo much expedition, that they performed the ſame march, in ſo ſhort a time, which before had taken them up no leſs than thirty days.

The King having intelligence of the unexpected approach of the enemy, immediately cauſed them that were in the Fauxbourg of *St. Severe* to come back again over the river, to join the reſt of the army; and ſent in all haſte to call in what cavalry he had left, to the quarters at *Darnetal*, with a reſolution to meet and oppoſe the Duke. But having made a ſtrict muſter of his forces, and finding them ſo much decreaſed both in number and vigour, that they were by no means fit to cope with the numerous army of the League, he determined to raiſe the ſiege, and defer the renewal of it to a better opportunity, as he was certain the greater part of the Nobility would join him again in a few days. But that the army of the League, which was advancing ſo faſt, and without any oppoſition, might not be able to diſturb the order of his retreat, he ſent out the Duke *De Bouillon* with the *German* horſe, and ſome *French* light horſe and cuiraſſiers, upon the great road that leads toward *Neufchaſtel*, to harraſs and retard the enemy in their march. The country through which the confederates were marching was all open, and not embarraſſed either with hills or woods, which was a great diſadvantage to the Duke *De Bouillon*, whoſe intention was, to make his handful of men appear like the whole army: and yet he found means to attack the Duke of *Guiſe* with the vanguard ſo opportunely, before the reſt of the army had moved out of their quarters, that he put the advanced troops of it into ſome diſorder, and took one of their Cornets in the firſt fury of the charge. But *Rheſnè*, *Baſſompierre*, and the whole vanguard coming up, and ſoon after, the Duke of *Parma* himſelf with the main body, he could do nothing further than now and then begin a faint ſkirmiſh with them, when he found any advantageous opportunity. For the Duke of *Parma*, ſending out many troops of horſe every way, to reconnoitre his wings and rear, endeavoured to find out whether the King's whole army was there or not; and the Duke *De Bouillon* perceiving his deſign, made as many fronts as he ſent out parties, and extending himſelf as much as poſſible, would not ſuffer them to effect their intent: ſo that the whole day was ſpent in ſuch petty encounters, and the King had time to decamp from before *Roüen* without confuſion. The artillery was drawn off whilſt the army was forming, and ſent forwards with the carriages to *Pont de l'Arche*, toward which place the King deſigned to retire.

tire. Having made a ſtand therefore, about half an hour, before the city, he raiſed the ſiege on the 20th of *April*; whilſt the Baron *De Biron* made good his retreat, and followed him the ſame way, without any impediment or moleſtation.

1592.

The Duke of *Parma* arrived the ſame day with his army in battalia at *Roüen*; and having ſent *Georgio Baſti* to follow the King's rear, and obſerve what courſe they took, he entered the city with the Duke of *Mayenne*: from whence, after he had highly extolled the gallantry of the Sieur *De Villers*, and the reſt that had aſſiſted him in ſo bravely ſuſtaining the ſiege, he retired that night to quarter his army in the neighbouring towns.

The End of the Twelfth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF *FRANCE.*

BOOK XIII.

ARGUMENT.

The resolution of the confederates to invest Caudebec, in order to open the passage of the river, and set the city of Roüen entirely free. They lay siege to it, and the Duke of Parma is wounded in the arm by a musket-ball, whilst he is viewing the works. The town is taken: but things are carried on so slowly, that the King has time to get his army together again. After which, he makes himself master of all the passes, and besieges the army of the League in the peninsula of Caux. Many actions of importance ensue. The Duke of Parma falls into a fever, occasioned by his wound, and being in great want of provisions, resolves to attempt the passage of the Seine, to disengage himself from the danger in which he found himself involved. He conducts his design so well, that he passes that river, and retires without sustaining any

any loss: after which he marches away with great expedition, repasses the river at St. Cloud, and returns into Flanders, having left supplies, though not very powerful, under the Sieur De Rhosnè. The Duke of Mayenne is highly offended, and resolves not to follow him. He takes Ponteau de Mer, and falling out with the Pope's Commissary, enters into a treaty of agreement with the King; who being vexed at the unexpected escape of the confederate army, reduces his own, and pursues the enemy with a flying camp. He lays siege to Espernay in Champagne, which had been taken not long before by the Sieur De Rhosnè. The Marshal De Biron is killed there by a cannon ball. Espernay is taken, and other neighbouring garrisons surrender. The King raises a fort upon the Seine, to cut off the conveyance of provisions to Paris, whilst the Duke of Mayenne attempts to occasion a diversion, but to no purpose. A third party, formed by the Princes of the Blood, is raised against the King: by which, various machinations are set on foot. A new Pope is elected, by the name of Clement the eighth, who applies himself, but with great moderation, to the affairs of France. The Duke of Mayenne, at the sollicitation of the Pope and the King of Spain, resolves to assemble the States General to elect another King: which occasions many fresh machinations and practices. King Philip sends new Ambassadors to acquaint the States with his resolutions. The States meet, and disagree with the Duke of Mayenne, but at last accommodate matters, for their own private interests. The King endeavours to dissolve the States: and causes the Catholicks of his Council to hold a conference with the confederates, which by the Duke of Mayenne's consent is opened at Surenne. The Duke takes Noyon, which the King, being suddenly called into Poictou, cannot relieve. His Catholick Majesty's Ambassadors propose the Infanta of Spain to be elected Queen of France. The proposal is ill relished by the States, and gives rise to divers machinations. The King takes Dreux, and being hard pressed by the importunities of the Catholicks in his army, who threaten to desert him, resolves to change his religion. He removes to St. Dennis, and goes publickly to mass. He appoints the Duke of Nevers his Ambassador to the Pope, to desire absolution. The States of the League are perplexed at this step. The Duke of Mayenne, finding he was not able to obtain the Crown for himself, nor his posterity, consents that a truce should be treated of. The Deputies at Surenne agree upon one till the end of October: which is freely accepted, and the States are dismissed at Paris.

THE relief of *Roüen*, effected in so easy a manner, and without any effusion of blood, by the Duke of *Parma's* excellent conduct, in sometimes moving but slowly, sometimes with the utmost expedition, according as occasion required, gained him the highest reputation and applause, and gave a considerable check to the prosperous course 1592.

1592. course of the King's fortune. But the events that ensued, though they still more clearly manifested the Duke's valour and prudence, in a short time gave the King an opportunity of retrieving his affairs.

After the Council of the League saw that the King had raised his camp, they began to debate what measures were fittest to be taken. The *Spanish* and *Italian* Commanders were of opinion, that they ought to pursue him, and endeavour to suppress him entirely, now he was so weak, and his men tired out with hard duty, and whilst an opportunity offered, which made it reasonable to expect, that it might be effected. But the *French* Lords, whose advice had great weight, on account of their thorough knowledge of the country, and the situation of places, objected, that, if he passed the *Seine* at *Pont de l'Arche*, and marched into *Lower Normandy*, he would not only reduce them to a necessity of returning to *Roüen*, to pass the river there, but also make it very difficult for them to follow him through a country, that was wholly at the enemy's devotion, far from supplies, without provisions or places of security, to which they might retire upon occasion: whereas he, with the assistance of the Nobility, who were sure to assemble again as soon as they heard of the danger he was in, would grow stronger every hour, and when he had refreshed his men, in a part of the kingdom that was so fertile, and abundant in all manner of necessaries, would soon be able to face their army, and perhaps force them to an engagement at a manifest disadvantage, when he had them hemmed in on every side, in a country so thoroughly attached to him. They thought it much more adviseable, therefore, to make an attempt upon *Caudebec*, which was the only place that obstructed the passage of the *Seine*, in order to clear the river, and set *Roüen* at full liberty: for when that was once done, and the intention answered for which they had come thither, they might afterwards have time to consider, what further undertakings would be most advantagious to their common interests. The Duke of *Parma*, who was very sollicitous to set *Roüen* entirely free, and then, in pursuance of his first designs, to return to the superintendence of affairs in *Flanders*, willingly came into this proposal. But being in a great measure unacquainted with the country, he was not aware, that if he shut himself up in the peninsula of *Caux* (which is bounded on one side by the river *Seine*, and on the other two by the sea) and the King should possess himself of the passage out of it, which is a very narrow one, he might enclose him, as it were in a net, and soon destroy his army by famine in so strait a country, only by cutting off his supplies of provisions. But the *French* Commanders either did not imagine, that the King could so soon be in a condition to follow them, or else expected to make themselves masters of *Caudebec* in a few hours, and be able to retire before he could come up with them: and the Duke of *Parma* suffered

himself

himself to be ruled by those that he thought knew the situation and quality of the country much better than he did, by the apparent necessity of absolutely disengaging the city of *Roüen*, which being deprived of the convenience of the river, would still remain in a great measure besieged, except they reduced *Caudebec*: wherefore, having demolished the King's forts and trenches, the army of the League came before that town on the 24th of *April*.

1592.

Caudebec lies behind some hills, not very high nor steep, but fertile in pasturage and covered with plantations, on a large plain upon the bank of the river *Seine*, surrounded with very thick walls, but without ramparts or any other sort of fortifications. Monsieur *De la Garde*, a Colonel of the *French* infantry, was in the town with *Pausania Bracciaduro*, who was the sole commander of the *Italian* light horse, since the decease of *Nicolo Nisi*, who had lately died in the camp of a natural death. And that they might not be wanting in the duty of good officers, they marched out of the town, and placed themselves betwixt two hills in a passage that led from them into the plain, with a design to keep the enemy as far as they possibly could from the walls. The *Walloons*, under the command of the Count *De Bossu* and Monsieur *De Vert*, were sent to drive them from that post: with whom they maintained a long skirmish to gain time, but being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to leave that pass open to the army of the League. As it marched down into the plain, however, the *Holland* men of war, which were drawn up close to the bank of the river, played furiously upon it with their cannon, and did very great and unexpected damage to the first squadrons. The Duke, therefore, having ordered the army to make a halt, caused the artillery to be drawn in excellent order, and with no less expedition, to the side of a hill, from whence they fired with equal fury upon the ships: so that the cannon, which were planted upon the land and pointed with more certainty than those upon the water, having almost sunk the Admiral, and disabled many of their best ships, they drew off from the shore, and fell down with the stream to *Quillebeuf*, a place that stands something lower, but upon the same bank, and for their further security began to fortify that town, which, on account of its convenience in respect of navigation and securing the passage of the river, was turned into a fortress, and afterwards deemed of very great importance. When the ships were thus driven off and that obstacle removed, the Duke drew up his army and advanced towards the walls, near which he encamped, and the next day went in person with Prince *Ranuccio*, the Sieur *De la Motte*, and Count *Nicolo Cesis*, to reconnoitre the place. But whilst he was employed in taking a careful survey of every part, and marking out the ground where the batteries were to be erected, with his own hand, because

1592. because he would not trust that to any one else, he was wounded in his right arm by a musket-ball, which being fired from one of the towers of the wall, hit him under the elbow, and passing betwixt the two bones, pierced almost down to his hand, and there lodged itself. Yet he never changed countenance nor left off giving directions, but concealed his wound till it was discovered by the standers by, who saw the blood run down from under his cloke: and even then he could not be prevailed upon to leave his station till he had thoroughly instructed them in the nature of his designs: after which he was carried to his quarters, where his wound was examined by the surgeons and found not mortal, though it was exceeding painful: and so much the more, because they were obliged to make three incisions, to discover the course of the ball and to extract it, which brought a fever upon him that at last forced him to keep his bed. After this accident, the chief command of the army was left to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the care of his Catholick Majesty's forces to Prince *Ranuccio*, who, nevertheless, took no step without his father's consent and approbation. The next day the cannon were planted, and having battered and made a great breach in the wall, Monsieur *De la Garde* began to treat of surrendring, though against the inclination of *Braccio Duro*, and, after some debate, obtained the terms that he demanded: for as the Duke of *Parma* was so much indisposed, his army in general were very desirous to have things brought to a conclusion as soon as possible. So that the day following the town was delivered up to the confederates, who stayed there three days after it was taken, to repose their men, and to refresh them with the plenty of provisions which they found in it.

In the mean time, the Noblesse of the neighbouring provinces, which had been summoned from the very first intelligence of the enemy's return, were come to join the King again: amongst whom were the Sieur *D'Humieres* with two hundred horse, from *Picardy*; the Sieur *De Sourdis*, from *Chartres*, with an hundred and fifty; the Sieur *De Hertrè*, Governor of *Alençon*, with two hundred; the Count of *Montgomery* and the Sieur *De Colombiere*, with three hundred; Monsieur *De Canisi*, son-in-law to *Matignon*, with an hundred; *Odet*, son to the late Sieur *De la Noüe*, with as many, and Colonel *St. Dennis* with six hundred harquebusiers on horseback. Monsieur *De Souvray* and the Count *De Lude* also arrived with three hundred Gentlemen, who had not been in the camp before: and last of all the Duke of *Montpensier*, who had been long expected, and the Sieur *De la Verune*, Governor of *Caën*, came up with eight hundred Gentlemen, two hundred light horse, and four hundred harquebusiers on horseback.

The Duke of *Montpensier's* delay had been occasioned by his earnest

desire

desire of making himself master of *Avranches*, a town in lower *Normandy*, | 1592.
which was the only one, on the confines towards *Bretagne*, that adhered to the party of the League. For after he had laid siege to it, at the latter end of the year before, in hopes of taking it in a very few days, the undertaking proved much more difficult than he expected, as Monsieur *De Vic*, a gallant old officer, had come from *Pont-Orson* to shut himself up in the town, and bravely maintained the suburbs for many days, till the walls and other fortifications were made defensible. But the suburbs being taken at last, and the approaches begun, there fell such a quantity of snow, that it not only filled all the trenches already thrown up, but obliged the army to lie idle many days, whilst they were at the same time so incommoded by the rigour of the season, that if it had not been for the ruins of the suburbs, the houses of which were pulled down, and the wood burnt to warm the soldiers, they must have desisted from the undertaking. After the snow was gone, there was so much ice left, and the ground continued so hard frozen, that their pick-axes could not penetrate it without the utmost difficulty: and yet they at last, by incessant toil, erected two batteries upon a platform, and planted the artillery that was brought from *Caën* and *Falaise* upon them, particularly one culverine, of a prodigious size, which they called *Le grand Robin*. So that the walls being battered in two places, and many of the houses beaten down, the town was furiously assaulted on the 2d of *February*; and though it was resolutely defended by the besieged, yet so many of them were killed, that it made them despair of holding out any longer, and obliged the Sieur *De Vic* to surrender to the Duke upon terms: after which, he put his forces in order again, and marched with the rest of the Nobility that he had assembled, to join the King, who had sent frequent and very pressing messages to hasten his arrival.

The King's army being now so much increased in a very few days, that there were betwixt seven and eight thousand horse, and about seventeen thousand foot in it (for besides the *Hollanders* of the fleet, he had made draughts out of all the neighbouring garrisons) and being aware of the oversight which the confederates were guilty of, in running themselves so inconsiderately into a pound, where they must suffer many and great hardships before they could get out again, he resolved to cut off their retreat, and keep them close shut up on all sides, by which he was sure to reduce them to extreme distress and want of provisions, without exposing himself to any danger at all: for one part of the entrance into the peninsula being commanded by the towns of *Eu*, *Arques*, and *Dieppe*, which were strongly garrisoned, sufficiently prevented their coming out that way: and the *Seine* being blocked up by the fortress of *Quillebœuf* and the *Holland* fleet, there was nothing more to be done but to secure

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1592. the other part of the pass towards the river *Somme*, which led from the peninsula into the provinces of *Normandy* and *Picardy*, and was the only outlet that was left open. The King, therefore, suddenly departed from *Pont de l'Arche*, and marched without ever halting, though with his army in battalia, till he came, on the last of *April*, within sight of the enemy's camp, which had left *Caudebec* the same day, and was gone to *Yvetot*, a large town, for the greater conveniency of quarters.

It was worthy of notice, that the King also exposed himself to manifest danger of being defeated, by not attending, with sufficient care, to the nature of the country through which he was marching: for those parts being chiefly inhabited by Lords and Gentlemen of large estates, abounds with parks made for their pleasure and convenience, and encompassed with strong walls as high as a man on horseback, some of which are three or four miles in circumference. Now whilst the King was traversing this country towards the camp of the League, it was necessary, if he kept the common road, to pass betwixt two very large parks, one of which lay on the right-hand and the other on the left, with the highway in the middle. Both the cavalry and infantry, therefore, being obliged to march with but few in front, the King's army was in such a situation that the vanguard had past the parks, the main battle was shut up betwixt the two walls, and the rear had not yet entered them: so that, if it had been attacked, the vanguard must have engaged and been defeated, and neither the rear nor main battle could have been able to assist it. The Duke of *Mompensier* was aware of this when he had passed the parks, and discovered the enemy's army encamped on the side of a hill: but not having it in his power to do any thing else, he formed his squadrons as they came up, and sent one messenger after another, to desire the King would advance as fast as he possibly could with the main body. The enemy likewise perceived this error, and Count *Alessandro Sforza*, a Cavalier of great experience and knowledge in military affairs, ran himself, as he has often told me since, to acquaint the Duke with it, and to represent to him, with how much ease a victory might be obtained, now the enemy was so entangled. But the Duke, who was confined to his bed by a fever, and in great anguish from his wound, could not come to an immediate resolution, and told the Count, "That the King of *Navarre* was a soldier that must be opposed by living men, and not by such a bloodless and half-dead carcass as he found himself." Yet after he had called the Duke of *Mayenne*, Prince *Ranuccio*, and the other commanders together, and ordered them, if it was not too late, to fall upon the enemy, he caused himself to be put in a litter and carried to a place, where he saw the King's army advancing betwixt the two parks: but at a time, when, by the care and diligence of the Duke of

of *Montpensier*, the vanguard had already formed, and the main battle 1592. was almost clear of the walls; so that, before the forces of the League, which had not been many hours in their quarters, could possibly be drawn up in due order, the King's whole army had passed and were formed again, and the enemy lost so great and manifest an advantage by the indisposition of their General.

The two armies were now encamped within less than a mile of each other, with a thick wood betwixt them on the right-hand, which occasioned many brisk encounters for several days. For that of the League threw up a trench the same night, at the entrance of the wood next to the enemy, to secure the possession of it to themselves, and placed the Count *De Bossu's* division, consisting of two thousand *Walloons*, to defend it. On the 1st of *May* there happened three very hot skirmishes, whilst the King was endeavouring to reconnoitre that post: the first, betwixt the Baron *De Biron* and the Duke of *Guise*; the second, betwixt the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Sieur *De Rhosné*; and the third, which lasted till night, betwixt the Sieur *De Montigny* and the Baron *De la Chastre*: yet it was not possible for the King to discover what works the enemy had raised at the entrance of the wood; for, besides the opposition that the cavalry made, there were such furious and incessant vollies of musket-shot from that place, that no body could approach it. But the next day the skirmish being renewed, the Baron *De Biron* pushed on so far, though many of his men were killed upon the spot, that he perceived there was nothing more than a single line there, without any cannon or the defence of flankers or redoubts: upon which, the King, having drawn out three battalions of foot, one of *Germans*, one of *English*, and another of *French*, sent them at day-break, on the 3d of *May*, to attack and endeavour to make themselves masters of the trench: who marching with the utmost expedition over the plain that lay betwixt them, not only fell suddenly upon the *Walloons*, and drove them away from their post, but took all their baggage (which they left behind them in so hasty a retreat) and immediately began to fortify themselves in the trench. But the Duke of *Mayenne* and Prince *Ranuccio*, without giving them time to do that effectually, having drawn out a large body of carbines and light horse on the right and left, to take possession of the road, immediately ordered *Camillo Capizucchi* with his division, supported by that of *Alphonso Idiaques*, to attempt the recovery of that post. *Camillo*, out of his natural ardour and the emulation that subsisted betwixt the *Italian* and *Walloon* infantry, boldly rushing on to attack the trench, entered it with so much impetuosity, that the King's forces were obliged to quit the place after a short resistance, and being surrounded in their retreat by the light horse and carbineers, would have found it a very difficult matter to get safe back

again

1592. again to their camp, if the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Duke of *Nevers*, and the Count *De St. Paul*, had not advanced with three several squadrons of Gentlemen to disengage them. The *Italians* being in possession of the whole highway, and having raised a large redoubt with flankers and trenches on every side, they planted four pieces of cannon upon it; so that the King was deprived of all hopes of being able to drive them from thence any more, and the army of the League remained masters of the wood, which served them with the convenience of shelter and secured their quarters, and also supplied them not only with fuel and timber for other uses, but with daily food for the carbineers horses, which were accustomed to live upon whatsoever they found in the fields.

But the King, though he had already secured the passage out of the peninsula, being desirous to confine the enemy in a still more narrow compass, that he might the sooner accomplish his design, turned to the right by the wood-side, and possessed himself of a hill, from whence he could batter *Yvetot*, where the Duke of *Guise* lay with the vanguard: and having planted seven pieces of cannon behind a trench, which was finished in a very few hours, he began to fire upon the enemy in the flank in such a manner, that the Duke of *Guise* was forced to quit the place, and retire to the quarters of the main body. In his retreat, the Duke of *Bouillon*, with the Reiters, and the Baron *De Biron*, with a strong party of *French* cavalry, followed him in the rear, but as he brought up the last ranks himself, and sometimes bravely faced about, he retired with his baggage safe and entire, and his men in good order, though some were taken prisoners in the skirmish: amongst whom were the Barons of *Cautenan* and *De la Maison*. But the King, not only out of a desire to distress the enemy, but to keep the *French* Noblesse alert and in spirits by continual action, and the hourly expectation of coming to an engagement, did not give them so much as a minute's rest; and on the 12th of *May*, resolved to try if he could not shut them up more closely, by possessing himself of a hill that stood beyond the fortifications of the wood, and about the distance of cannon shot from the camp of the League, where three companies of *Walloons* were posted, under *Octavio de Mansfelt*, and three more of *Spaniards*, under *Ludovico Velasco*. For this purpose, he sent out Count *Philip* of *Nassau*, with his troops, about break of day; who having marched with great silence and privacy to the wood side, and then leaving it on the right hand, fell upon the enemy so unexpectedly, that they were driven from their post in half an hour; and the Count having begun to intrench himself there, made a signal for the cannon to be brought up. But the Commanders of the League, considering how much they were likely to be annoyed from thence, immediately sent the *Italian* and *Walloon* infantry to recover it: whilst the *Swiss*, with the *French*

French and *Spanish* foot, were drawn up in battalia, to maintain the field, 1592. and the cavalry likewise stood ready under arms, on the outside of their trenches, to support the foot. The King, on the other hand, had drawn his whole army out of their quarters, in very good order, and caused his light horse to scour the plain, to prevent the *Hollanders*, who had gained that post, from being surrounded: for which purpose, the Duke of *Montpensier* also, with eight hundred horse, on one side, and the Duke of *Bouillon*, with a thousand Reiters, on the other, stood ready, on the right and left of the main battle, to reinforce them. Upon which there ensued a very sharp and bloody skirmish, that continued for the space of two hours; but the *Italians* having surmounted all obstacles, at last regained the hill, and drove away the *Hollanders*, with great slaughter; and as the cavalry of both armies advanced, on one side to pursue, and on the other to support them, it was thought they would come to a general engagement. But the Duke of *Mayenne* was not willing to run so great a risque, without the presence and consent of the Duke of *Parma*; and the King did not desire it, because he was very well assured he should be able to reduce the enemy by famine in a few days. Yet the skirmish continued, with vigorous and redoubled efforts on both sides, for ten hours: the cannon playing from all parts, and the Commanders themselves being engaged more than once; particularly Prince *Ranuccio*, who, having his horse killed under him, was in great danger of being taken prisoner by the *English*; and the Duke of *Parma* causing himself to be lifted out of his bed, and to be set on horseback, advanced to the front of his army, in expectation, that either opportunity or necessity might draw them to a battle. Night, however, put an end to these skirmishes. But the next day the King, who was resolved neither to give the enemy any rest, nor to take any himself, having intelligence, that the light horse of the League were lodged in quarters very easy to be attacked, and at such a distance from the rest of the army, that they might be routed before any relief could come up (an error that is always fatal) took a large circuit, and went himself upon that undertaking: and finding them in no very good order (as *Georgio Basti*, who was ill of a flux, had left them, and was retired to *Caudebec* to recover his health) he threw them into such confusion, that they abandoned their post, with the loss of two Captains and all their carriages, and with much difficulty got back to the main body of their army, which was making ready with all possible haste to relieve them: but the action had been so sudden, and was so soon over, that the King had sufficient time, after he had routed and driven the enemy from their quarters, to retire in safety to his own.

In the mean time the Duke of *Parma* was so reduced by his illness, that he often fell into long and dangerous swoons, and had great occasion

1592. for repose: and having already begun to think of some means of getting out of the perilous situation in which he found himself, he resolved to draw off his army, and march along the banks of the river, till he came near the walls of *Caudebec*, for the convenience of lodging in the town, and that his army might escape sickness by such a change of quarters, and be more able and ready to execute his design. With this resolution he decamped, without sound of trumpet or beat of drum, at day-break on the 16th of *May*; at which time there was a very thick mist, that afterwards turned into heavy rain: and having sent all the cannon and baggage before him, he marched with his army to quarter in a place half a league from the town, betwixt two hills, before which there was a large plain. And to prevent the King from discovering his motions (besides the advantage of the mist, and the silence and order which his men observed in their march) Prince *Ranuccio* advanced as far as the entrance of the wood, without any interruption, and fell upon the King's out-guards, seeming as if he wanted to enlarge himself, and with that view had attempted to force their posts. So that, whilst the King's forces were thus busily employed, whilst their attention was wholly engaged here, and continual discharges of fire-arms were made on every side, the noise of decamping was not at all heard; and the Prince, after a skirmish that lasted three hours without cessation, drawing off his squadrons by degrees, and sending them one by one, to join the rear guard, which was brought up by the Duke of *Aumale*, at last followed the rest of the camp himself also, on a round trot, with only two hundred horse, leaving the King in astonishment, when, after the day was cleared up, he saw how masterly a retreat the army of the League had made. But the Prince being arrived at the place, where the Duke's forces had been encamped, and finding three pieces of cannon left there, either by the negligence or fear of those that had the charge of drawing them off, was obliged to recall his flying squadron to disengage and bring them off safe, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands to the prejudice of his reputation; which indeed was done with wonderful expedition, but might have spoiled and frustrated so fine a retreat, if the King had been prepared to follow them: so liable are the greatest undertakings to be sometimes defeated by the least error, or defect in military discipline.

But the King being come that night to the place which the army of the League had quitted, advanced the next day to find out where they were gone to: and having considered the situation of the country as throughly as they seemed to have done, he marched to the opposite hills, and after he had made a very good disposition of his army in their quarters there, still continued to distress and confine them, as his design had been from the beginning. The Duke of *Montpensier*, with the vanguard, being very strong in horse, lay upon the right, and extended himself so far to-

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ward *Dieppe*, that the garrisons of those places which blocked up the passes, reached and joined his parties that were scouring the country. The King with the main battle, in which was the chief strength of the infantry, lay encamped at the foot of the hills, upon the great road to *Picardy*. The Duke of *Bouillon* with the rear, in which were the Reiters, lay on the left, in the pass that leads from the country of *Caux* towards *Roüen*: so that all the avenues and roads were entirely shut up. The army being thus encamped in its several posts, the King, contrary to his usual manner of proceeding, endeavoured to secure himself, that the enemy might not compel him to a battle: he therefore not only strengthened and fortified every part of his camp, but spoiled and blocked up all the passages to it, and took the utmost pains to prevent the enemy from being able to force his quarters by some vigorous attempt.

The camp of the League was already reduced to such a want of victuals, that it could not support itself any longer: for the passage of the river being obstructed by the *Holland* fleet, was not able to furnish it with provisions, nor did the country round afford any, now the corn was consumed, which they found at the taking of *Caudebec*, the adjacent parts laid waste, and that which they had been able to gather together with the utmost diligence, totally exhausted. There was likewise a great scarcity of water: for that of the river being spoiled by the flowing in of the sea, was not only very brackish and ill tasted, but also exceedingly unwholesome. Besides these inconveniencies, their horses likewise suffered very much for want of provender, and being obliged to live in the open field, were so starved with the incessant rains which fell at that season, that they died every hour in great numbers: and the foot being ill paid, and without money to relieve themselves in their present necessity, was worn out and wasted away with so long and continual hardships. On the other hand, the King having *Dieppe* and *St. Valery* near him, and the way open behind him into the fertile provinces of *Normandy* and *Picardy*, though he was no better furnished with money than the enemy, had yet greater plenty of provisions; and his soldiers ranging about, far and near to forage, supplied their want of pay by plundering the country.

The Duke of *Parma*, therefore, seeing himself reduced to these extremities, thought there was no other remedy, but to pass the *Seine*, in order to get out of the peninsula, and remove his camp into the spacious plains of *Lower Normandy*; by which he might entirely disengage himself from the King, who imagined he had him now safe in a net. But as this was the only expedient left to save his army, so it was most difficult to be put in execution: for it was not to be doubted, but the King might easily defeat him whilst he was crossing the river, if he was aware of it; and they lay so near together, that he could not reasonably hope

to

1592. to conceal his paſſage. This deſign he communicated to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Sieur *De la Motte*: but it ſeemed to them not only dangerous, but impoſſible to be effected, as they knew how difficult it was to paſs any little inconſiderable rivulet, when oppoſed by an enemy: much leſs could they expect ſo large an army, incumbered with artillery, ammunition, and a vaſt quantity of baggage, to ſucceed in paſſing a very deep and broad river, ſwelled in that place alſo by the ſalt waters, and with a powerful enemy at their heels: yet the neceſſity was urgent, and there were no other poſſible means of eſcaping. Upon which conſiderations, the Duke reſolved with himſelf to try if he could not effect his deſign by ſtratagem. For this purpoſe, having cauſed eight companies of *Berlotte's* regiment to croſs the river, by a few at a time, in ſome ſmall boats that he had got together, he ordered a fort to be raiſed on the oppoſite ſide, in the form of a ſpur, with three angles towards the river, to command and ſecure it: and another to be thrown up over-againſt it, on the ſide where his army lay, with a redoubt towards the river, and its front, towards the part from whence he expected the enemy would appear: in which he placed the Count *De Boſſu* with a thouſand foot, conſiſting chiefly of muſketiers, and four pieces of cannon to ſcour the country at a diſtance. At the ſame time, many large barks were preparing at *Roüen* with the utmoſt ſecreſy, of which there were great numbers employed at that place to carry on their commerce upon the river: beſides which, they made ſeveral bridges of pieces of timber and planks faſtened together, ſuch as are commonly uſed in paſſing great rivers. Other little boats were likewiſe got ready, to aſſiſt and tow the larger: and ſome floating rafts alſo, made of exceeding thick beams, ſtrong enough to bear the artillery. Theſe barks falling down the ſtream from *Roüen*, with the advantage of the ebb of the tide, arrived in a few hours at the place appointed, on the 20th of *May* in the evening: and the ſame night, which was a very clear one, the *French* infantry and cavalry, without loſing a moment of time, paſſed over firſt with the Duke of *Aumale*: the artillery and all the baggage were ſent next; then followed the *Swiſs*, and after them the *Walloon*, *Spaniſh*, and *Italian* foot, about break of day; Prince *Ranuccio* ſtill continuing on the bank of the river that was next the King, with *Appio Conti*, who (as the Duke *De Monte Marciano* was returned into *Italy*) commanded the forces of the church. With theſe were alſo left a thouſand of *Capizucchi's Italian* foot, and two hundred horſe, which facing about towards the enemy, ſeemed as if they deſigned to ſkirmiſh with them in the plain.

The King perceiving a ſmall number of men upon the hills, which yet did not offer to move, though his light horſe over-ran the whole plain, began to ſuſpect, that the enemy were changing their quarters again,

1592.

again, but did not at all dream, that they would attempt to paſs the river, which is ſo much enlarged there by the tide, that it looks more like a ſea than a river. To be at a certainty, however, he ſent out the Baron *De Biron* to diſcover what they were about, who having got up to the top of a hill, upon which no-body appeared, returned upon a gallop with intelligence, that the army of the League was paſſing the river: at which news, the King immediately advanced with all the cavalry, and left the foot to follow him. But the cavalry could not by any means prevent the paſſage of the enemy, except the Count *De Boſſu's* fort was firſt taken, which ſcoured the plain on every ſide with cannon and muſket ſhot, and effectually covered thoſe that were croſſing the river: which the King at laſt perceiving, and finding that would be a work of too much time and difficulty, poſſeſſed himſelf of another hill that commanded the river, and gave orders, that the artillery ſhould be brought thither with all poſſible expedition to fire upon the boats that were paſſing. But whilſt they were drawing thither in great confuſion, the whole army had got over: upon which, the King almoſt tranſported with deſpair, and not able to do any thing further, rode as faſt as he could to charge Prince *Ranuccio*, who retiring laſt of all by little and little, had ſheltered himſelf under the protection of the fort. The King, nevertheleſs, precipitately advanced further than he ought to have done, within reach of the cannon, and even of the muſket ſhot, but was quickly obliged to retire with ſome loſs, and without being able to effect any thing material: ſo that the Count *De Boſſu's* regiment and *Capizucchi's* thouſand foot alſo, paſſed the river, one after another, and the cannon that were in the fort being drawn off, piece by piece, were put upon one of the great floating bridges. Laſt of all, Prince *Ranuccio* embarked with his horſe, at which time the King's artillery were brought up to the top of the hill, and began to fire upon the boats that were ferrying over, and likewiſe upon the fort *De la Berlotte*; but the balls ſtriking moſtly into the earth, had little or no effect.

Much greater was the danger from the King's men of war, which appeared at that very time upon the river from *Quillebœuf*, and were beginning to fire upon the raft that carried the artillery, which was laſt drawn out of the fort; for as it was but ſlenderly guarded, it was feared it would inevitably fall into the enemy's hands. But Prince *Ranuccio*, who gained the higheſt applauſe by his admirable conduct, through the whole courſe of this affair, not being able to bear that the artillery ſhould be taken before his face, in the preſervation of which, the glory of that retreat chiefly conſiſted, got out of the bark in which he was, into a little boat, and went himſelf with the utmoſt haſte to their relief: as did alſo the Sieur *De la Motte*, *Camillo Capizucchi*, Colonel *St. Paul*, and ſeveral

1592. other Gentlemen and Officers in other boats: and the fort *De la Berlotte* playing very briſkly acroſs the river, the ſhips were forced to draw off again, and the artillery at laſt coming ſafe to the ſhore, were landed in an inſtant, by two diviſions of *Spaniards*, who were ſent to receive and attend them, though the King's artillery played very warmly upon that place all the while. The whole army, with all the artillery and baggage, having paſſed in this manner, without leaving any thing of moment behind them, Prince *Ranuccio* would not ſtir from the bank till all the barks and floats were burnt, to prevent the King from paſſing over to purſue them, and having entirely perfected his deſign, without the leaſt diſorder or confuſion, he came up in the evening to the reſt of the army, which had marched away from the river.

But the Duke of *Parma*, even after he had ſo happily paſſed the river without ſuſtaining any loſs at all, was far from being at eaſe in his mind, as he was apprehenſive, that the King would alſo paſs over with his army at *Pont de l'Arche* and follow him: for if that ſhould happen, whilſt his forces were ſo fatigued, and he was in ſuch want of money to ſupport them, he muſt of neceſſity be involved in new dangers and troubles. Whereſore, after he had taken *Neubourg*, which place was likewiſe ſacked and burnt by his army, he marched with ſo much haſte towards *Paris*, that he arrived at *St. Cloud* in four days: and not caring to paſs through the city, leſt his forces ſhould diſband, he cauſed a bridge of boats to be made, and having repaſſed the *Seine*, proceeded with the ſame expedition, till he came to the walls of *Chaſteau-Thierry* in *Champagne*, at a great diſtance from the enemy, and in his direct road to *Flanders*.

In the mean time, the King, who had fallen from the ſanguine hopes which he conceived of utterly ſuppreſſing his enemies, and found, on the contrary, that he had not only thrown away all the pains and expences which he had been at in the courſe of ſo many months, but waſted his own blood and that of his ſubjects to no purpoſe, ſeeing the city of *Roüen* now relieved, and the army of the League got ſafe away to another quarter, his Nobility tired out, the *Germans* diminiſhed in number, and almoſt harraſſed to death with their late hardſhips, after he had been two days in great vexation of mind, and diſtracted in his reſolutions, at laſt determined to leſſen his army, as he had done after the ſiege of *Paris*, that he might exonerate himſelf, and thoſe of his party from ſo continual expence and trouble, and to follow the army of the League with a flying camp, to ſee what reſolution their Commanders would take. The Gentlemen therefore being diſmiſſed, and the Nobility returned to their ſeveral governments, the King, after he had muſtered the *Germans*, and reduced their companies one into another, purſued the enemy to the confines of

Picardy

Picardy and *Champagne*, with three thouſand horſe, and betwixt five and ſix thouſand foot.

1592.

But the hardſhips of a whole winter's campaign occaſioned ſuch a grievous ſickneſs amongſt thoſe that had been in his army, that a vaſt number of Gentlemen and brave Commanders either died or lay ill a long time: amongſt whom, *Francis de Bourbon*, Duke of *Montpenſier*, being taken with a violent fever, as he was returning to his government of *Normandy*, was forced to ſtop at *Liſieux*, where he departed this life on the 3d of *June*. A Prince of exceeding great courage, and wonderful goodneſs of heart, which would have rendered him worthy of the higheſt command, if nature had endowed him with a little more vivacity, and a quicker underſtanding. About the ſame time died alſo Monſieur *De Givry*, at a place not far from *Beauvais*, a man of approved valour, and who by his abilities and long experience, had acquired a very great reputation amongſt the *Hugonots*, which party (next to the Duke of *Bouillon*) had placed their chief confidence and hopes in him and Monſieur *De la Noüe*.

After the army of the League had left the banks of the *Siene*, the diſcords and animoſities betwixt the Generals began to ſhew themſelves more plainly than ever. For the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was diſpleaſed at drawing off ſo ſoon from the King, and leaving every thing again in a great meaſure to his arbitrement, publickly aſſumed to himſelf the honour of having relieved *Roüen* without ſtriking a blow, and of obliging the King's army to diſperſe of themſelves without hazarding the whole fortune of his own party upon the uncertain event of a battle: he ſaid likewiſe, that as the reduction of *Caudebec* was neceſſary to clear the paſſage of the *Seine*, it had been propoſed and effected by him: that afterwards, if the Duke of *Parma*, without conſulting any other perſon, would wilfully, and without neceſſity, expoſe himſelf to danger, at a place, and upon an occaſion, that was not anſwerable to the riſque, and if his wound had given the King time to recruit, and to ſhut them up in a corner, from whence they had luckily found means to diſengage themſelves and retire, it was not to be imputed to his advice, which had always been wholeſome and expedient, but to a defect in the execution of it, which had not been committed to him: that his good conduct in paſſing the *Seine* was certainly worthy of praiſe: but if he had employed himſelf in throwing a bridge over that river, it would have opened a free communication with the adjacent country, and furniſhed them with proviſions from that ſide; by which means the King, whoſe money was exhauſted, and his army waſted and tired out, would have been forced to leave the field open to them, to purſue ſuch meaſures as might be moſt for their honour and advantage: but as the *Spaniards* were ſo ſparing of their money and ſupplies, and yet pretended to rule and direct every thing in

1592. their own way, matters were now brought to ſuch a paſs, that all their paſt labours were entirely thrown away, and the King would grow ſo ſtrong again, that he would ſoon become ſuperior to them both in forces and reputation.

On the other hand the Duke of *Parma* made no ſcruple of ſaying in publick, that he had twice happily delivered the League out of their diſtreſs, and redeemed the two principal cities in *France* out of the enemy's power, by the arms of his Catholick Majeſty alone: that he had ſnatched the glory of victory out of the King of *Navarre's* hands, who, whilſt he was bearing down the *French* in every place, had been ſo opportunely checked, merely by his army: that even now, though the Count *De Vaudemont* with the forces of *Lorrain* had deſerted him, and the *French* chiefs who were moſt nearly concerned, had come but ſlowly in to join him, he ſhould have utterly ſuppreſſed the King's party, if they could have agreed to follow him, and if by inconſiderately running themſelves into a pound ſhut up on every ſide, they had not deprived him of a victory and loſt the opportunity of putting an end to the war with ſo much reputation: that the King of *Spain* had profuſely ſquandered away the blood and treaſure of his kingdoms for their ſervice only; whilſt they, on the contrary, had no other view but to enrich themſelves and promote their own private intereſts, without any regard for the publick good or the preſervation of the Crown: finally, that he would not ſtay to throw away his time in idleneſs, and to no purpoſe at *Roüen*, whilſt not only the affairs of *Flanders* ſuffered by his abſence, but thoſe of *France* were falling headlong into inevitable ruin.

The actions of each party correſponded with their declarations. For the Duke of *Mayenne*, pretending to be indiſpoſed, reſolved to ſtay at *Roüen*, and not to follow the army that was now marching away. And the Duke of *Parma*, not a little mortified that he refuſed to go along with him, determined to leave him no ſupplies at all; but took the Duke of *Guiſe* with him, and gave out, that he deſigned to entruſt him with the command of thoſe forces that he ſhould leave behind him in *France*; which exceedingly exaſperated the Duke of *Mayenne*, who, ſince the departure of the Cardinal Legate alſo from the army, was left in a manner deſtitute and alone, and with great difficulty prevailed with the Pope's *Swiſs* and Commiſſary *Matteucci* to ſtay with him at *Roüen*. And yet even this was much againſt their inclination: for *Matteucci*, who was a man of rough behaviour, and exceedingly obſtinate in his opinions, ſoon after reſolved to diſband the *Swiſs*, either becauſe he had received ſuch inſtructions from the court of *Rome*, or wanted money to pay them. Nor was it poſſible by any kind of arguments, intreaties, or even menaces, to alter his determination: for though the Duke of *Mayenne* earneſtly deſired

desired him to keep them a month longer, and offered to gratify them himself, if he would not continue them in his own pay, yet it was all to no purpose. This, together with the ill treatment that he met with from his other allies, incensed him to such a degree, that he gave orders to have the person of *Matteucci* seized upon, which indeed was not actually done, because the Duke, when the first transports of his passion were over, did not care to have his orders put in execution, and afterwards *Matteucci* disguised himself in soldier's cloaths, and went away with the *Swiss*. The Legate, however, made heavy complaints of it, and the thing gave great offence at *Rome*: so that the Duke being thoroughly disgusted, and meeting with so much vexation on every side, began afresh to lend an ear to a treaty of peace, which Monsieur *De Villeroy* had never totally dropped, out of a desire of coming to an agreement with the King, and of delivering himself, as he said, from the plague of foreign forces.

Monsieur *De Villeroy* had kept the treaty alive, sometimes with one, sometimes with another of the King's party, and as either side had the advantage, the terms varied accordingly: for when the King found himself distressed by the enemy, he began to think of giving satisfaction to the party of the League, to free himself from all further danger and trouble: and when the Duke thought himself either ill treated, or but faintly supported by the confederates, he also inclined to an accommodation. But as the King refused to change his religion at the instances of his enemies, and the Duke resolved not to come to any agreement, except he first turned Catholick; these difficulties could not be got over, but continually prevented the success of this negotiation, and made it almost despaired of. Not long before, however, *Villeroy* having had a free conference about this matter with Monsieur *De Lomenie*, one of the King's Secretaries of State, who had been taken prisoner, and then resided at *Pontoise*: this Minister, after he was set at liberty, reported their conversation to the King, just at a time when he was in great danger and distress by the Duke of *Parma's* approach. Upon which consideration, he ordered the Sieur *Du Plessis Mornay* (a man in whom he put great confidence on account of his wisdom and learning, and who had formerly been employed in this negotiation) to make fresh overtures to Monsieur *Villeroy*, who wrote several times concerning it to the Duke of *Mayenne* and President *Jeannine* with so much earnestness, that the Duke, though he never before had descended to particulars, then declared by *Villeroy*, that if the King would give security for his conversion, and proper satisfaction to him and the other Lords of his party, he would agree to acknowledge and submit to him. Upon this, *Du Plessis* and *Villeroy* entered into a treaty, with promises of secrecy on both sides: but no expedient could be found

to

1592. to ſecure the party of the League, that the King would ever change his religion hereafter, if he did not do it at that time, ſince they alledged, that he had promiſed thoſe Catholicks that followed him, ſo to do from the very beginning, and yet had never performed his engagement, ſo that there was no reaſon to expect he would do it at the importunity of his enemies: beſides, they ſuppoſed he would make that promiſe in general and ambiguous terms, and with a reſervation of being taught and inſtructed, which might afford ſufficient matter of prevarication and excuſe for what meaſures ſoever he ſhould afterwards purſue, and would not by any means content the Duke of *Mayenne*: nor did the terms, which the King at preſent propoſed to the Duke and the other Princes and Lords of his party, ſeem altogether ſatisfactory. Wherefore, after much treating, and many letters and anſwers, Preſident *Jeannine*, by the Duke's order, wrote to *Villeroy*, and gave him a commiſſion to propoſe, as the laſt overtures he deſigned to make, That the manner of the King's converſion ſhould be left to the Pope, to whom the King ſhould ſend the Marquis *De Piſani* and Cardinal *Gondi*, to receive ſuch directions in that matter, as the Apoſtolick See ſhould think proper and neceſſary: that he himſelf alſo would ſend a perſon on purpoſe, with orders to his agents at *Rome* to forward theſe proceedings, and endeavour to remove all difficulties, that ſo his Holineſs might be brought to ſome reaſonable determination: that, as a ſecurity for the King's perſeverance in the Catholick religion, and the conſervation of the peace, all the ſeveral towns, cities, and fortreſſes, ſhould continue, for the ſpace of ſix years, in the hands of thoſe perſons that were in poſſeſſion of them at preſent, but to be reſtored to the King's free diſpoſal within that term, if they ſaw that he proceeded with ſincerity: that the Government of *Burgundy*, with all the places in it that adhered to the King, ſhould be left to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and become hereditary in his male line, with authority of diſpoſing of all offices, benefices, governments, and employments, which ſhould become vacant in that province for the time to come: that the King ſhould confer a dignity upon him under the Crown, ſuperior to all others, as that of High Conſtable, or his Lieutenant General: that he ſhould give him a ſum of money, ſufficient to diſcharge ſuch debts as he had been obliged to contract upon the late occaſions: that the government of *Lions*, and *Lionnois*, ſhould be added to that of *Burgundy*: and that the King ſhould provide another government for the Duke of *Nemours*, which ſhould be equivalent to it: that the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould have the government of *Champagne*, and two fortreſſes for his ſecurity; the Duke of *Mercœur*, that of *Bretagne*; the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, that of *Languedoc*; the Duke of *Aumale*, that of *Picardy*, and the town of *St. Eſprit de Rue*, for his further ſecurity: that all the Lords of the League ſhould enjoy the ſame places, offices,

2 dignities,

dignities, and governments, that they were in poſſeſſion of before 1592. the beginning of the war: that his Catholick Majeſty ſhould be included in the peace, and have reaſonable ſatisfaction made him for his pretenſions: that an act of indemnity ſhould be paſſed for every thing that had happened during the courſe of the war, and that the preamble to the articles of accommodation ſhould be drawn up in ſuch a manner, as to make it appear, that the Duke of *Mayenne* had not acknowledged the King till that time, on account of his religion, that he now did it upon his converſion, by the Pope's conſent, and that he ſhould be entirely cleared therein, from having had any hand in the death of his predeceſſor, the late King *Henry* the third.

Theſe conditions the Sieur *De Villeroy* communicated to Monſieur *Du Pleſſis*, and gave him an abſtract of them, as they were ſet down at large, with the reaſons of them in the Preſident's letter. *Du Pleſſis*, at firſt, did not ſeem to approve of them at all: but *Villeroy* anſwered, that this was not an agreement made with *Hugonots*, who were obliged by all laws both human and divine to acknowledge their eſtabliſhed King, but a contract, by which the Lords of the Union were contented to acknowledge, or rather, ſtrictly ſpeaking, to make a perſon King who had not a legal right to the kingdom: by which acknowledgment, the King would come into the poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*, and therefore the conditions ought not to ſeem ſtrange to him: that the Lords of the League demanded every thing at preſent, that they thought neceſſary for their ſecurity, becauſe when the acknowledgment was once made, they ſhould then no longer be able to treat or inſiſt upon any thing, but muſt be obliged, like common ſubjects, to petition and beſeech their ſovereign Lord: that it was no wonder they ſhould demand much at one time, as they were very certain, they ſhould never obtain any more during his reign, nor perhaps in that of his children: that the Duke of *Mayenne* had ſhewn himſelf ſo good a *Frenchman*, that he would rather acknowledge a King of the ſame nation, though an enemy, upon theſe conditions, than a foreigner, though a friend and ally, upon ſuch as would have been much more advantageous to him: that the King had always declared he would both ſatisfy and ſecure the Lords of the houſe of *Lorrain* and all the others of their party, and lately, during the action before *Caudebec*, had repeated the ſame with his own mouth, to the Baron *De Luz*, with whom he had had a long converſation about it in the field, aſſuring him, that if the Lords of the Union would acknowledge and follow him, he would grant them any terms, and particularly, that he would give ample ſatisfaction to the Duke of *Mayenne*, as far as he was able, whom he knew to be a Prince of great worth and a true *Frenchman*: that the Marſhal *D'Aumont* had, by the King's order, confirmed this declaration to the

1592. the ſame Nobleman; and therefore, that ought not to ſeem ſtrange now, which he had offered of his own accord but a few days before. But the Sieur *Du Pleſſis* conſidering, that if the manner of the King's converſion was referred to the Pope, nothing generous could be expected from his Holineſs, on account of the influence which the *Spaniards* had over him, replied, That it was not a thing to be hoped for from any other means, but the inſpiration of God, after ſuch inſtructions as ſhould convince him that he was in an error: for otherwiſe it would be an unlawful thing to demand it, and much worſe to grant it, as the ſalvation of the ſoul ought to be conſidered before all the intereſts of the world. And as for the other articles, which he went through one by one, he repreſented, that if all the offices and dignities, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, ſhould be diſpoſed of by the Lords of the Union, the King would have nothing left to gratify and reward thoſe of his own party; and that it would be a monſtrous thing to ſee all the provinces in the hands of one family alone, whilſt the Princes of the Blood and ſo many other Lords were excluded, who had taken ſuch pains, and ſo cheerfully expoſed their lives, to ſupport him in his kingdom. And yet, after he had repeated his promiſe of ſecrecy, which the Duke of *Mayenne* earneſtly inſiſted upon, he ſaid he would lay the matter before the King for his determination.

But when he came into the King's council at *Buſſy*, where they reſided at that time, he was ſo far from promoting the treaty of peace, or approving of the conditions propoſed, or even obſerving the ſecrecy he had promiſed, that he openly, in the preſence of all the Council, deſired pardon for having till then kept his Majeſty in the dark, not out of any evil intention, but becauſe he had been deceived himſelf, ſince ſuch terms had been propoſed to him as he was aſhamed of, and did not care to acquaint him with: he confeſſed he had been too credulous out of a deſire of peace and zeal for the publick good, but that the conditions which had been offered were ſo unjuſt and diſhonourable for the King, and would be ſo pernicious to the whole kingdom, that they plainly ſhewed the Duke of *Mayenne* and thoſe of his party had no thoughts of peace, but only endeavoured to amuſe the King and excite jealouſy in the *Spaniards*, in order to draw more money and ſupplies from them: that the terms were ſuch as did not deſerve any anſwer, nor did he think them worthy of being heard by that Council. And yet, after this preamble, when he had reported what they were, neither the King himſelf, nor any of his Council, thought them ſo exorbitant as he had ſuggeſted; eſpecially as they all knew that demands are commonly high at the beginning of a treaty, but afterwards fall lower and lower in the courſe of it. So that they were all offended at *Du Pleſſis*, and ſaw plainly, that his being a *Hugonot*, and one that abhorred the thoughts of the King's

converſion.

conversion, was the reason that he was so far from desiring a peace, that he did all that he could to prevent it. The King being of the same opinion, sent to acquaint the Sieur *De Villeroy*, that he would be glad to treat with him personally. The Marshal *De Biron* and the Duke of *Bouillon* likewise desired to have a conference with him, though they were both but little inclined to peace: *Bouillon*, because he was a *Hugonot*, and *Biron*, because his fortune wholly depended upon the wars, by the continuation of which he hoped to advance himself to a more eminent degree of power and honour, as he thought those offices and dignities due to his own merit, which were demanded by the Duke of *Mayenne*.

Du Plessis, however, continuing in his resolution, and communicating his secret designs to those of his own principles, at last divulged the whole treaty, contrary to his faith given to *Villeroy*, and shewed copies of the articles to several persons: so that not only all the King's party knew of them, but even the Princesses, who were in *Paris*, had a sight of them, and gave credit to the affair: upon which, they made heavy complaints that the Duke should offer to make up a peace, without consulting either them or the other Lords of their party: and, which was still worse, they came also to the knowledge of the *Spanish* Ministers, who, though they did not think such a treaty could easily be concluded, were yet full of suspicion and apprehension. *Du Plessis* expected, that his proceeding in this manner would have two effects, and both for his advantage: as he hoped, in the first place, to prevent and totally break off all treaties of peace, now he found the King (as he thought) inclined to change his religion, in order to obtain one, which was an event that the *Hugonots* were more afraid of than of any other thing: and in the next, to make the Duke of *Mayenne* distrusted by his own party, and particularly by the *Spaniards*, which possibly might facilitate the ruin and disunion of the League. But as designs, in which private interest is too much concerned, have often (either by the will of God, who is displeased with them, or from their own deceitful bottom) very different events from what the projectors confidently promise themselves, so this publication of the treaty in hand produced an effect much contrary to *Du Plessis's* expectation; for it was of no prejudice to the party of the League, and occasioned very great disturbance and confusion in the King's affairs.

It did no hurt to the Duke of *Mayenne*, because the Pope was exceedingly pleased with his integrity, when he saw that he did not consider his own private advantage and emolument, but refused to accept of any dignity or employment whatsoever, except the King would change his religion, and that he referred the whole of that affair to the Apostolick See; and the *Spaniards*, beginning to grow apprehensive that a peace might be brought about by some means or other, resolved not to give the Duke of

1592. *Mayenne* any further cause of discontent. And for the Duke of *Parma*, as he was obliged to quit the kingdom on account of his health, and the care of his affairs in the *Low Countries*, he left some forces in *Champagne*, not under the command of the Duke of *Guise*, as he had intended, but of Monsieur *De Rhosnè*, with the title of his Lieutenant-General, and orders to obey the Duke of *Mayenne* without contradiction. *Juan Baptista Tassis* likewise went to him, and endeavoured to sooth his resentment and make him forget his late disgusts: whilst *Diego d'Ivarra* continued with the army, because he knew the Duke had a personal dislike to him. Besides, as the Duke, who had been forced into that treaty by the desperate situation of his affairs, now saw that he had already recovered his weight and authority, which he had in a great measure lost with the Pope's Ministers and the *Spaniards*, he was afterwards more shy in listening to terms of peace: but since he had been deceived by the publication of that secret, contrary to promise, he thought it afforded him not only an excuse, but a just handle to make his advantage also of the treaty, which he did by continuing it in such a manner, as served to keep sometimes one ally, sometimes another firm and steddy in their attachment to him, as occasion required.

On the other hand, the Catholicks of the King's party being alarmed with the rumour of this treaty, and highly offended that the peace should be negociated by a *Hugonot*, and that the King should make a promise to the League of changing his religion, which they had not been able to obtain from him by so many repeated importunities, began to think again of setting up a third party, and to assemble by themselves in different places more openly than before, where they consulted about leaving the King, or coming to an agreement with those of the League: in consequence of which, after the matter had been thoroughly canvassed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Count *De Soissons*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count *De St. Paul*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Marshal *D'Aumont*, Monsieur *D'O*, the Sieur *De Lavardine*, the Count *De Lude*, and many other Lords, they acquainted the Duke of *Mayenne* that it was necessary, for the publick safety and tranquillity, that all the Catholicks should unite, and desire the King not only to change his religion, but to give security for the maintenance of that of the *Roman* church, in a certain prefixed and reasonable time: which, if he complied with, he should be acknowledged and established; and to let him know, that if he did not, they would unanimously concur in electing a Catholick King, who should be acknowledged and obeyed by them all. This negociation being now carried on very briskly, the King plainly saw that the event must be either a forced and dishonourable conversion, or the utter ruin of his affairs. He, therefore, earnestly sollicited *Villeroy*, by Monsieur *De Fleury* his brother-

brother-in-law, to come in perſon to confer with him, and reſolved to take proper meaſures of his own accord, to reconcile himſelf to the See of *Rome*. 1592.

After long ſtruggles and debates in the Conclave, *Innocent* the ninth was ſucceeded in the Apoſtolick Chair by Cardinal *Hippolito Aldobrandino*, a man not debilitated with age, as he was not above ſix and fifty, but of mature wiſdom and ſingular addreſs in ſtate affairs, which he had acquired by being continually converſant at court, and having conducted the moſt important negociations of his time. As ſoon as he had aſſumed the name of *Clement* the eighth, though he had been favoured by the *Spaniards* in his election, and ſeemed to have a grateful remembrance of their ſervices, he was reſolved, however, not to ſuffer himſelf to be wholly governed by their counſels, nor to be dependent upon any other perſon; but after the intereſts of religion were properly ſecured, which was his firſt and chief conſideration, he determined to uſe his endeavours to ſettle a general tranquillity upon a ſafe and juſt foundation. For this purpoſe he entered into a ſtrict confidence with the Republick of *Venice*, and the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, as he knew that State was not only the foundation-ſtone of the liberties of *Italy*, but a wiſe mediatrix in all differences and diviſions that happened in *Chriſtendom*: and that the Duke, as a Prince of great prudence, was governed by her example. He therefore renewed that friendſhip with the Senate, which his anceſtors had formerly found the benefit of when they took refuge in that State in the days of their adverſity. With the Grand Duke he alſo contracted a firm alliance (forgetting the inveteracy of thoſe factions by which his father had, in times paſt, been baniſhed out of the city of *Florence*) and was ſolely intent, by the advice and aſſiſtance of theſe allies, upon ſupporting the authority of the church, and applying it for the common benefit and ſafety of all *Chriſtians*.

The firſt and moſt important concern that offered itſelf to his conſideration, was the ſtate of affairs in *France*: in which, if he chiefly regarded the ſecurity of religion, he was not a ſtranger, at the ſame time, to the private emulations, the ancient diſcords, and the preſent ambitious deſigns of the great men in that kingdom. And as time and opportunity were to bring about thoſe overtures that were neceſſary for the peace and union of the people, he reſolved with himſelf, in the mean time, to aſſiſt the League with ſuch ſuccours as he judged expedient, though not with the ſame intereſted zeal and profuſion that his predeceſſors had done, being deſirous that things might be conducted in ſuch a manner as would tend, not to the diviſion and deſtruction, but to the ſafety and re-eſtabliſhment of peace in ſo great and powerful a kingdom: which he thought would naturally enſue, if a King ſhould be elected and eſta-

 bliſhed,

1592. blished, who was not only a Catholick and obedient to the Apostolick See, but also a *Frenchman*, and such a one as might be able to conciliate to himself the general good will and affections of the people. He therefore confirmed the Cardinal of *Piacenza* in his legation, whom he thought not only very well acquainted with the affairs of *France*, by his long residence there, but also a more proper person than any other to manage this undertaking. And though the Cardinal had shewn himself in times past very partial to the *Spaniards*, yet the Pope thought that, now he had changed his master, and his instructions were altered, he would endeavour, like a man of prudence and experience, rather to oblige him by executing his orders, than to be blindly subservient to the interests of *Spain*, which could not always run parallel with those of the Holy See. But after his Holiness had shewn by the confirmation of the Legate (as far as he thought sufficient) how favourably he was inclined to the League in other respects, he plainly told the confederates, he could not assist them with more than fifteen thousand ducats a month in the present incapacity of the Apostolick See: alledging, that the excessive sums formerly disbursed, to the great impoverishment of the treasury and the oppression of the people, had not by any means answered the design of such immense expences and preparations. He, therefore, insisted upon that remedy being applied, which was likely to be most effectual, and gave his Legate orders to procure, if possible, a free assembly of the States, that so, a King might be elected by general consent, an end put to all further machinations, all ambitious designs extinguished, and that they might make the security of religion and the restoration of peace in the kingdom, the ultimate end and visible object of their endeavours.

These designs, which both parties were acquainted with, gave the Duke of *Mayenne* good hopes, that the Pope was inclined to take proper notice of his merits and great labours, and to favour his undertakings; and at the same time were not disagreeable to the King, who seeing the temper and moderation of his Holiness, did not despair of finding some satisfactory means of bringing his affairs to a happy conclusion. Wherefore, being hard pressed by the importunities of the Catholicks, who were now in general determined to know his final resolution, he had a conference at *Vernon* with *Giovanni Mocenigo*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, in which he told him, that as he was desirous to find some way by which an overture might be made to the Pope concerning his affairs, he should be glad if the Republick, which he knew was in very strict amity with his Holiness, would assist his upright intentions, either by an Ambassador extraordinary, or by the canal of their ordinary resident at *Rome*, being determined to bring it about, that Cardinal *Gondi*, in whose prudence and integrity he put very great confidence, should go into *Italy* together with

the Marquis *De Pisani*, in the name of the Catholick Nobility of his party, to treat of the means of concluding a peace and reconciliation: but this negociation seeming likely to be attended with much difficulty, both in regard to the politicks of the court of *Rome* and the prodigious influence of the *Spaniards* there, he thought the mediation, advice, authority and good offices of that Republick, would have great weight in so important a concern. With this the Ambassador readily complied, and knowing the good wishes of the Senate for the conservation of the kingdom of *France*, assured him he should have all manner of assistance that he could desire. He likewise caused the same to be moved to the Grand Duke by *Girolamo Gondi*, requesting him, not only to use his endeavours with the Pope (though he thought the power of the *Venetian* Senate more likely to succeed with his Holiness) but also to treat with the Cardinals in his favour, that when the affair came into the Consistory, it might meet with as little opposition as possible.

1592.

When this foundation was laid, he sent to hasten the coming of *Villeroy*; for he was desirous to adjust things with the Duke of *Mayenne* in such a manner, that he also might be induced to favour his proceedings at the court of *Rome*, as all religious scruples would be removed by his reconciliation to the Holy See, and the Duke might then with honour accept those large and advantageous offers which he designed to make him. But the Duke, who was grown very suspicious since the trick plaid him by *Du Plessis*, and now hoped to bring the *Spaniards* entirely into his measures, suffered the treaty to go on, that he might make his own use of it; but without the least design of coming to any conclusion, as those schemes and projects began to revive in his breast, which despair had before either totally destroyed, or very much disconcerted. And, though *Villeroy* went to him at *Roüen*, and afterwards had a conference with the King himself by night at *Gisors*, yet they did not descend to any conditions of agreement: but the Duke consented, that the King should send to *Rome*, and left the treaty to proceed, and be concluded when the affair was settled with the Pope. And the King, on his side, agreed, that the Duke should assemble the States of his party, to consult and treat with them concerning his present resolution.

The *Spaniards* had constantly insisted upon an Assembly of the States, in concert with the Cardinal Legate, both in publick and in private; and the Duke had as constantly raised new difficulties and delays, sometimes alledging the necessity of attending closely to the carrying on of the war, sometimes, that it was proper, in the first place, to consult and come to some conclusion with the Princes of their party, and sometimes representing the impossibility of assembling the Deputies in a time of such general confusion and distraction, which would make them very unwilling to leave

1592. leave their own houses and cities, and venture to take so long a journey, with the manifest peril of their lives. But his backwardness at last was imputed to inordinate ambition, and a desire of continuing himself in the power he then held: so that he could no longer refuse to call the Assembly, without giving further reason for these heavy complaints, nor without danger of occasioning discord and disunion. Being resolved, therefore, to remove the cause from which all the differences with the *Spanish* ministers had chiefly proceeded, he considered, that as it was not only a very disgustful thing to every one, but now very dangerous also to refuse such a convention, so the difficulties that would naturally arise, and those which he might artfully interpose, in case the States should actually assemble, would be so many, that they must of course dissolve and break up of themselves, without coming to any determination: and in the mean time, they might perhaps afford him a convenient opportunity, either of reviving his former authority, or of reconciling himself to the King, if he found he could not by any means secure the Crown to himself or his family. Wherefore, as the *Spaniards* now seemed desirous to give him all manner of satisfaction, and the Legate paid him great respect, by particular orders from the court of *Rome*, so he, to shew that he would grant that of his own free will, which he did not care to be compelled to by force or menaces, wrote to the Legate and the Duke of *Parma*, "That now it was a proper time to assemble the States, he would comply with the requests of the Princes, who had sollicited it with so much earnestness, in order to come to a final resolution, concerning the affairs of *France*; exhorting them to be prepared with necessary commissions from their respective courts, as the Deputies would be convened in a few months." For which purpose, he dispatched letters into every province and bailliage, to have Deputies chosen to meet at a place that should be appointed for the holding of the States-General.

At the same time, the King had caused Cardinal *Gondi* to treat with the Catholicks of his party concerning his journey into *Italy*, and required them to send an Ambassador to the Pope: which some opposed, by alledging that the Parliament had decreed, that, for the future, no one should send to *Rome* upon any occasion whatsoever. But the King answered, "That such a decree indeed had been made in the Pontificate of *Gregory* the fourteenth, but that he gave them leave to send to the present Pope." The Marquis *De Pisani*, therefore, was fixed upon for that embassy, and Cardinal *Gondi* consented to attend him, for the King's satisfaction, and to procure, if possible, the general repose of the kingdom.

This manner of proceeding, in a great measure, put a stop to the resolution of the Catholicks, who waited to see the event of that embassy, being

being in ſome degree contented that the King had already begun to treat 1592. of reconciling himſelf to the Pope and the Apoſtolick See. The decree which the King made about this time, concerning the diſpoſal of benefices in the kingdom, gave them ſtill further ſatisfaction. For, after the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Châlons* had decreed, that no body ſhould go any more to *Rome* for approbation and inſtitution, or collation; and after a congregation of Prelates had made the ſame declaration in favour of the King, thoſe benefices that became void, were given away to all ſorts of perſons without diſtinction, as a recompence for their labours and expences, or out of particular favour and affection, and the adminiſtration of ſpiritual affairs was aſſigned, by the Grand Council, to one of the prieſts of the dioceſe, with the title of *Spiritual Oeconome*, or, *Official*; which was not only contrary to all canons and decrees, but gave great offence, as it was dangerous and prejudicial to the good of the people, and much reſembled the practice of the *Hugonots*. *Renaud de Beaune*, Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, a man of exceeding great learning and ſingular eloquence, had conceived hopes, that, as he had the title of *Patriarch*, which is uſually given to the Archbiſhop of that city, it would be very eaſy, and no leſs reaſonable, to confer the power of diſpoſing of the benefices of the kingdom upon him, as *ſpiritual Superior of the Gallias*, and to inveſt him with the ſame authority in *France*, that the Pope had over all the reſt of *Chriſtendom*. And as he had long harboured this conceit in his breaſt, he had left no means unattempted that he thought might in any wiſe conduce to the accompliſhment of his deſign. For this purpoſe, ſo little reſpećt had been ſhewn to the Pope's bulls at his inſtigation: with this view, thoſe that repreſented the Apoſtolick See had been ſo warmly proceeded againſt; and for the ſame end, the abuſe in conferring benefices being now complained of, and the irregularity of thoſe officials repreſented, who were choſen by the great council (a temporal juriſdiction that had no buſineſs to judge of ſpiritual ſufficiency) it was endeavoured, in the preſent agitation of men's minds, that ſuch a reſolution might be taken, and that ſome Prelate might be appointed in the *Gallias*, ſuperior to all the reſt in power and dignity, to whom that election ſhould be committed. But the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the reſt of the Catholick Lords vehemently proteſting againſt this propoſal, as the ſure way to alienate the kingdom from the Apoſtolick See, to reduce it to a ſtate of ſchiſm, and for ever to cut off all hopes of accommodation: that they would never ſubmit to it; that as ſoon as ever ſuch a decree ſhould be made, they would take ſome other courſe to ſecure themſelves and their affairs: the King publickly declared, that he would not deprive the Holy See of the obedience due to it; and that if it had been decreed that no money ſhould be carried to *Rome*, leſt it might be employed to foment the

1592. the distractions of that time, and to make war upon the kingdom with its own blood and treasure, that had been established by way of provision only, as long as the Popes should continue to oppose the lawful heirs to the Crown: that he did not intend there should be any innovations, but to maintain the ecclesiastical rights, and the religion and privileges of the *Gallican* church, in the same state that he found them at his coming to the kingdom. After which, he ordered the Council to make a decree, that every Bishop should constitute the administrators of spiritual affairs in his own diocese; that when any bishoprick was vacant, that defect should be supplied by the metropolitan, and, for want of him, by the Bishop that was nearest the place; all which proceedings gave infinite satisfaction to the Catholicks, and for some time put a stop to the resolutions they had taken.

In the mean time the war was carried on with no less vigour than the negociations and treaties of peace. For the Duke of *Mayenne*, having recovered from his late indisposition at *Roüen*, was come out with part of his forces to lay siege to *Ponteau de Mer*, a place, which lying near him, very much distressed the commerce of that city. And on the other hand, Monsieur *De Villers* was likewise gone to besiege the new fortress of *Quillebœuf*, the more effectually to lay open the passage and navigation of the *Seine*: for besides this inconvenience, he was not a little picqued to see the *English* and *Hollanders* settle themselves in a place so commodious for the reception of their ships, and situated in the midway betwixt his governments of *Havre de Grace* and *Roüen*, to the great prejudice and annoyance of them both.

The King, who was yet in the confines of *Normandy*, dispatched Colonel *Grillon* thither with fifteen hundred *French* foot, and the Sieur *De Bouquetot* with an hundred Gentlemen of that country, being no less desirous to keep possession of that place than the enemy was to drive him out of it. The fortifications were yet unfinished; for though the *Holland* fleet had wrought with great diligence at them, they had not had sufficient time to bring them to perfection; so that the ramparts were not faced with stone, and consisted only of earth not well settled: and the foss was not above a man's depth, though they were admirably designed, and drawn out by experienced engineers.

Villers, upon his arrival there, immediately planted five pieces of cannon to batter an half-moon which defended the gate that stood towards the land: and having got together a great number of peasants that followed him voluntarily through the whole country, he made his approaches by a trench, and soon had proceeded so near to the half-moon, that it was an easy matter to assault it. The first attack was very fierce, but the besieged were so numerous, that it was sustained with equal resolution:

ſolution: and when the aſſault was renewed the next day, *Grillon*, who had left the defence of the place to Colonel *Rebours* and to the Sieur *De Bellebat*, Governor of it, made ſo furious a ſally on the other ſide with *Bouquetot*, that, as he met with no oppoſition in the trench, he did the enemy a great deal of damage, deſtroyed part of their redoubts, nailed up two pieces of artillery, and if *Villers's* cavalry, with the Captains *Boroſſay* and *Perdriel*, had not diſmounted and run to the danger, the trenches would have been taken, and the infantry in them entirely cut off. But *Grillon*, having got into the town again, after a ſkirmiſh that laſted many hours, and with much difficulty, *Villers*, who knew the weakneſs of his forces and deſpaired of ſucceſs, raiſed the ſiege the next day and returned to *Roüen*. This miſcarriage was principally to be imputed to *Matteucci*: for if he had not diſbanded the *Swiſs*, there would have been ſuch an army before *Quillebœuf*, that the ſiege would very likely have ended in another manner.

1592.

The Duke of *Mayenne* ſucceeded better at *Ponteau de Mer*; for having laid ſiege to it, and fortified his trenches very well with redoubts at an equal diſtance from each other, he ſecured his men in ſuch a manner, that, though they were but few, yet when the artillery was planted and began to batter, the Governor, who had not ſo much ſtrength as there was at *Quillebœuf*, reſolved to ſurrender, provided the lives and properties of the beſieged might be ſpared: ſo that the paſſage was open on that ſide for the conveyance of proviſions to *Roüen*.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Parma*, who had not yet recovered of his wound, and laboured under another indiſpoſition alſo that he was ſubject to, which ſeemed to be tending very faſt to a dropſy, reſolved to go to *Spa* in the *Low Countries* for the benefit of the waters, and to take back with him the greater part of his army, to provide for the ſafety of thoſe parts, and particularly of *Frieſland*, where the States of *Holland* made a further progreſs every day. He left, however, ſix hundred foot in *Paris* beſides the uſual garriſon (contrary to the Duke of *Mayenne's* perſuaſion) at the intreaties of the Legate and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and three thouſand foot more, conſiſting of *Italians* and *Walloons*, with ſix hundred horſe, which were to aſſiſt in the quarters near *Paris*, at *Soiſſons*, and in *Champagne*. And though the Duke of *Guiſe* aſpired to the command of theſe forces, and ſollicited it with much earneſtneſs, yet he gave it to the Sieur *De Rhoſnè*, with the title of his Lieutenant-General, and orders to obey the Duke of *Mayenne* implicitly, being reſolved at this juncture to give him all poſſible ſatisfaction, that he might keep him firm to the party, and averſe to all thoughts of peace.

With theſe forces and thoſe of the province, Monſieur *De Rhoſnè* ſat down before *Eſpernay*, a town ſeven leagues from *Châlons*, of a moderate

1592. circumference, but built in the old manner, and not in a condition at that time to make any long defence; imagining that if he could make himself master of it and fill it with men, he might be able to distress *Châlons* to a very great degree, where the Parliament, and a great many other persons of distinction then resided; especially as a great part of that town is situated upon the stream of the river *Marne*. The siege was but short; for as he battered it with great fury, and had soon made a considerable breach in the walls, which were very ancient, and fell without much trouble, the Sieur *De St. Estienne*, who had not a garrison sufficient to defend so weak a place, thought fit to surrender, without staying to undergo an assault.

The King was now come from *Normandy* to the confines of *Champagne*, though not soon enough to relieve *Espernay*: but when he heard it was taken he resolved to recover it, more to shew the regard that he had for the safety and convenience of the Parliament, than upon any other account. For which purpose, having sent for the Duke of *Nevers* and the Marshal *De Biron* beforehand, he over-ran all the neighbouring country, according to his custom, and came to the very walls of *Châlons*. The Sieur *De Rhosnè* had repaired the walls that were demolished by the late battery with wonderful expedition, and had caused trenches and ravelines to be thrown up with great care, well knowing that the King would immediately take measures for the recovery of the place. There were then in the town six hundred *French* foot, as many *Walloons* of the Count *De Bossu's* division, and about sixty horse, many small pieces of artillery, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition: and the peasants of those parts being gathered together, laboured continually to strengthen the fortifications. The King's forces came before it on the twenty-sixth of *July*; and having presently encamped themselves, the Marshal *De Biron* advanced with twenty horse to reconnoitre the situation, and the works which the enemy had newly raised for their defence. But he was hardly got upon the highway that leads to the town, on the south side, when a cannon-ball, amongst many which the garrison fired at random, taking him, at the rebound, in the midst of his body, tore him to pieces in such a manner, that he instantly fell dead from his horse to the ground. The loss of this commander was irreparable; for the success of the King's affairs almost wholly depended upon his prudence, experience, good discipline and valour: and not only the charge of the army rested entirely upon his shoulders, but matters of government, Councils of State, treaties with Princes, and the particular concerns of the kingdom, were all regulated and conducted by his advice, in such a manner, that his friends attributed every thing that had succeeded prosperously, either in war or in other undertakings, to his care and endeavours; and those that flat-

1 tered

tered him, did not ſcruple to call him publickly, *the King's foſter-father.* And indeed it muſt be owned, by thoſe that were intimately acquainted with all the events that happened from the King's coming to the Crown, to the time of *Biron's* death (which were not only the moſt arduous and of the greateſt importance, but in a manner the very foundations of his fortune) that the life and ſpirit of all Councils, and of all actions and enterpriſes, conſiſted in the prudence and vigilance of this man. Yet thoſe that envied him could not forbear throwing various aſperſions upon his character, and accuſed him as the author of many troubles and calamities. They ſaid in particular, that his own intereſt made him deſirous to have wars and inteſtine diſcords continue, becauſe whilſt they laſted, he entirely governed the King and all the affairs of the kingdom; that he did not much trouble himſelf about religion, in which he had always been very indifferent from his youth, and therefore was the occaſion that not only the civil wars had ſo long continued (almoſt to the utter deſtruction of the kingdom and the ruin of every individual) but that the King had till then deferred his converſion by artful evaſions and promiſes, though ſo neceſſary and deſirable. He died in the beginning of the ſixty-fifth year of his age, whilſt his intellectual faculties were yet ſound and entire, his bodily ſtrength but little impaired, ſtill active and vigilant, and indefatigable in all the duties of a ſoldier.

After his death, the whole charge of the army devolving upon the Duke of *Nevers*, the ſiege of *Eſpernay* was begun: and the King having received news of what had happened, after he had ſpent ſome hours in tears and publick condolence, moved with all haſte towards the camp. There were alſo at this very juncture three hundred *Walloon* foot of *Berlotte's* diviſion, upon their march from *Rheims* to relieve the beſieged, as the poſſeſſion of that place ſeemed of the utmoſt importance to the Confederates. Theſe forces being already near the town, were overtaken by the Baron *De Biron*, who had ſet out for the camp before all the reſt, to revenge his father's death; and ſeeing ſo fair an opportunity of cutting off that body of foot, which were in the open field without any ſupport of cavalry, he made a furious attack upon them. The foot, however, conſiſting of pikemen and muſketiers, were not at all diſmayed: but getting into a hollow way, ſhut up on both ſides by two high banks of earth, like ramparts, they made a halt, and facing about courageouſly, received the charge of the horſe with their pikes, whilſt thoſe amongſt them that carried muſkets kept an inceſſant fire upon the enemy, who had two Captains of horſe and many Gentlemen killed, and could not force them from that poſt. In the mean time Monſieur *De St. Luc* came up with another ſquadron of the King's cavalry which was marching towards the camp, and thinking it a ſhame that ſuch a handful of foot

 ſhould

1592. ſhould be ſuffered to keep the field, he ruſhed upon them with the ſame violence, and being received with the like reſolution, was repulſed, as the others had been. Monſieur *De Givry*, who came up next with the light horſe, was ſtill more roughly handled, and having made his attack, was forced to retire with the loſs of his own Lieutenant and above ſixty private men, that were left dead upon the ground: ſo that the *Walloons*, being no longer moleſted by the cavalry, came out of the hollow way, and marched up a hill that was full of vines, from whence, after a ſhort ſtop, they were going to deſcend to the foſs towards the weſt corner of the town. But the King himſelf coming up in this interval with the reſt of his forces, and ſeeing the rebuff which his cavalry had met with from ſo ſmall a party of foot, galloped forwards to the very edge of the foſs, and though the town kept a continual fire upon him both with their artillery and ſmall arms, yet he paſſed ſwiftly by, and advanced to charge the *Walloons*, who had come down from the hill and were already got into the plain; by which, they were not only prevented from getting under the ſhelter of the walls, but ſurrounded on every ſide, and at laſt all cut to pieces after a long and brave reſiſtance, though there were above two hundred men killed on the King's ſide, and above two hundred more wounded.

The ſame day he ſtraitned the ſiege on all ſides, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to make himſelf maſter of the place as ſoon as poſſible. And as the beſieged had been labouring for ſome days paſt to fill their foſs with water, that they might gain more time to finiſh their works, he made it his firſt care to draw off the water another way, which took up three days. But as ſoon as ever the paſſage was opened to drain the foſs, the Baron *De Biron*, not having patience to wait for the effect of the artillery, which, nevertheleſs, were planting with great diligence by Monſieur *De St. Luc*, gave a ſcalado to a large tower newly made defenſible by the beſieged, where both parties came to ſo cloſe an action, that they only made uſe of their ſhort weapons: and the aſſault was renewed two or three different times with ſuch obſtinacy, that he carried it at laſt with great ſlaughter on each ſide: but whilſt his men were endeavouring to make a lodgment there, and throwing up earth to ſhelter themſelves from the fire of the town, he was grievouſly wounded by a ball in the ſhoulder. That tower and the reſt of the outworks being taken one after another, and the artillery having made a large breach in the old wall, the beſieged were ſenſible they had not ſufficient forces to ſuſtain an aſſault, and therefore agreed to ſurrender the next day, and were allowed to march freely out of the place with their baggage, but not with the colours that belonged to the Count *De Boſſu*, which, being *Spaniſh*, the King was very deſirous of getting into his hands by any means, for the reputation of his

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arms. In conſequence of this capitulation, the town was delivered up to the Duke of *Nevers*, Governor of that province, on the 9th of *Auguſt*. 1592.

From *Eſpernay* the army marched to inveſt *Provins*, a city in the territory of *Brie*, which, on account of the unevenneſs of the ſituation and the largeneſs of its circumference, was not very defenſible, being alſo full of gardens and vineyards, very thinly peopled, and weakly garriſoned; and yet they met with ſo many obſtacles, and the ſiege was carried on ſo ſlowly, that it was not reduced till the 2d of *September*.

The next place that lay convenient for the army to beſiege was *Meaux*; of which, as it was nearer *Paris*, and very commodious for diſtreſſing that city, not only the *Pariſians* were exceedingly apprehenſive, but even the Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf, who being come to *Beauvais*, diſpatched the Sieur *De Vitry* thither with eight hundred foot and three hundred horſe. The Sieur *De Rantilly*, Governor of the town, with the aſſiſtance of theſe forces and the ordinary garriſon, laboured with ſuch diligence, that it was made very defenſible: which the King being informed of, and conſidering that it might be very difficult, and a work of much time to reduce it, reſolved to paſs by *Meaux*, along the bank of the river *Marne* which runs toward *Paris*, and to build a ſort in the middle of the river, upon the iſle of *Gournay*, which lies betwixt both places, in order to obſtruct their commerce and the navigation of the river: that ſo, without loſing any time in beſieging *Meaux*, he might reap the ſame, or perhaps greater advantage. This advice was given him by the Duke of *Nevers*, who had the charge of putting it in execution, and applied himſelf to it with ſo much vigour, that the work was conſiderably advanced in a few days, a fortification being drawn in the form of a ſpur with five acute angles, and a high platform raiſed in the midſt. The King, with his whole army, was encamped on the bank of the river, where he obliged all the peaſants of that country, and his own foot ſoldiers, to work by companies in their turns, being deſirous to have the fort perfected as ſoon as poſſible.

On the other hand, the *Pariſians*, terrified at the thoughts of a blockade, that muſt neceſſarily increaſe the dearth under which the city already laboured, and at laſt reduce them to extreme want of proviſions, never ceaſed importuning the Duke of *Mayenne* to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to oppoſe the raiſing of a fort, that would be ſo prejudicial to their common intereſts. Nor was the Duke leſs ſollicitous than they to prevent it; but he had ſo few forces with him, that he was obliged to proceed ſlowly. For it was neceſſary, in the firſt place, to ſtay till the neighbouring garriſons were drawn together: and after they were aſſembled, the Count *De Collalto's Germans*, who had long arrears of pay due to them,

1592. them, began to mutiny, and without them he could not poſſibly move with any hopes of ſucceſs. The *Germans*, however, at laſt, were in ſome meaſure quieted, by a ſum of money that was diſtributed amongſt them; but in the mean while, ſo many days were ſpent, that the Duke of *Nevers* had ſufficient time to put the fort in good a poſture of defence, and all attempts to prevent the effect of it, became ſo much the more difficult. And yet the Duke advanced on the other ſide of the river, with an intention to fight the King's army, and in the firſt place to make himſelf maſter of an abbey that ſtood near the river, and would ſerve for a cavalier, from whence he might batter the fort: but the Sieur *Du Pralin* and the Count *De Brienne* being in it, with a great number both of horſe and foot, he was forced to engage in many warm ſkirmiſhes with them, for the ſpace of two whole days together, before he could lodge himſelf in a place fit for his purpoſe. And as ſoon as his artillery was planted, the King appeared, who had been ſome days indiſpoſed at *St. Dennis*: at whoſe coming a bridge of boats being thrown over the river, the garriſon in the abbey was ſo reinforced, that they not only made furious ſallies every hour to ſkirmiſh with the army of the League, but threw up trenches and lodged themſelves in the field; by the help of which, they ſoon got cloſe to the Duke's redoubts, and even to the very poſt where his artillery was planted. So that, as it appeared not only difficult, but in a manner impoſſible, to get poſſeſſion of the abbey, now it was defended by ſo numerous a garriſon, which was relieved and ſupported from the King's camp by the conveniency of the bridge, the Duke determined to give up the undertaking, and retired to quarter in the village of *Condé*, with a reſolution to ſtay there till the coming of the Sieur *De Rhoſnè* and Colonel *St. Paul*, whom he had ſent for with the foreign forces and thoſe of the province of *Champagne*, judging it impoſſible to oppoſe the King's army, if his own was not very much increaſed by the arrival of thoſe ſupplies. But after he had waited for them in vain, from the ſixteenth till the twenty-ſecond of *September*, he at laſt retreated to *Meaux*, without being able to prevent the finiſhing of the fort. From which place, not to throw away his time to no purpoſe, but that he might have it in his power to give ſome relief to the *Pariſians* in their diſtreſs, he marched away to lay ſiege to *Creſpy*, a town in the county of *Valois*; and having taken it without much difficulty, he made the paſſage more open and ſecure for the conveyance of a moderate quantity of proviſions at leaſt into *Paris*, from the fertile country that lies round about it.

Whilſt the heads of each party were thus employed, one endeavouring to diſtreſs the city, and the other to deliver it from a ſcarcity of proviſions, the treaties of peace were carried on by both ſides with more ardour

ardour than the operations of the war. The King was intent upon the 1592. ſucceſs of his application to the court of *Rome*, having conceived great hopes, from the Pope's equity and moderation, that a reconciliation might be brought about with the church: but he wiſhed to have it effected rather by means of compoſition and agreement than by way of pardon and humiliation, and therefore had deſired that the *Venetian* Senate and the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany* would interpoſe as mediators to negociate that ſort of reconciliation with the Apoſtolic See. So that the treaty hanging thus in ſuſpence, kept the Catholicks quiet till they ſaw the event, and did not alienate the *Hugonots*, who were not yet ſure that the agreement would take place, but rather full of hopes that ſuch a propoſal would not meet with the expected ſucceſs at *Rome*. Cardinal *Gondi*, therefore, after he had conferred with the King on the road, and had travelled through the places that adhered to him, by virtue of his paſſport, made ſome ſtay at *Florence*, in hopes of firſt gaining over ſome of the Cardinals to his intereſt by means of the Grand Duke.

The Marquis *De Piſani* ſet out at the ſame time: and having paſſed the *Alps* was come to *Deſenzano*, upon the Lake of *Garda*, a place belonging to the Republick of *Venice*, to ſee if he could prevail upon the Senate to pave the way for the treaty with the Pope, by means of their Ambaſſador. But theſe attempts were yet unſeaſonable: for the meaſures that were ſtill purſued in *France* by the King's Council and the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Châlons* (where they had nullified the Pope's bulls, the appointment of the Cardinal of *Piacanza* to be Legate, and many other commiſſions of that kind) ſhewed but little ſigns of the King's repentance and converſion, and had in a manner reduced the Pope to a neceſſity of protecting the League, and of reſenting the contempt and diſregard with which he had been treated, not only for the ſecurity of religion, but for the reputation of his own perſon. Nor could he yet be thoroughly aſſured that the King, who always till that time had been ſo obſtinate in his opinions, could, all on a ſudden, become a ſincere Catholick; but looked upon it as a mere artifice to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Kingdom; and therefore thought it his duty, to be fully ſatisfied of his inward converſion, by further time and more certain proof and conviction, that he might not himſelf be the means of completing the deſtruction of religion by too precipitate a determination, and ſuch a one as little became the dignity of his perſon, and the high opinion that the world had conceived of him. The power of the *Spaniards* likewiſe, who influenced the greater part of the Cardinals, and the obligations that the Pope himſelf lay under to that party, which had exalted him to the Papacy, neceſſitated him to ſhew them great deference: and beſides theſe conſiderations, the temper of the court of *Rome*, which can never brook any thing

1591. thing that seems in the least prejudicial to the ecclesiastical authority and the majesty of the church; and above all, the King's ill success before *Roüen*, which was then fresh in every one's mind, and much exaggerated by common fame, made that juncture very improper and by no means convenient for such a treaty. And the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had given *Villeroy* some reason to make him persuade the King that he would promote his reconciliation with the Pope, thinking it as lawful for him to deceive his enemy, as it had been for his enemy to break his word with him, and to divulge the secret of that treaty which had been proposed in confidence of privacy; and being now in greater hopes than ever of succeeding in his first designs, did all that was in his power, both by word and deed, to frustrate the treaty that was to be proposed for such a reconciliation, by means of *Des Portes* and the Bishop of *Lisieux*, his agents at that court. The Pope, therefore, being resolved not to give any occasion of scandal in the very beginning of his Pontificate, and finding things in such a situation that he could not lend an ear to what was proposed, consistently with the security of religion, and the honour of the Apostolick See, after he had given his reasons to the *Venetian* and *Florentine* Ambassadors, immediately wrote to the Legate to order Cardinal *Gondi* not to stir out of *France*. But these orders did not arrive before he set out: so that, when his Holiness afterwards heard that he had already passed the mountains, he dispatched Father *Alessandro Franceschi* of the order of the *Predicants*, and one of his Chaplains, to meet him, and to forbid him, in his name, to proceed any further: for he was determined, as that Cardinal was suspected of favouring hereticks, neither to hear what he had to say, nor so much as to see him. He likewise ordered his Nuncio at *Venice* to tell the Marquis *De Pisani*, in a peremptory manner, that, as he was accused of heresy, and had not only followed, but borne arms and fought for an heretick, he must not, upon any account, presume to come into the territories of the church; for if he did, he should be forced to proceed against him in another manner. The Cardinal, who was then at *Ambrogiana*, a place near *Florence* belonging to the Grand Duke, was not at all intimidated by so resolute a prohibition from the Pope, but desired the Friar to give it him at large in writing, and dispatched his Secretary with him to *Rome*, to clear himself of those things that were laid to his charge. For which purpose, he represented to his Holiness, " That, from the beginning, he had not been willing to subscribe to the League, as he was sollicited, because he both saw with his own eyes, and was fully convinced by long acquaintance with the affairs of *France*, that union was not set on foot out of any true zeal or sincere regard for religion, but for a cloak to the ambition of certain great men, and to cover some state views, to which it was by no means becoming

becoming him, as an ecclesiastick, to give his assent, nor to make himself a tool to other men's passions and private interests. That he had excused himself for such a manner of proceeding to Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, who, being made acquainted with the truth of the matter, had looked upon his behaviour with a favourable eye. That if he had treated with the King of *Navarre* during the siege of *Paris*, to deliver that city from the extremity of famine, it was by the consent and approbation of the Apostolick Legate: and that if he had lately treated personally with the King himself, he had done it, that he might not expose himself to the danger of being made a prisoner in his journey, and of being afterwards compelled to meet and treat with him by force, to the great discredit and diminution of his dignity. That he had obeyed the orders which the Legate *Sega* had sent after him to the confines of *Lorrain*, by which he was given to understand, that if his business was to carry on any negotiation in favour of hereticks, or of the King of *Navarre*, he must not make his appearance at *Rome*: but, as he had no such intention, he had ventured to pursue his journey. That he could not help being surprized that his Holiness should deny him leave to come and prostrate himself at his feet, and to render him due obedience, where, if he was guilty, he might not only rebuke, but punish him. That he was ready to give a true and particular account of his actions, and if he should be found culpable, he would willingly submit to undergo such chastisement as he deserved. That his intention in coming to *Rome*, was to inform his Holiness of the miserable situation of affairs in *France*, which perhaps, had not been truly represented to him. That as a Prelate and Bishop of that kingdom, and as a Cardinal, he was come to let him know there were above forty Bishopricks vacant, the revenues of which were enjoyed by women, courtiers, soldiers, and other persons of different occupations; and that in the mean time the poor sheep were scattered and without a shepherd. That he thought it his duty to represent to his Holiness, that the Curates of parishes, Priests, and other Clergymen, having abandoned their proper function and the care of souls, had taken up the profession of arms, and dipped their hands in blood. That his conscience would reproach him, if he did not acquaint him with the danger that so noble and so large a kingdom was in of becoming totally schismatical, except proper measures were taken for the union and preservation of it. That he hoped this would shew him to be a good Christian, and a good Catholick, and neither an heretick, nor a favourer or promoter of heresy. That if his Holiness had been pleased to hear his opinion concerning the discords and calamities of *France*, he would freely have told it him, and submitted it entirely to his most wise and pious determination: but if he enjoined him silence, he would hold his

1592.

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1592. tongue, ſince, for his part, when he had once diſcharged his conſcience, he did not intend to proceed any further."

Theſe repreſentations, ſtrongly enforced by the Secretary, after he had been introduced by the *Florentine* Ambaſſador, made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the Pope, who ſaw clearer into many particulars from this information and the concurrent report of the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, that he was confirmed in his hopes, that he ſhould either be able to raiſe ſome Catholick Prince of the Blood to the Crown by general conſent, or, perhaps, that he ſhould one day ſee the King of *Navarre* ſincerely reconciled to the Church, and all the diſcords of *France*, by that means, compoſed, to the honour of the Apoſtolick See, and the re-eſtabliſhment of all orders of the kingdom in peace and ſecurity. But as this proſpect was yet dim and obſcure, from the uncertainty of future events, and he did not think it prudent either to precipitate the natural courſe of things, or utterly to forſake the League (which, if it anſwered no other end, might at leaſt ſerve as a neceſſary ſpur to quicken the King's converſion) he reſolved to keep up the ſame appearance for a while that he had ſet out with at firſt, and in the mean time to promote his ſecret deſigns with all the patience and addreſs that he was maſter of. And though he declared to the Cardinal of *Piacenza*, in a ſhort inſtrument which was publiſhed in print, that he ardently deſired to have a Catholick, and an enemy to hereſy, elected King, and could not bear to think that a perſon, who ſtill perſevered in his errors, ſhould be ſuffered to wear the Crown, and for that reaſon alſo ſeemed to wiſh for an aſſembly of the States to bring about ſo neceſſary an election: yet he diſpatched his nephew the Prothonotary *Agucchi* to the Legate himſelf, with ſecret inſtructions to behave himſelf with the utmoſt caution and prudence, and, if ſuch an Aſſembly ſhould be convened, not to ſuffer the members either to be forced or corrupted, but to endeavour that every man's choice ſhould be free and his vote diſintereſted. That he ſhould not, by any means, concur in the election of a King who was more likely to enflame diſcords than to put an end to them. That he ſhould try to prevent injuſtice from being done to any one: and that ſuch a courſe might be taken, as ſeemed likely to produce peace in the moſt natural and ſecure manner, and with as little innovation as poſſible. That he ſhould not be over ſcrupulous, but give way, as far as was conſiſtent with his honour, to the times, and circumſtances of affairs: and that, provided religion could be ſufficiently ſecured, he ſhould poſtpone many other conſiderations in the order and manner of treating. Wiſhing him, in the laſt place, to remember, that this was an affair of ſo great importance, that it could not be too maturely weighed, nor too carefully attended to: and that, therefore, he ought to beware of haſty determinations and ſpecious counſels, and to make the

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ſalvation of ſouls, and the due ſervice of God, his principal and indeed his only end. His Holineſs, conſidering the prudence of the Legate, thought theſe inſtructions ſufficient, without explaining himſelf any further, to induce him to promote moderation in the proceedings of the States, and to make him underſtand, that he would not have him concur with them in electing a King that was a foreigner, ſince longer and more deſtructive wars than had ever been before, muſt neceſſarily enſue about his eſtabliſhment: but that it would be much more ſalutary and expedient, if he could either ſet up ſome other King of the houſe of *Bourbon*, or compoſe the differences with the King of *Navarre*, to the honour of the Apoſtolick See, and with ſecurity to religion. But the Legate, giving himſelf wholly up to the guidance of the *Spaniards*, by whom he hoped to be exalted to the Papal dignity (as he thought it was probable he might ſucceed to it by the favour and aſſiſtance of his Catholick Majeſty, added to the weight of his own merits) and having already contracted a partiality to the League, and an averſion to the King, by his long reſidence in *France* and intimacy with the *Pariſians*, was either ſo blinded by affection that he could not, or ſo determined by his own intereſts, that he would not, underſtand the Pope's meaning, and therefore endeavoured, with all his power, to advance the deſigns of the *Spaniards*.

1592.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having been in ſome meaſure informed of the nature of the Pope's inſtructions, by his Secretary *Des Portes* and the Biſhop of *Liſieux*, imagined his Holineſs was inclined to favour him, and that the clauſe of cauſing a Catholick King to be elected, who ſhould be a defender of the church, and an enemy to hereticks, but ſuch a one as might be eſtabliſhed with general approbation, and without occaſioning further diſcords, to the utter ſubverſion of the ſtate, was pointed immediately at his perſon: and was, therefore, in great hopes that he ſhould have the Pope's intereſt, and conſequently that of the Legate, and that they would neither of them encourage the attempts of the *Spaniards*. So that he diſengaged himſelf from all treaties of peace, and turned his thoughts wholly upon convening ſuch an Aſſembly of the States as might effectually promote his intereſts and ſecure his eſtabliſhment. For this purpoſe, he had taken the utmoſt pains to have ſuch Deputies elected as were not corrupted with the gold or promiſes of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, but entirely dependent upon himſelf: and, where that could not be done, he prevailed that men of good underſtanding, at leaſt, ſhould be returned, who wiſhed well to their country, and had the good of the publick at heart, in hopes that ſuch men would hardly ſubmit to a foreign King, and one that was not of the *French* blood. The place where this aſſembly ſhould be held, ſtill remained

1592. mained to be considered of: and the *Spaniards*, who designed, when it was convened, to recall the Duke of *Parma* into *France*, that he might be near at hand to controll the States, and to support his Catholick Majesty's pretensions, were very desirous to have it at the city of *Soissons*. The Duke of *Lorrain* proposed the city of *Rheims*, as nearest to him, which the *Spaniards* were not much averse to. But President *Jeannine* and the Sieur *De Villeroy* advised the Duke of *Mayenne* to call them together at *Paris*, without regard to the length of the journey, the danger of the Deputies, or to the scarcity and dearness of provisions, in order to gratify the *Parisians*, who were very earnest to have it so, and ought to be humoured and taken notice of, after so many calamities, to keep them steddy and firm in their attachment to him: and likewise, to give greater dignity to the Assembly, and make it more respectable by the quality of the place, and not to expose the cities of *Rheims* or *Soissons* to danger. For they considered, that if the Duke of *Parma* came thither with a powerful army, as usual, he might easily force the States to a compliance with his will, and make himself master of those places: which he could not well do at *Paris*, on account of its strength, the number of the inhabitants, and because it was further from the frontiers, and surrounded on every side with fortresses strongly garrisoned, from whence forces might be speedily called together upon all occasions, to oppose any violence that should be offered either to the city or the States. Besides, the city was better affected to him than ever it had been before: for the pernicious power of *the Sixteen* being reduced, the government of it was lodged in the hands of the wonted magistrates, who had been elected with great care by the Duke of *Mayenne* himself: and now those incendiaries were curbed, the people were quiet, and no longer disposed to raise those insurrections which threw every thing into disorder, and had so much embarrassed his affairs: to all which arguments, they added, that the Parliament, residing at that city, might be of great service either in promoting or preventing many practices, as it suited his convenience.

This resolution was so disagreeable to the *Spanish* Ministers, that they vehemently opposed it at first, representing the necessity of the Duke of *Parma's* presence, who could not advance so far into the kingdom, nor withdraw himself to such a distance from the frontiers; and pretending that the great number of the Deputies would increase the dearth and sufferings of the *Parisians*. But the objection concerning the Duke of *Parma* was removed by his death; and the other, relating to the interests of the *Parisians*, was dropped: for they themselves desired the *Spaniards* not to raise any difficulties, as they thought it would be for their profit and advantage, and much more for their honour and reputation, that so august an Assembly should meet in their city, and that they should be admitted

mitted to aſſiſt at it. The Cardinal Legate alſo aſſented to it, not only 1592. to prevent the expence and inconveniency of a freſh journey, but becauſe he thought he could oblige the States, by the ardour of the *Pariſians*, to chuſe ſuch a King as ſhould give the greateſt ſatisfaction to the Apoſtolick See, and be moſt likely to advance the deſigns of his Catholick Majeſty. The Duke of *Mayenne*, therefore, having left the command of the army to the Sieur *De Rhoſnè*, whom he had created Marſhal and Governor of the Iſle of *France*, went directly to *Paris* with a ſmall retinue, and there endeavoured to comfort the people in their ſcarcity of proviſions, and the interruption of commerce in the city, by his preſence and exhortations to patience; aſſuring them, that, within a few days, there ſhould be proper meaſures taken by the Aſſembly to ſet the city at full liberty, and to relieve it in it's preſent diſtreſs; making large promiſes, and ſhewing great reſpect and kindneſs to every one, eſpecially the Preachers and Magiſtrates of the city, to gain the good-will and affections of the people, which he was afraid he had totally loſt by his late ſeverity.

It was not without great reaſon that the Duke of *Mayenne* hoped at laſt to transfer the Crown upon himſelf and his poſterity: for conſidering the preſent ſituation of affairs with due attention, it was evident, that neither the union of the Crowns, nor the election of the Infanta *Iſabella* (points laboured by the *Spaniards*) would ever be borne by the *French*, who could never be prevaild upon, by any kind of intereſt or practices whatſoever, to ſubmit to the dominion of their natural enemies. And though ſome particular men, who had been corrupted either with money, or the promiſes of honours and employments, ſhould be content, yet the generality of the people, who had the greateſt weight, would never be perſuaded to it. So that, when theſe pretenſions were quaſhed and fallen to the ground, he thought (and very reaſonably too) that the King of *Spain* would more willingly conſent to his election, than to that of any other perſon. For if either the Duke of *Lorrain* or the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould be elected (as it was commonly given out they would be) by the party they ſhould make, new States and freſh power would be added to the Crown of *France*, with which augmentation, it was not likely the King of *Spain* would be much pleaſed, but rather that he would deſire it ſhould decreaſe in ſtrength and grandeur. He did not ſee that his Catholick Majeſty could expect to reap greater advantage from his paſt labours and expences, than by chuſing him, who, ſtanding in need of his aſſiſtance to eſtabliſh himſelf in the kingdom, muſt neceſſarily be obliged to gratify him, and condeſcend to many things, which the reſt, perhaps, would not ſo eaſily ſubmit to. He had the ſame opinion of the Pope; who being a very diſintereſted man, and a friend to moderation,

1592. ration, as he fully ſhewed, would be deſirous to have him choſen rather than any other, as a recompence for his great labours, when he conſidered that he alone had ſupported the Catholick party and the cauſe of religion, which no body elſe had ſufficient power or abilities to have done. He ſaw that the *French* in general were diſpoſed to favour him, on account of his weight in the party, of which he had been ſo long the chief: and becauſe there was no other difference but the title, betwixt the dignity and office that he now poſſeſſed, and the full power of a King, as he already had the whole adminiſtration of affairs, by being Lieutenant of the Crown: that not one of the reſt of his family could pretend to compare with him, either for valour, merit, experience or authority; and that the ſhadow of his power alone was ſufficient to terrify and put them in confuſion. To this might be added, the care that had been taken to return ſuch Deputies as were in his intereſt, the favour of the *Pariſian* Parliament, lately reſtored by him to it's ancient power and authority, by the puniſhment of *the Sixteen*, the dependence of the Council of State upon him, and the neceſſary addreſs in conducting this deſign, in all which requiſites the reſt of his competitors were manifeſtly inferior to him.

This was likewiſe the opinion of the Duke of *Parma*, who (after his advice of endeavouring to overcome all difficulties by patience and protracting the war, was no longer regarded at the court of *Spain)* thought the election of the Duke of *Mayenne* would be of more ſervice to his Catholick Majeſty's intereſts than that of any other man, as he might be eſtabliſhed with greater facility, leſs expence, and upon more advantageous conditions, upon which account, he wrote with great freedom into *Spain* to propoſe it; and it appeared that he was inclined to have favoured his deſigns in the courſe of this affair, either becauſe he thought it for the advantage of the King of *Spain*, as he demonſtrated, or (as the other Miniſters ſaid) was jealous that the *Spaniſh* Monarchy would become ſo formidable, if the two Crowns were united, that there would not be any other power in *Chriſtendom* able to balance or oppoſe it. But his death, which happened on the ſecond of *December* at the city of *Arras*, after a long and painful illneſs, gave a new turn to affairs, much to the advantage of his Catholick Majeſty (as the *Spaniards* then ſaid) but in reality, as it ſoon appeared by the conſequences, to his manifeſt prejudice. For the reputation of his arms now ceaſing, which had kept the *French* in a ſort of obedience, they paid but little regard to the other *Spaniſh* Commanders and Miniſters. Nor were the Miniſters themſelves by any means equal to him either in prudence or authority: and as they had opinions and conceits of their own, very different from thoſe wiſe maxims, by which he had till then ſo proſperouſly conducted the undertaking, they afterwards

afterwards proceeded with such precipitation, that they soon changed the 1592. face of his Catholick Majesty's affairs. The Duke of *Mayenne* also lost much of his hopes after the death of this commander: and seeing the other Ministers, particularly *Diego d'Ivarra*, utterly averse to his designs, he began to fear he should be obliged to take another course, and resolved to manage his affairs himself, and with more caution and reserve than he had done before. However, the assembling of the States was so far advanced, that it could be deferred no longer, and it was necessary to call them together, to prevent an absolute breach with the *Spaniards*, and to satisfy the Pope; but chiefly because the Deputies were already elected, and many of them upon their road to *Paris*.

Such were the principal events of the year 1592, during the course of which, many other occurrences also happened, with various success to both parties, in different parts of the kingdom. Monsieur *De la Valette*, Governor of *Provence*, had laid siege, in the beginning of the year, to *Rochebrune*, a town in that province held by the Duke of *Savoy*: and after he had battered it many days to no purpose, being resolved to remove his artillery and plant it in another place, where he found the walls were weaker, and it would be more easy to advance to the assault, he began to throw up new trenches and to plant his cannon there: but whilst he himself was labouring at the works to finish them with the greater expedition, he received a musket-ball in the head, and was carried into his tent, where he died in a few hours. A cavalier indeed, of excellent endowments of mind, approved valour, and an undaunted spirit, and who, with a handful of men, had, to his great reputation, made head against the whole power of the Duke of *Savoy*, without sustaining any loss. When he was dead, *Provence* being left without a Governor on behalf of the King, *Les Diguieres*, who was always very active upon such exigencies, left the care of *Dauphiné* to Colonel *Ornano*, and hasted thither himself with his usual diligence; and having joined his own forces with those of that province, made himself master of all the towns and castles upon the banks of the river *Var*, which divides *Italy* from *France*, with surprising rapidity. After which, he suddenly passed the river and demolished the fortifications which the Duke had raised on that side to prevent any incursions into his territories, and plundered all the country to the very walls of *Nice*, to the infinite terror of the inhabitants: and having repassed the river, began, with the same good fortune, to reduce the neighbouring fortresses. But he did not think proper to make any attempt upon *Aix*, *Marseilles*, or the principal cities, because he neither had a sufficient army, nor had made other necessary provisions for such undertakings.

In the mean time, whilst he was in *Provence*, the King's affairs suffered exceed-

1592. exceedingly in *Dauphinè*. For Monsieur *De Maugiron*, Governor of *Valence* (whatsoever might be the occasion) agreed to deliver that city into the hands of the Duke of *Nemours* and his brother the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*, Governor for the League in those parts: which being executed without any interruption, the Duke of *Nemours*, resolved to pursue his good fortune, besieged and took *St. Marcellin*, and after that many other places, which being well fortified, had prevented the forces of the League from joining the Duke of *Savoy* on that side. *Les Diguieres*, therefore, being obliged, by this diversion, to quit *Provence*, left the field open to the Duke of *Savoy*, who having passed the *Var*, and recovered all the places that had been taken from him, advanced to lay siege to *Antibe*, a town upon the sea-coast, of great importance for the commodiousness of the port; which he took at last, though it cost him much time, and was attended with a great deal of difficulty.

But *Les Diguieres* returning out of *Dauphine*, drew him out of *Provence* by diversion, as he himself had been served before by the Duke of *Nemours*. For after he had got a body of forces together, rather well disciplined and experienced than numerous, he resolved to pass the *Alpes* and carry the war into *Piedmont*: and having crossed mount *Genevra*, the pass by which armies generally march to that side of the mountains, he extended himself along the valley of *Perouse* and the marquisate of *Saluzzo*, with so much devastation and terror to the people, that the Duke left the care of *Provence* to Count *Francisco Martinengo*, and was forced to come to prevent the destruction of his own country. The nature of the place, which was steep and mountainous, full of craggs and cliffs, and surrounded by the *Alpes*, at a season too when winter was already coming on in those parts (for it was about the end of *September*) prevented the progress of their arms, and would not suffer them to face each other with all their forces. And yet the *French* took *Perouse* and the tower of *Luserne*, and advanced as far as *Briqueras*; and having received intelligence that the Duke's commanders had assembled part of their army at *Vigone*, resolved to attack the camp before all their forces were drawn together. For which purpose, after they had marched all night, on the 4th of *October*, in the morning, they made a sudden assault upon the town; where, from the nature of the situation, and the obstinate resistance of those within it, the dispute was long and dangerous. But the *Savoyards* being few, and the place not very strong of itself, they were at last defeated, six hundred men slain, many commanders and ten pair of colours taken: and the *French* returning victorious to *Briqueras*, began to fortify that place with the utmost diligence, which being made defensible, by forcing all the men in the neighbouring country to work, they left a good garrison in it, and advanced toward *Saluzzo* (at a time when

1592.

the Duke was already come with his whole army to *Villa Franca*) and having no other enterprise of greater importance to go upon, they resolved to besiege *Cavors*, a place in the mountains, defended by a very strong tower just above it. But whilst they were endeavouring to make their approaches to it with great art and diligence, and to plant their artillery, the Duke took another road, and marched in the night to make an assault upon *Briqueras*, imagining, that, as the works could hardly be finished, it would be no difficult matter to take it from the enemy; and when that was done, they would be surrounded in such a manner, that they might easily be defeated in the narrow defiles of that valley. But he met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected: so that after a very fierce assault, which lasted four hours, he resolved to retire, as he knew the *French* were so near, that it could not be long before they would come to relieve their men; which indeed proved true: for Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, leaving the place besieged, which was but small, and might be blocked up by a few of his forces, went with the rest of the army whither he was guided by the report of the firing, which echoed through the vallies and mountains. But finding the Duke was gone from *Briqueras*, he resolved to pursue him as fast as he could: and having overtaken his rear guard near a village, as they were passing a rivulet, he attacked it with such violence, that he put the last squadrons of the cavalry in disorder. The rest of the army made a halt, and maintained a furious skirmish for many hours; till, being quite tired out and the night coming on, the Duke retreated to *Vigone*, and *Les Diguieres* returned to *Cavors*, where the tower and castle were so demolished by the battery, that it at last surrendered. After which, having over-run and plundered those vallies, and being hindered by the snow and the severity of the weather from proceeding to other enterprizes, he marched back into *Dauphinè* about the end of *December*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Espernon* was come into *Provence*, upon the news of his brother's death. For being desirous to keep the government of it (given him by King *Henry* the third) in which he had substituted the late Monsieur *De Valette*, he marched thither with all his forces, and without much difficulty recovered *Antibe*, and made himself master of all the towns as far as the *Var*, which were so weak, that they fell a prey sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. And though there were many in the province, even of those that were of the King's party, who did not follow him, yet he trusted to the forces which he had brought with him, and exerted his utmost endeavours to reduce all the towns to obey and acknowledge him as their lawful Governor.

The King's affairs succeeded very well also in the provinces of *Gascony*

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1592. and *Languedoc*. For *Anthony Scipio*, Duke of *Joyeuse*, brother to *Anne*, who was slain in the battle of *Coutras*, and chief commander for the League in that province, having gained several victories, taken many places, and made his name formidable in those parts, had at last besieged *Villemur*, a fortress not far from *Montauban*, with a design, as soon as he had taken it and laid waste all the adjacent country, to straiten *Montauban* itself, the sure asylum, and, for many years past, the head quarters of the *Hugonots*. But the Duke of *Espernon* marching that way at the same time with his army to go into *Provence*, turned a little out of his way to relieve that place; upon which, *Joyeuse* knowing himself inferior in strength, quitted the siege, and resolved to take shelter in the towns that adhered to his party, till the Duke of *Espernon* should proceed in his march, when he thought he might venture to return to *Villemur*, and prosecute his design with more security.

There were only three hundred foot in *Villemur*, which was but a very weak garrison to sustain a vigorous siege. Monsieur *De Temines*, therefore, who was in *Montauban*, being determined not to suffer the besieged to perish without relief, went from thence with two hundred firelocks, an hundred and twenty cuirassiers, and a select number of Gentlemen, by a road that was not much frequented, and got through certain narrow and rugged defiles into the town, thinking it better, if possible, to prevent the taking of *Villemur*, than to be reduced, when it was lost, to the necessity of defending the walls of *Montauban*. But the Duke of *Joyeuse*, having taken the out-works and carried his approaches to the foss, planted eight pieces of cannon and began to batter the wall with great fury: and not failing in any thing that was the duty of a brave and vigilant commander, being abundantly supplied with every thing that was requisite for a siege from *Tholouse*, he distressed it to such a degree, that the danger was already very great, and a speedy resolution necessary, either to relieve the besieged, or to let them perish. Upon which, *Henry D'Anville*, Duke of *Montmorancy*, Governor for the King in that province, being resolved, if possible, to repel an attack that fell so immediately under his notice, gathered what forces he had together, and having called the *Noblesse* of *Auvergne* that were near at hand, to his assistance, dispatched Monsieur *De Lecques* and the Sieurs *De Chambaut* and *Montoison*, with orders to attempt either to raise the siege, or to relieve the town effectually some other way. In the mean time the Duke of *Joyeuse*, having been informed of their rendezvous at *Bellegarde*, left his infantry to continue the siege, whilst he himself with the cavalry and a body of harquebusiers, boldly marched to attack them, which he did with so much impetuosity, that he put them in some disorder. But *Lecques* having caused two culverines and two other smaller pieces, which he had taken

taken out of *Montauban*, to fire upon them, gave ſuch a check to the fury of the aſſailants, that they retired at laſt, without gaining any further advantage: and the Duke of *Joyeuſe* returned to his former poſt, where he continued the ſiege with ſo much ſecurity and contempt of the enemy, that he quartered his cavalry in ſeparate parties through the neighbouring villages, for the greater convenience of provender in that barren country. But the Viſcount *De Gordon* coming to the aſſiſtance of the King's party, they were ſo encouraged by that reinforcement (for they had then eighteen hundred horſe and almoſt four thouſand foot) that they reſolved to fall ſuddenly upon the Duke's trenches, imagining, that if the beſieged (as they flattered themſelves, from the valour of Monſieur *De Temines)* ſhould ſally out upon them on the other ſide, at the ſame time, they might eaſily force the trenches and throw relief into the place. With this deſign, on the 19th of *December* at night, they entered a large wood, which extends itſelf almoſt to *Villemur*, and came ſo unexpectedly the next morning, to attack the Duke of *Joyeuſe's* camp, that they got into the firſt trench before the guards, who were very remiſs in their duty, had time to ſnatch up their arms. The Duke, having received notice of the enemy's arrival and the flight of his guards, ſent two hundred harquebuſiers on horſeback to keep the enemy in play, and made a ſignal, by firing three cannon, for his cavalry to haſten to the camp, whilſt he himſelf ſtood ready with his forces in battalia betwixt the firſt and ſecond trenches, to receive the Royaliſts, who being animated by ſo proſperous a beginning, made a fierce attack upon them, which was no leſs reſolutely ſuſtained. The fortune of the day continued very doubtful for the ſpace of an hour and an half: but in the mean time, Monſieur *De Temines*, with the greater part of the garriſon, ſallying out of the town, fell upon the rear of the Duke's main body, which made but a feeble reſiſtance. So that his infantry not being able any longer to ſuſtain ſo furious an attack on both ſides, took to flight, and ran as faſt as they could to paſs a bridge of boats, which they had thrown over the river *Tar* for the convenience of their camp: but the bridge was ſo weak, and the crowd ſo great, that it broke under their weight, and the men who had got upon it were all miſerably drowned. The Duke, who, out of haſte, had mounted a common horſe, after he had done every thing that a good commander could do to ſtop his men, retreated with a few Gentlemen, ſtill fighting, till he came to the bank of the river, where he found the bridge already broken down and his men drowned; ſo that he was reduced to a neceſſity of attempting to ſwim his horſe over, which being a very weak one, was carried away by the ſtream, and he periſhed in the ſame unfortunate manner that his men had done. During this interval the cavalry had got together, upon the ſignal that was made; but their General being dead and all their trenches taken, they

1592. endeavoured to cover the remainder of those that were flying, and retired without offering to molest the enemy. The camp of the League being thus dispersed with the loss of a thousand men, two and twenty ensigns, and all their artillery, *Villemur* was delivered from the siege, and the King's forces became much superior to the enemy in that province.

Very different was the success of his arms in *Bretagne*. The Prince of *Conti*, commander in chief of the armies in *Poictou* and the territory of *Maine*, had joined the Prince of *Dombes*, Governor of *Bretagne*, for the defence of the King's party there, and with a resolution to besiege *Craon*, a large strong town upon the frontiers of *Bretagne*, in which there was a very numerous garrison that over-ran and plundered all the country round. As soon, therefore, as they had gathered their forces together, they began upon this undertaking, one on one side, and the other on the other side of the river, which runs through the middle of the city and divides it into two parts. But as it commonly happens in armies where more Generals than one command, that things go on not only heavily, but with confusion and disorder, the siege, which was very hopefully begun, was protracted so long, that the Duke of *Mercœur* had time to draw his forces together to relieve that place, as he much desired. For which purpose, he sent for the *Spaniards* from *Blavet*, and having likewise raised two thousand *Breton* firelocks, and assembled all his horse and the *Noblesse* of the country, he marched with all expedition towards *Craon*, though not till the Prince of *Conti* had drawn the water out of the moat on his side, and the Prince of *Dombes* was battering it so furiously on the other, that the besieged were apprehensive they should not be able to sustain the first assault. Upon his approach, the Princes, not thinking it safe that their armies should lie divided with the river betwixt them, resolved that the Prince of *Dombes* should repass it and join the Prince of *Conti* in his quarters, which was done before the arrival of the enemy: but with so little foresight and consideration, that, either for the convenience of repassing the river upon occasion, or out of downright carelessness and neglect, or for some other reason, they left the bridge standing and very weakly guarded, which they had thrown over the river upon boats about a league below the town. When the Prince had passed over and the armies were re-united, in order to free themselves from the incumbrance of their heavy cannon, they immediately drew them off from the place where they were planted, and sent them before to *Chasteau-Gontier*, whither they designed to retire: and their large shot, which were so many, that they could not carry them away in their haste, they buried in different places, to save them from the enemy. But the Duke *De Mercœur*, who, finding the bridge entire, had presently passed the river without any opposition, marched forwards in good order, and advanced with

1592.

with ſuch ſpeed, that the Princes had hardly raiſed their camp, and drawn up the army in battalia to march away, when the Sieur *De Bois-dauphin*, who led the vanguard of the League, appeared in the field, and detached his light horſe to ſkirmiſh with them. Many of the moſt experienced commanders, and particularly *Charles* of *Montmorancy*, Lord *D'Anville*, oppoſed the reſolution of retiring in ſight of the enemy, inſiſting that there was no example of any army having ever done ſo, without paying dear for it: as thoſe that retired muſt naturally be in ſome apprehenſion and confuſion, which would encourage the others to advance with more courage and impetuoſity: for which reaſon they were of opinion, that it would be better to ſtand firm in the poſt where they were, and, if they had time, to throw up a trench in the front of their army, and there reſolutely to receive the attack: and that they ought to ſend for their artillery back again, which was not got far on the road, and make a briſk fire upon the enemy. The Prince of *Dombes* in a great meaſure aſſented to this advice; but the Prince of *Conti*, who was his ſuperior both in years and authority, and commanded in chief, becauſe he was upon the confines of his own government, ſent him orders to hold himſelf in readineſs, to retire in the manner which he had already determined upon, alledging, that the enemy was ſo much ſtronger than him, that he could not think of expoſing that army and all the neighbouring countries to ſo manifeſt a danger. In conſequence of this reſolution he ordered the vanguard to file off, under the command of *Hercules de Rohan*, Duke of *Montbaſon*, and followed him with the main battle, which he conducted himſelf, leaving orders for the Prince of *Dombes* to bring up the rear with as much expedition as poſſible. But he being purſued cloſe at the heels by the enemy's cavalry (for not only their vanguard preſſed hard upon him, but the Duke of *Mercœur*, with his whole army, had alſo overtaken him) was obliged to make a ſtand and face about to oppoſe the enemy, whoſe fury he withſtood for a little while, till, being in a manner ſurrounded, and deſerted by moſt of his men, after he had given the higheſt proofs of his valour and reſolution, he was at laſt forced to retire and leave the paſſage open to the enemy, who, purſuing their good fortune, fell with ſuch fury upon the infantry, whilſt they were diſordered and embarraſſed in their retreat by the narrowneſs of the roads, that without making any ſort of defence, they were preſently either diſperſed or cut to pieces by the light horſe and the *Spaniſh* foot, who made a terrible ſlaughter amongſt them. The Prince of *Conti*, without ever turning his face, arrived with his cavalry entire at *Chaſteau-Gontier* in the evening, where he was ſoon after joined by the Prince of *Dombes* with no more than eleven horſe. The artillery, which was left upon the road by thoſe that had the charge of conducting it, fell wholly into the enemy's

hands,

1592. hands, and the Gentlemen that followed the camp separated themselves when they were got out of the enemy's reach, every one retiring to live in peace at his own house. This defeat, which happened on the 23d of *May*, so much weakened the King's forces in those parts, that not only *Chasteau-Gontier* was quitted by the Princes, who retired further into the country, but *Mayenne* and *Laval* also, with all the neighbouring places, fell into the hands of the League. The Prince of *Conti* retired into the territory of *Maine*, and the Prince of *Dombes* returned by a different rout to *Rennes*; and the *English*, all disarmed and covered with wounds, got into the suburbs of *Vitré*, leaving the possession of the field, for many days, to the Duke of *Mercœur*.

The Marshal *D'Aumont* was already appointed Governor of *Bretagne* by the King. For the Prince (whom we shall henceforth call the Duke of *Montpensier*) had now succeeded his father in the government of *Normandy*, and had deputed *Francis d'Espinay* to be his Lieutenant there, a man, who by the sprightliness of his wit, the ornaments of learning, and his valour in arms, had acquired a very great reputation. These two having gathered forces together from all parts, and raised a body of foot in the country round *Brouage*, of which place *St. Luc* was Governor, hastened their march as much as possible, because the Duke of *Mercœur* had taken the castle of *Mal-estroit*, and was making preparations to besiege *Vitré*, a town of so much importance, that the success of the King's affairs in those parts chiefly depended upon its security and preservation. The King's commanders, therefore, after they had assembled their forces, at their first arrival laid siege to *Mayenne*, a city rather large than strong, and having made themselves masters of it upon terms, were in doubt whether they should advance to meet the Duke of *Mercœur*, or stay to make an attempt upon *Rochefort*, a town of very great strength, which incommoded all the places thereabout, and particularly the city of *Angiers*. At last, however, at the importunity of the people, and of the Gentlemen that followed them, they resolved to use their endeavours to reduce that place: but the undertaking proved so difficult, as it was defended by the Sieur *De St. Offange*, that after they had fired two thousand five hundred cannon-shot against it, and lost not only much time, but the best soldiers in their army, they were forced to raise the siege by the setting in of the autumnal rains, and the approach of the Duke of *Mercœur* with succours. But the Duke having kept them in suspence by taking several different routs, and making a feint of turning sometimes to one place and sometimes to another, came suddenly before *Quintin*, where seven hundred *Germans* had got together, who were under the command of the Duke of *Montpensier* in those parts: and finding them unprovided with such things as were necessary to make a defence, he

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forced them to capitulate, upon expreſs conditions that they ſhould go out of the province, and not bear arms any more againſt him; terms that were of great prejudice to the King's affairs, for he had no other body of foot that was bolder, or more experienced, or better diſciplined than they were.

1592.

The loſs of the King's party was augmented by the defeat of the *Engliſh*, who being viſited by grievous diſtempers (to which they are very ſubject) and now reduced very low, had obtained leave of the Duke of *Montpenſier* to go to *Danfront* in *Lower Normandy* for change of air, and to recover their ſtrength by reſt: but being attacked upon their march thither by the Sieur *De Bois-dauphin*, with the garriſons of *Laval*, *Craon*, *Fougeres*, and other neighbouring places, ſo many of them were killed, that hardly two hundred were left alive out of ſo great a number.

On the other hand, the affairs of the League ſucceeded but ill in *Lorrain*. For the Duke of *Boüillon* having taken *Stenay*, and made himſelf maſter of ſome places of leſs conſequence, at laſt marched to relieve *Beaumont*, a town that was beſieged by Monſieur *De Ambliſe* the Duke of *Lorrain's* General; where the two armies came to a cloſe engagement, and the *Lorrainers* were utterly routed, with the loſs of their trenches and artillery. After which action, the Duke of *Boüillon* took *Dun* on a ſudden, by faſtening a petard to one of the gates of that place, and over-run all the country without oppoſition, throwing the forces of the League into very great confuſion.

In this ſituation of affairs began the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety three, both parties being, in general, more inclined to an accommodation than to proſecute the war. The firſt thing that occurred worthy of notice, in the beginning of this year, was the Duke of *Mayenne's* declaration, (for though it had been drawn up in the *December* before, it was not publiſhed till the fifth of *January*) in which he ſet forth his intention in aſſembling the States of his party, intreating and exhorting the Catholicks that followed the King, to unite themſelves with him for the ſame end, and to take proper meaſures for the peace and preſervation of the kingdom. The tenour of it was as follows.

1593.

" CHARLES of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Mayenne*, Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France*, to whomſoever theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting.

" The inviolable regard which this kingdom has ſhewn in all ages to piety and religion, has cauſed it to flouriſh above all others in *Chriſtendom*, and our Kings to be honoured with the name of *Moſt Chriſtian* and, *Eldeſt Sons of the Church*: ſome of them having paſſed the ſeas and gone as far as the utmoſt bounds of the earth with powerful armies to make

war

1593. war againſt the *Infidels*, in order to obtain thoſe glorious titles; and others of them fought againſt ſuch as endeavoured to introduce new ſects and errors, contrary to the faith and belief of their forefathers. In all which expeditions, they were conſtantly attended by the Nobility, who voluntarily expoſed their lives and fortunes to all dangers, to have a ſhare in that only true and ſolid glory of having aſſiſted to preſerve religion in their own country, or to eſtabliſh it in places far remote, where the name and worſhip of our Lord was not yet known: from whence the fame of the valour and zeal of the whole nation is not only celebrated in all parts, but has excited other Potentates to follow the example, in the honour and danger of ſuch worthy undertakings, and ſo laudable atchievements. Ever ſince that firſt ardour, the holy intentions of our Kings and of their ſubjects have not been at all cooled or changed, till theſe laſt days, when hereſy has been ſecretly introduced into this kingdom, and increaſed in ſuch a manner, by means which every one is acquainted with, that there is no longer any occaſion to inform the world, that we are at laſt fallen into ſo lamentable a condition, that the Catholicks themſelves, whom the unity of the church ought to keep inſeparably joined together, have, by a new and unheard of example, taken arms againſt each other, and diſunited themſelves inſtead of combining for the defence of their religion, which, we judge, has been effected by the wicked impreſſions and wonted artifices that hereticks have made uſe of to perſuade them, that this war is not undertaken for the ſake of religion, but to deſtroy and uſurp the State: though it is moſt certain we have been induced to take arms by ſo juſt a concern, or rather compelled by ſo urgent a neceſſity, that the cauſe thereof cannot be aſcribed to any other but the authors of the moſt wicked, diſloyal, and pernicious counſel that ever was given to a Prince: and though the King's death happened by a ſtroke from Heaven, and by the hand of one man alone, without any inſtigation, or even ſo much as the privity of thoſe that had but too much cauſe to deſire it: and notwithſtanding we had fully ſhewn, that our ultimate aim and deſire was only to preſerve the State, and to obſerve the laws of the Realm, by acknowledging the Cardinal of *Bourbon* as King, who was the neareſt and firſt Prince of the Blood, and declared ſo to be in the life-time of the late King, by his letters patent regiſtered in all the Parliaments, and as ſuch deſigned to be his ſucceſſor, in caſe he ſhould die without male iſſue, which obliged us to confer that honour upon him, and to yield him all manner of obedience, fidelity, and ſervice, as our intention was to have done if it had pleaſed God to deliver him out of the captivity he was in: and if the King of *Navarre*, from whom alone he could expect that happineſs, had been pleaſed, to oblige the whole Catholick party, by ſetting him at liberty, by acknowledging him

him himſelf as King, and by ſtaying till the courſe of nature had brought his days to an end, making uſe of that interval to cauſe himſelf to be inſtructed, and to be reconciled to the holy Church, he ſhould have found all the Catholicks united and diſpoſed to yield him the ſame obedience and fidelity, after the death of the King his uncle. But as he perſevered in his errors, it was not poſſible for us to do that, conſiſtently with our duty to the Apoſtolick *Roman* Church, which had excommunicated him, and deprived him of all the title he could pretend to the Crown: by ſo doing, we ſhould likewiſe have broken and violated that ancient cuſtom, ſo religiouſly obſerved for ſo many ages, and thro' a ſucceſſion of ſo many Kings, from *Cloüis* down to the preſent times, of not acknowledging or ſuffering any King to ſit in the royal throne who was not a Catholick, an obedient ſon of the Church, and who had not ſolemnly promiſed and ſworn at his conſecration, and at his receiving the Crown and Sceptre, to live and die in it, to defend and maintain it, and to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to extirpate hereſy; an oath that is the very firſt that is taken by our Kings, upon which that of obedience and fidelity in their ſubjects is wholly founded, and without which (ſo zealous were they for their religion) they would never have ſubmitted to any Prince that pretended to be called to the Crown by the Laws. Which cuſtom was judged ſo holy and neceſſary for the welfare of the kingdom, by the Aſſembly of the States held at *Blois* in the year 1566, when the Catholicks were not yet divided in the defence of their religion, that it was looked upon as the principal and fundamental law of the State: and it was ordained by the King's will and authority, that two of every order ſhould be deputed and ſent to the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, to repreſent to them from the States, the danger they expoſed themſelves to by forſaking the holy Church, and to exhort them to reconcile themſelves to it, and to declare to them, that in caſe they did not, if ever it ſhould chance to be their turn to ſucceed to the Crown, they ſhould be perpetually excluded as incapable of any inheritance. Nor is the declaration, which was afterwards publiſhed at *Roüen* in the year 1588, and confirmed in the convention of the States laſt held at *Blois*, " That this antient law and cuſtom ſhould be inviolably obſerved as a fundamental law of the kingdom," any thing leſs than an expreſs approbation of the judgment given upon that point by the preceding States, againſt which there can be no juſt objection that may in any wiſe ſerve to impeach or invalidate their opinion and authority. The late King, accordingly, received it for a law, and both promiſed and ſwore to obſerve it, in the houſe of God, and upon the precious body of our Saviour: as all the Deputies of the States likewiſe did in the laſt Aſſembly, not only before thoſe tragical and inhuman murders, which made it for ever infamous, but afterwards alſo,

1593.

1593. when he no longer ſtood in any awe of thoſe that were dead, and deſpiſed thoſe that were left alive (whom he looked upon as utterly ruined and in deſpair) becauſe he knew himſelf bound and obliged both by duty and intereſt, as all Sovereigns are, to obey and maintain the laws, which are the main pillars, or rather the foundations, of their ſtate. The Catholicks of the Union, therefore, cannot, with any ſhew of juſtice, be blamed for following the decrees of the holy Church, the example of their anceſtors, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, which require the profeſſion of the Catholick faith in the Prince that aſpires to the Crown by being next in blood, as a qualification eſſentially neceſſary to make him ſovereign of a kingdom, that was gained to *Jeſus Chriſt* by the power of the Goſpel, which it received ſo many ages ago, and in the manner that it is ſtill preached by the *Roman* Catholick Apoſtolick Church.

" Theſe reaſons have induced us to hope (though ſome appearance of duty retained many Catholicks with the late King) that after his death, religion, which is the ſtrongeſt tie of all others, would unite them all for the defence of that which ought to be more dear to them than life itſelf. We ſee nevertheleſs, it has happened quite otherwiſe, contrary to all human probability: for advantage was taken of that ſudden event, to perſuade them, that we were the authors of his death, though we never ſo much as thought of it: that honour obliged them to aſſiſt the King of *Navarre*, who gave out that he would revenge it, and promiſed them to turn Catholick in the ſpace of ſix months: and when they were once embarked with him, the mutual injuries and provocations, which are the natural conſequences of civil war, the proſperous ſucceſs that he has met with, and the ſame calumnies that the hereticks have never ceaſed to publiſh againſt us, have effectually ſerved to keep them ſo long attached to him, and have furniſhed the hereticks with means of ſtrengthening themſelves in ſuch a manner, that religion and the ſtate are in manifeſt danger thereby. And though we have long foreſeen the evils which this diviſion would occaſion, that it would be the means of eſtabliſhing hereſy at the expence of the blood and arms of the Catholicks, and that this could only be prevented by our reconciliation, which we have ſought with ſo much earneſtneſs, on that conſideration, yet it has never been in our power to effect it: the minds of men having been ſo tranſported and prepoſſeſſed by their paſſions, that we have hitherto been hindered from taking the only proper meaſures for our ſafety. We have often intreated them to enter into a conference with us, as we offered to do with them, that we might come to ſome joint reſolution for that purpoſe. We have declared both to them and the King of *Navarre* himſelf, upon ſome propoſals made for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace in the kingdom, that if he

he would renounce his errors, and reconcile himſelf to the Church, to the Pope, and to the Holy See, by a true and unfeigned converſion, and by actions that might teſtify his affection for our religion, we, on our part, would moſt willingly and obediently do all that lay in our power to aſſiſt him in putting an end to our common miſeries, and would proceed with ſuch candour and ſincerity, that no one ſhould have the leaſt reaſon to doubt, that ſuch was our real intention. Theſe overtures and declarations were made at ſuch times as we were in the greateſt proſperity, and able to have undertaken things of a much higher nature, if we had been ſo diſpoſed, and had preferred ſuch enterprizes to the good and tranquillity of the publick. To all which he anſwered (as it well known to every body) "That he would not be compelled by his ſubjects," giving the name of *Compulſion* to the intreaties that were made to him to return into the boſom of the Church, which he ought rather to have taken in good part, and as a wholeſome admonition that repreſented his duty to him, to which the greateſt Kings upon earth are no leſs obliged than the meaneſt of mankind: for when once a man has been initiated into the the Chriſtian religion by the true Church (as ours is, and whoſe authority we will not ſuffer to be diſputed by any one, whoſoever he may be) he cannot renounce it, any more than a ſoldier, that has been enliſted, can depart from the fidelity which he has promiſed and ſworn, without being looked upon as a deſerter and violater of the laws of God and the Church. He, likewiſe, added to the ſaid anſwer, "That when once he ſhould be obeyed and acknowledged by all his ſubjects, he would cauſe himſelf to be inſtructed by a free, general Council:" as if Councils were neceſſary to refute an error ſo often condemned by the Church, eſpecially by the laſt Council at *Trent*, which was as ſolemn and authentick a one as any that hath been celebrated for many ages. And when God had permitted him to gain an advantage over us by a victory, the ſame intreaties were reiterated, not by us indeed, as we were not then in a condition to urge them, but by other perſons of honour, who were ſollicitous for the publick good and repoſe of the Kingdom. The ſame was alſo done, during the ſiege of *Paris*, by Prelates of great authority, who, moved by the ſufferings of the beſieged, took upon themſelves to go to him, to ſee if they could find any remedy for their miſeries: at which time if he had ever deſigned, or rather, if the Holy Ghoſt, without whoſe aſſiſtance no one can enter into his Church, had ſo diſpoſed his heart, he might have given the Catholicks much better hopes of his converſion, who now are juſtly ſuſpicious of ſo ſudden a change, and jealous in a matter that ſo nearly concerns the honour of God and their own lives and conſciences, which can never be ſecure under the dominion of hereticks. But the hope which he had then conceived that he

1593.

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1593. should be able to reduce *Paris*, and consequently to make himself master of all the rest of the kingdom by force and the terror of his arms, added to the resources which he expected to find in that city, induced him to reject the advice of reconciling himself to the Church, which might have united the Catholicks and preserved religion. And after that city was delivered by the succour of the Princes and Lords, with a considerable body of the *Noblesse*, of the kingdom, and the army of his Catholick Majesty, who hath always supported this cause (for which we are under the highest obligations to him) by his forces under the command of the Duke of *Parma*, of happy memory, a Prince sufficiently known by his great merits and the reputation of his arms: even then he did not give up his hopes, as this foreign army left the kingdom as soon as it had raised the siege: but presently called his party together, and assembled a powerful army, with which he made himself master of the field, and then openly declared, without reserve, that he should deem it criminal in any one to petition him, or even to speak to him about his conversion, before they had acknowledged and taken the oath of obedience and fidelity to him: that we were obliged to lay down our arms, to present ourselves before him in that naked and defenceless condition, to supplicate him, and to give him absolute power over our lives and fortunes, and over religion itself, to use or abuse it as he pleased, after it was brought into such dangerous circumstances by our own servility and meanness of spirit. Whereas by the authority and means of the Holy See, the help of his Catholick Majesty, and other potentates, who favour and assist this cause, we have always entertained good hopes, that God would be so merciful to us as to support it: all which Princes would have given themselves no further trouble about our affairs, if we had once acknowledged him: and this quarrel concerning religion would have been wholly decided, with too manifest an advantage to hereticks, betwixt him (the head and protector of heresy, armed with our obedience and all the forces of the kingdom) and us, who would have had nothing left to resist him, but bare and ineffectual supplications, addressed to a Prince more desirous to hear than to grant them.

But how unreasonable soever this expectation may be, and though the complying with it is the sure way to subvert religion, yet, amongst those Catholicks that adhered to him, many have suffered themselves to be persuaded, that it is rebellion to oppose him, and that we ought rather to obey his commands, and the laws of that new and temporal polity which he would establish, in contradiction to the ancient institutions of the kingdom, than the decrees of the holy Church and the laws of his predecessors (in whose right he pretends to the Crown) who never taught us to acknowledge hereticks, but on the contrary to reject them, and to

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make war againſt them, and to look upon nothing as more juſt and neceſſary, though it ſhould be attended with the utmoſt danger. Here let it be remembered, that he himſelf took up arms againſt our Kings, to introduce a new doctrine into the kingdom: that many defamatory pamphlets and libels were written and publiſhed againſt thoſe that oppoſed it, and adviſed them to extinguiſh the growing evil betimes, and whilſt it was yet weak: that he took great pains, at that time, to have his cauſe thought juſt, becauſe he fought for the ſake of religion and a good conſcience: and that we defend an ancient religion, embraced by this kingdom from the very beginning of it, and under the influence of which this Crown flouriſhed till it became the firſt and moſt potent in *Chriſtendom*; and which we are thoroughly convinced cannot be kept pure and inviolable, and free from danger, under a heretick King, though at firſt he may diſſemble and promiſe the contrary, to induce us to lay down our arms, and to eſtabliſh himſelf in an abſolute dominion over us. Late examples, common reaſon, and daily experience ſhould make us wiſe, and teach us that ſubjects eaſily fall in with the way of life, the cuſtoms, and even the religion of their Kings, to ſupport themſelves in their favour, and to ſhare in the honours and emoluments of which they alone have the diſpoſal: and that after they have corrupted ſome with their favours, they have always found means to force the reſt to a compliance with their will, by dint of power and authority. Human nature is always the ſame, and what has once been accounted lawful, though it really was not ſo in itſelf, may afterwards be ſo thought again, for another cauſe, which ſhall appear no leſs juſt than that which was the occaſion of our firſt error. Many Catholicks have judged it lawful to follow an heretick Prince, upon ſome conſiderations, and to promote his eſtabliſhment: nor hath the ſight of the ruins of churches, of altars, and of the monuments of their fathers (many of whom died valiantly fighting for the extirpation of the hereſy which they now ſupport) nor the preſent, nor future danger of religion been ſufficient to reclaim them. How much more ſuſpected ought his forces and adherents to be to us, if he was once eſtabliſhed King and abſolute Sovereign? ſince, in ſuch a caſe, every one would be ſo tired out, or rather ruined by the late unhappy wars, that, provided they might be ſuffered to live in ſecurity and repoſe, and not without ſome hope of recompence, they would rather chuſe to ſubmit to any kind of tyranny, than expoſe themſelves to freſh troubles and dangers by oppoſing it. Some are of opinion, that all the Catholicks would unanimouſly join, upon ſuch an occaſion, to preſerve their religion, and therefore, that it would be an eaſy matter to fruſtrate the deſign of any one that ſhould attempt innovations. So happy a conjunction, without doubt, is much to be wiſhed for; but yet we dare not flatter

1593.

1593. flatter ourſelves that it is likely to happen on a ſudden. But admitting that, when the flame is extinguiſhed, the embers ſhould inſtantly become void of heat, and that when arms are once laid down, all our animoſities ſhould likewiſe totally ſubſide: yet it is moſt certain, we ſhould not thereby become exempt from all other paſſions, which ſometimes lead us into errors: and that the danger would always hang over our heads, of being ſubject (notwithſtanding all our endeavours) to the caprice and inſolence of hereticks, who, ſeeing they had the advantage of having a King of their own religion, would find means, either by force or art, to do whatſoever they pleaſed; which, we may ſuppoſe, is the motive that induces them to labour that point with ſo much earneſtneſs. And if the Catholicks would well conſider the conſequences that proceed from their advice and inſtigation, they might ſee that clearly enough at preſent: for the ſtrongeſt cities and fortreſſes that are taken are put into their power, or into the hands of perſons that have at all times ſhewn themſelves favourers of them. The Catholicks that reſide in them are daily accuſed and convicted of fictitious crimes, the true and only cauſe of which is the oppoſition that they have hitherto made to their deſigns, which they, by a falſe name, call rebellion. All the principal offices and employments are fallen into their hands, and now they are graſping even at the Crown itſelf. The bulls of our Holy Fathers, *Gregory* the fourteenth and *Clement* the eighth, full of pious precepts and paternal admonitions to the Catholicks to ſeparate themſelves from hereticks, have not only been rejected, but trampled upon with the utmoſt contempt by magiſtrates, who unjuſtly give themſelves the name of Catholicks; ſince if they were ſuch in reality, they would not abuſe the candour and goodneſs of others of the ſame religion. For, to quote the example of what was done in this kingdom, at a time when there was an attempt made to introduce innovations, that were contrary to the liberties and privileges of the *Gallican* church, is not by any means applicable to our caſe, as the kingdom was never reduced to ſuch wretched circumſtances, ſince it firſt received the Chriſtian faith, as to ſuffer an heretick Prince, or to ſee any one of that ſtamp pretend a right to it: and if they thought thoſe bulls contained any thing that bore hard upon them, they, as Catholicks, ought to have proceeded by remonſtrances, and with that reſpect and modeſty which is due to the Holy See, and not with ſuch contempt and horrid blaſphemies as they did. But perhaps it was their intention to corrupt the ſounder part of the Catholicks by this example, and teach them to treat the head of the Church with the ſame indignity, that ſo they likewiſe in time might be thruſt out of the pale of the church. In evil, men proceed by degrees; they always begin with that which either does not ſeem evil, or at leaſt is evil of the loweſt degree; but they daily

rise higher and higher, and at last come to perpetrate the greatest crimes. 1593. Hence we may learn, that God is grievously offended at this poor desolated kingdom, and to dread still further punishment for our sins, since he has been pleased to suffer that so many attempts to subvert our religion should not open their eyes, and that they should not be undeceived by the many and often repeated declarations made by us (especially within these few days) that we will refer ourselves in all things to what his Holiness and the Apostolick See shall be pleased to determine concerning the King of *Navarre's* conversion, if God should give him grace to relinquish his errors: which declarations ought certainly to be admitted as unquestionable proofs of our innocence and sincerity, and to justify our taking up arms, as necessary for self-preservation. Yet they make no scruple of giving out, that the Princes united for the defence of religion aim only at the ruin and destruction of the State: though their actions, and the proposals made by the common consent of them all, especially of our most powerful allies, are the true and most secure means to frustrate the endeavours of any person whatsoever that should attempt it. The hereticks having no other grievance to complain of, look with an evil eye upon the assistance that we receive from his Catholick Majesty, and say we should shew ourselves much better *Frenchmen* by disclaiming it, that is, to speak plainly, we should be much more easily conquered if we were disarmed. But we shall think it a sufficient answer, that religion was so oppressed, and reduced to such dangerous circumstances in this kingdom, that it was necessitated to have recourse to that support: that we are bound to publish this obligation and to remember it for ever: that for the aid which we have implored of so great a King, the ancient ally and confederate of this Crown, he hath required nothing at all from us in return: and that we, likewise, on our parts, have not entered into any treaty with any person whatsoever, either within or without the kingdom, to the diminution of the power and majesty of the State, for the conservation of which we would cheerfully expose ourselves to any kind of danger, provided it were not to make a heretick King, a sin which we abhor the thoughts of, as the greatest and most abominable of all others. And if the Catholicks, who assist them, would divest themselves of these prejudices, and leave the hereticks, to join, not us, but the cause of religion; and at the same time would endeavour to provide proper remedies for the disorders of the State, there is no doubt, but the preservation both of one and the other might easily be effected, and it would not be in the power of any one that had evil designs, either to injure the State, or to make use of so righteous a cause, as a specious, but unjust pretence, to gain himself reputation and authority.

" We, therefore, beseech and conjure them, in the name of God and the

1593. the Catholick church (in which we proteſt we will always live and die) to ſeparate themſelves from hereticks, and to conſider that whilſt we are thus oppoſing each other, we cannot adminiſter any remedy that will not be exceeding dangerous, and attended with great miſchief to the State, before it can work any good effect at all: whereas, our reconciliation will make every thing ſafe and eaſy, and quickly put an end to our miſeries. And that not only the Princes of the Blood, but the Officers of the Crown and others, may not by any means be prevented or deterred from applying themſelves to ſo ſalutary an undertaking, by an apprehenſion that they ſhall not be reſpected, acknowledged, and honoured by us, and other Princes and Lords of this party, according to their merit, we promiſe, upon our faith and honour, that we will do it ſincerely, provided they will abandon the hereticks: aſſuring them, they ſhall find the ſame reſpect and reverence both from us, and them that follow us. But we intreat them to do it ſpeedily, in order to clear away all obſtructions and difficulties that lie in the road, which can never be done, except they give up all other intereſts to ſerve God and his holy church, and reflect, that religion ought to be preferred to all human regards and conſiderations, and that prudence ceaſes to be ſo, when it makes us loſe ſight of our primary obligation. And that we may proceed with the moſt mature advice and deliberation, we hereby give them to underſtand, that we have deſired the Princes, Peers of *France*, Prelates, Lords, and Deputies of the Parliaments, and of the cities and towns of this party, to aſſemble at the city of *Paris* on the 17th of *January* next, in order to come to ſome reſolution, which ſhall ſeem to our conſciences moſt conducible to the ſafety of religion and the State. To which place, if they ſhall think fit to ſend any body, to make any overtures there that may tend to promote ſo deſirable an end, they ſhall not only enjoy all manner of ſecurity, but be heard with attention, and a deſire to give them ſatisfaction. But if our earneſt requeſt, that they will lend a helping hand to this reconciliation; if the imminent and inevitable danger of the State are not ſufficient to excite their attention to the publick ſafety; and if we ſhould be forced, by their indifference, to have recourſe to extraordinary remedies, contrary to our inclination and deſign; we call God and man to witneſs, that the blame ought to be imputed to them, and not to the united Catholicks, who have exerted their utmoſt endeavours to ſupport this common cauſe, by a mutual good underſtanding and unanimity, and with their concurrent advice; in which, if they would embark with upright intentions and in good earneſt, the proſpect of a laſting tranquillity would be near at hand, and we ſhould be ſure that the Catholicks, when united together againſt the hereticks (their ancient

ancient enemies, and whom they have ſo often vanquiſhed in the field) would quickly ſee an end of the war.

1593.

"We alſo pray the proper officers of the Parliaments in this kingdom to cauſe theſe preſents to be publiſhed and regiſtered, that they may be known to all men, and the remembrance of them be perpetual, for the diſcharge of us, and of the Princes, Peers of *France*, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, cities, and corporations, who have united themſelves for the preſervation of their religion."

By a declaration drawn up in ſuch terms, the Duke of *Mayenne* added great ſtrength to his pretenſions, and at the ſame time put a very good face upon the cauſe of his party, though he did not engage himſelf to chuſe a new King, but kept things in an even balance, and left himſelf at liberty to take any reſolution that time and opportunity ſhould point out, or the ſituation of affairs admit of. For as his hopes were much damped by the Duke of *Parma's* death, by the union betwixt the Legate and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, who, he knew, hated his perſon, and by the competition of the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Nemours*, who were not likely to be wanting to themſelves, he did not intend to attempt the exaltation of himſelf or his poſterity, except he found that he ſhould not only be able to effect it by a majority of votes, and with the general conſent; but alſo that he ſhould have forces and dependents ſufficient to eſtabliſh himſelf ſecurely in the poſſeſſion of the Crown. Otherwiſe, he was determined to retain the full authority of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and to carry on the war, if he could be enabled by the aſſiſtance of the States to ſupport the cauſe, without much dependance upon foreign aid: or elſe, if he could not effect this, rather to bring about an agreement betwixt the States and the King, by means of his converſion, than ſuffer the kingdom to fall into the hands of any other perſon: ſtill firm to his firſt reſolution, of neither ſuffering the Union of the two Crowns nor the diſmembring of the kingdom. Which principle, as it ſhewed a regard to juſtice and his love to his country, was very agreeable to many of his own party; and even the King himſelf (who was acquainted with it) could not help ſometimes commending him for it.

But the Cardinal Legate and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, who were not at all ſatisfied with ſo ambiguous a declaration, in which he ſeemed rather to aim at an accommodation with the Catholicks of the contrary party, than at the election of a new King, reſolved to join together, and declare their intentions more explicitly: for which purpoſe, the Cardinal publiſhed a writing, in the form of a letter, the contents of which were as follow.

1593. "PHILIP, by the Grace of God, Cardinal of *Piacenza*, of the title of *St. Onofrio*, *Legate a latere* from our Lord *Clement* the eighth, by divine providence Pope, and from the Apostolick See to this kingdom: to all Catholicks of what rank, state, or condition soever they may be, who follow the party of the Heretick, and adhere to, or favour him in any manner whatsoever; health, peace, love, and a new spirit from him who is the sole author of true peace and wisdom, the only King and Governor, *Jesus Christ* our Saviour and Redeemer. The performance of so pious and necessary a work as that which belongs to the function and dignity that it hath seemed good to his Holiness to invest us with in this kingdom, lies so near our heart, that we should think our blood and life well laid down, if they could in any degree serve to forward it: and we could wish it pleased God, that we had liberty to go in person, not only from province to province, or from city to city, but even from house to house, to give the most convincing proof to the world of that affection, which, however, is known to God, and to excite a generous ardour in ye, by our personal exhortations to attempt the restoration of the kingdom of *France* to that prosperous condition in which it used to flourish by the singular piety of your ancestors, under the spirit of the Catholick Apostolick religion, and from whence it has miserably fallen since it has been infected by heresy. But as the unhappiness of the times, and the impediments which are but too well known, prevent so free a communication betwixt us, as his Holiness could wish and we desire, we have thought ourselves obliged to supply that want in the best manner we could by this letter: which if ye take in good part, and read with the spirit of true Christians and Catholicks, free from all passion, as it is void of all artifice and falshood, ye will give us the pleasing and firm hopes of being able in a short time to visit ye without restraint in all parts of the kingdom, not any longer to exhort ye to your duty, but to congratulate ye upon what ye have so nobly performed, to the consolation of all good men. And we are fully assured, that when ye come to reflect and examine your hearts with due care and attention, ye will have no occasion either for our exhortations, or letters, or any other external application, to re-establish ye in your former sanctity: for then every one of ye will plainly see that this blindness of understanding and deception of heart, which hinders ye from forming so sound a judgment as ye used to do, both of your own and other men's actions, has proceeded from heresy alone, the fountain of all evils. Then ye will fully discover the various artifices with which the hereticks continually labour to seduce ye from the devotion and obedience, which, as true sons of the church, ye have always, till of late, so religiously shewn to its head and to the Apostolick See, the name and authority of which they endeavour by all means, to render odious and contemptible to ye,

well knowing, that this point alone, by neceſſary conſequence, draws after it the ruin of the Catholick religion in *France*, and the eſtabliſhment of their impious doctrine, which can never gain footing where the throne of St. *Peter* is reverenced as it ought to be. But not to touch upon any thing here more than what is abſolutely neceſſary, what reaſon is there to think, that the head of the Chriſtian Church would in any wiſe aſſiſt or conſent to the deſtruction of this moſt Chriſtian Crown? what good could he expect, and what evils might he not apprehend from thence? And yet this is the principal calumny with which they have attempted to make ye abhor the name and pious memory of the late Popes, though they did not in the leaſt deviate from the footſteps of their predeceſſors, whoſe cares for this realm ye were wont not long ago, with great reaſon, to acknowledge, as alſo the gratitude which they always ſhewed for ſo many and ſuch noble atchievements, undertaken by the Moſt Chriſtian Kings, with ſingular piety, liberality, and valour, for the emolument of the Holy See. And, to omit more antient examples, ye cannot ſo ſoon have forgotten with what thanks and applauſe ye received the large ſupplies that were ſent againſt the hereticks by *Pius* the fifth, of happy memory, to *Charles* the ninth, at that time your King: Can ye, therefore, now condemn that in his ſucceſſor, which ye praiſed in him? hereſy is ſtill the ſame, ſtill pernicious, curſed, and execrable: and it is againſt that infernal monſter that the Vicars of *Chriſt*, and the ſucceſſors of St. *Peter*, wage eternal and irreconcilable war (as they are in duty bound) and not againſt Catholick Kings and kingdoms, to whom they are fathers and paſtors. It is againſt hereſy, without exception of perſons, that they no leſs juſtly than wholeſomely employ the ſword of ſupreme juriſdiction, which our Lord *Jeſus* hath put into their hands, to cut off the corrupted and putrefied members from the body of the church, that ſo their contagion might not be fatal to the reſt: which, nevertheleſs, they proceed to, as late as poſſible, always trying gentle means and fatherly affection before they act like ſovereign judges: ſo that they never chaſtiſe any with ſeverity but ſuch as are incorrigible. But if ye will only be at the pains to turn your eyes upon other countries, or rather without going out of your own kingdom, to conſider with what kindneſs it hath at all times been treated by the Apoſtolick See, ye will find, that ſince the flames that have been kindled in it by hereſy, which ſtill continue to prey upon its vitals, no Pope hath omitted any thing that he ought or was able to do, in order to extinguiſh them. The good underſtanding which they have ever cultivated with your Kings, the ſupplies both of men and other things which they have continually furniſhed them with, and the number of Legates they have ſent hither, ſufficiently teſtiſy the zeal they have always had for the tranquillity, repoſe, and conſervation of this moſt illuſtrious kingdom. Nor were their actions ever

1593. suspected by ye, whilst, like true Catholicks and *Frenchmen*, ye were desirous to give law to hereticks, rather than to receive it from their hands. Ye have always found them such as your occasions required, till of late, when ye have suffered heresy to take such root amongst ye, by your discords and connivance, that it no longer petitions the favour of impunity from ye, as it was wont, but now takes upon itself, as every one knows, to punish those who, out of regard to their salvation, refuse to submit to its yoke. A strange and unhappy revolution, which makes ye detest that as a most heinous crime, which ye yourselves have taught others to believe a rare and excellent virtue; and which, on the contrary, induces ye to crown a vice, which ye ought still (as ye always did in former times) to condemn to the flames. See what the deadly poison of heresy can do, from the infection of which, so many other absurdities and contradictions have spread amongst ye, as ye cannot deny, if ye will speak from your consciences. For to pretend to maintain that the privileges of the *Gallican* church extend so far as to permit a relapsed heretick, and one excluded from the body of the universal church, to be acknowledged King, is the dream of a madman, proceeding from the distemper of heresy. And we may truly add, that all the sinister interpretations which have been made of the actions and intentions of our holy fathers, have likewise flowed from the same source. But let us examine a little whether those of the late Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, which are expresly declared by his bulls concerning the design of the most illustrious Cardinal *Caietano's* legation, deserve in any wise to be calumniated. That Cardinal was sent by the above-mentioned Pope, of happy memory, into this kingdom, not as a Herald, or King at arms, but as an Angel of peace: not to shake the foundations of the state, nor to alter or make any innovations in its laws or polity, but to assist in maintaining the true ancient *Roman* Catholick Apostolick religion: that so all Catholicks, being united together for the service of God, the publick good, and the conservation of the Crown, might unanimously obey and subject themselves to one, only, Catholick and lawful King, in security and repose. Now as these intentions were very pious, and calculated for the common safety: so it cannot be denied, that both the said Pope *Sixtus* and Cardinal *Caietano* used their utmost endeavours to have them put in execution; not, perhaps, with that rigour which some men thought necessary, but with all the tenderness, clemency, and charity that could be desired from a most affectionate father to his dearest children. No sooner had that wise Legate entered the kingdom, but, in order to make an effectual beginning of the work, he addressed himself, at his first arrival, to those whom he expected to find readily disposed to shew him all manner of favour, and to assist him in every thing relating to the administration of his office, as their obligations and power to do it were very great: he sent

4 some

ſome Prelates on purpoſe to confer particularly with them concerning the means of promoting the end of his legation: thoſe perſons, as alſo all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, and others, with whom he treated himſelf, or ſent others to treat in the courſe of that legation, and to whom he wrote about the purport of it, can teſtify, that he never exceeded the limits of his commiſſion, and how ſolemly he always proteſted, that his Holineſs had no other aim or deſign than to maintain and defend the Catholick religion, and to conſerve the Crown of this realm entire, for the lawful ſucceſſors who were qualified to enjoy it. But if he took the ſame method to complain, that ye had in a great meaſure forgot not only the ſingular piety and religion of your anceſtors, but the ſafety, and conſequently the reputation of your country, nay, which is ſtill worſe, the ſalvation of your ſouls, and had joined yourſelves to the party of one, who, ye could not but know, was deſervedly cut off from the body of the church: of one, whom, as ſuch, ye had long ago, and alſo ſome few months before, moſt juſtly pronounced, in a full congregation of the States, to be incapable of wearing this moſt Chriſtian Crown: of one, whoſe arms were never ſtained with any blood but that of Catholicks: and who, in ſhort, by an example altogether barbarous, had violated all laws, both human and divine, in the perſon of one man alone, having ſuffered his uncle, a Cardinal of the holy *Roman* church, a Prince of the Blood, a man of ſo pious and exemplary a life as the moſt eminent the Cardinal of *Bourbon* had always ſhewn himſelf, to die in captivity, under the cuſtody and in the ſacrilegious hands of an Heretick: theſe complaints were not without great reaſon and foundation, nor ought ye to have found fault with thoſe that made them to ye. For certainly experience, and the events that have ſince happened, have ſufficiently convinced ye, that they were neceſſary and proceeded from charity: and from how many calamities ye might have delivered this kingdom, if ye had liſtened to his pious exhortations to ſeparate yourſelves voluntarily from the Heretick, and to apply yourſelves, in conjunction with the reſt of the Catholicks, to re-eſtabliſh the publick peace and tranquillity. But the ſame unhappy diſpoſition which then induced ye to reject them, alſo rendered the ſeveral conferences ineffectual, which afterwards enſued betwixt the Legate and his Prelates, and ſome of the principal Lords amongſt ye.

" Whilſt things were in this ſituation here, *Sixtus* the fifth, out of a deſire to wean ye from the Heretick, and to gain ye over to *Jeſus Chriſt*, gave free acceſs and audience to thoſe whom ye ſent to him at *Rome*, whilſt every thing ſeemed ready prepared to your hands to facilitate that end, inſtead of embracing ſo fair an opportunity as God preſented ye, of being able to deliver yourſelves and your country from the infamous yoke of hereſy, ye ſuffered yourſelves to be tranſported by a gale of unhappy

proſperity

1593. prosperity to prosecute such hopes and designs, as have reduced this poor kingdom to the desperate condition ye now see it in. The death of *Sixtus* the fifth, of glorious memory, and that of *Urban* the seventh who succeeded him, having made way for the exaltation of *Gregory* the fourteenth, he immediately began to give ye convincing proofs, that a particular care and zeal for your salvation, and the preservation of this most Christian Monarchy, is inseparably joined to the Papacy. The Brief that he was pleased to send ye in the month of *January*, 1591, which was published: the Bulls and other Briefs which were presented to ye the *March* following, by Monsignor *Landriano* the said Pope's Nuncio (whatever the Hereticks may pretend to the contrary) neither can nor ought to be taken by ye in any other light. Well did the good Pope judge, and like a man endowed with singular piety and prudence, that whilst ye were mingled with Hereticks, the notorious pest of this kingdom, your salvation was desperate: that therefore it was necessary ye should speedily withdraw yourselves to a distance from them, since, otherwise ye would miserably lose your own souls, together with theirs, in a short time, and expose your bodies and estates to those troubles and that ruin which ye have since undergone, and continue to experience every day. To these most urgent and powerful motives, thus offered to your consideration, he added remonstrances and exhortations full of paternal affection: and certainly, very great was your fault in not listening to them, and still greater in endeavouring to calumniate them: but to treat the instruments that contained a declaration of his good will and intentions, and consequently the name and authority of the head of the Church, and of the Apostolick See itself in so insolent and injurious a manner, is a wickedness that comprehends as many new kinds of crimes, as there are words in the pretended decrees which were published thereupon at *Tours* and *Châlons*: and yet the enormity and heinousness of these misdeeds, and of those also which such of the Clergy were guilty of, as assisted at the council at *Chartres*, upon the same occasion, have till now been overlooked by them that had it in their power to have shewn a just resentment. The same forbearance ye likewise experienced in his successor Pope *Innocent* the ninth, of happy memory, whose sudden death would still be more lamented by all good men, if divine providence, which never forsakes the holy Church in its distresses, had not raised us up such a pastor, as the necessity of the times requires, by the election of the most blessed father, *Clement* the eight, who is far from being inferior to his predecessors in any kind of virtue, and seems rather superior to them all in what regards the particular care which they always manifested for the safety and repose of this kingdom. For he was no sooner exalted to the Apostolick Chair, but all the faithful were transported with joy, and fixed their eyes and attention upon him, as a glorious sun, which

which God, the father of light, and giver of all consolation, seems to have caused to shine out in these our days, to dissipate the darkness of so calamitous an age. But when every one began to entertain the greatest hopes, that ye all would have opened your hearts to admit the beams of so clear and so gracious a light, and have drawn near in union and obedience to the holy church, under the conduct and authority of so great a leader: behold! to our infinite grief, another pretended Decree, conceived by heresy, is published at *Châlons* against the Bulls of his Holiness, relating to our legation; by which it is still endeavoured to banish all our hopes of that which ought to be most dear to us, and to all persons that are zealous for God's glory, and for the honour, repose, and conservation of this kingdom. For it is impossible that *France* should ever enjoy a durable peace and tranquillity, or indeed any other kind of prosperity, whilst it groans under the yoke of an Heretick; let those pretend what they will to the contrary, whom the true and lawful Parliament of *Paris* (which hath still retained its ancient equity and constancy) hath severely censured, as men who have manifested themselves by their actions, to be rather slaves to heresy than ministers of justice. This is no less true than notorious to every one of ye, whose consciences and many of your actions sufficiently bear witness to it, which clearly shew us what are your real sentiments: for it evidently appears, by your common declarations and remonstrances, that the obedience which ye pay to an Heretick is wholly founded upon a vain hope of his conversion, and becoming once more qualified to wear the Crown; and that the crime of acknowledging a relapsed and obstinate Heretick for the Sovereign of a most Christian kingdom is too heinous to own yourselves guilty of. But since his obduracy hath already deprived him of all the right which he could pretend to, it likewise puts an end to all excuses, that ye can alledge in his favour and your own discharge.

1593.

" It is now high time, therefore, that ye should freely disclose the bottom of your hearts; and if they are truly Catholick, as your former actions once persuaded us, when ye were not yet bewitched by the sorcery of hereticks, for God's sake, declare, with the rest of your brethren, that your real and only desire is to see yourselves united in obedience to one that is a most Christian King both in name and deed. It will not only be the highest prudence to cherish such principles, but the greatest degree of magnanimity to put them in execution, and your virtue in doing both will be worthy of all praise and admiration. Now, as there are no means, at present, more just or lawful for the accomplishment of this end, than the calling together an assembly of the States General, to which ye are invited by the Duke of *Mayenne*, who in the due discharge of his office and authority hath always sought, and now more than ever

desires

1593. desires (with a degree of piety, constancy, and generosity that deserves eternal acknowledgment) to find some secure way to defend and preserve this Crown and kingdom entire, and to maintain the Catholick religion and the *Gallican* Church in its ancient purity and freedom, which principally consist in not yielding obedience to an heretick Prince: so, we have thought fit upon this occasion, to declare to ye, that it is our intention to confine ourselves within the limits of that commission which it hath pleased his Holiness to entrust in our hands, and that we neither can nor will in any wise favour or assist the designs and pretensions of the Duke of *Mayenne*, or of any other Prince or Potentate in the world: but that, on the contrary, we will oppose them with all our might, if we shall find that they are in any wise incompatible with the common votes and wishes of all good men, real Catholicks and true *Frenchmen*, and more especially, if they should obstruct the pious intentions of our holy Father, who (we likewise take the opportunity of declaring to ye by these presents) hath no other aim or object but the glory of God, the support of our holy *Roman* Catholick Apostolick faith and religion, and the utter extirpation of heresy and schism, which have reduced this poor kingdom of *France* to so miserable a condition; whilst the principal and ultimate desire of his Holiness is to see it restored to it's ancient splendor and majesty, by the establishment of a King, truly, *most Christian*; and such a one, may God of his infinite mercy inspire the States to elect, which no heretick ever was or ever can be.

"To this Assembly therefore, we invite ye, in the name of his Holiness, to the end that when ye have totally alienated yourselves from the society and dominion of the Heretick, ye may, with hearts void of all passion and full of holy zeal and affection toward God and your country, assist in every thing that ye shall judge expedient to extinguish that general combustion, which already hath almost reduced it to ashes. Ye ought now no longer to offer any more vain excuses, or raise fresh difficulties, when ye find no others left but what proceeded from yourselves. For if ye think good to come to the said Assembly for the purpose which ye ought to do, we assure ye, in the name of all the Catholicks, who by the grace of God have persevered in their obedience and devotion to the holy Apostolick See, that ye shall find them most ready to receive ye as brothers and true Christians, whom they would lay down their very blood and lives to save from perdition, and to be reconciled to you in peace and godly charity. Proceed therefore in such a manner, that we may see ye effectually separated from the Heretick, and then ye may demand all the securities ye shall think necessary, that ye may freely come and go, and speak and propose any thing in the Assembly, that ye shall judge conducible to attain the desired end. The Duke of *Mayenne* is ready to grant them,

them, and we on our part willingly promiſe, that they ſhall not be violated in any reſpect, and hereby offer, if there ſhould be occaſion, to take ye under our eſpecial protection, that is, of the holy Church and of the Apoſtolick See. And we once more conjure ye, in the name of God, to ſhew yourſelves true Catholicks at laſt by convincing proofs, and to conform your intentions to that of the head of the Church, without any longer deferring to render that duty and aſſiſtance to our holy religion and your country, which it demands from ye in this extreme neceſſity. There is nothing to be expected from your diviſions, but ruin and deſolation; and though ye ſhould ſucceed in every thing elſe according to your wiſhes (which yet, methinks, ye ſhould not dare to promiſe yourſelves under a heretick Prince) yet ought ye nevertheleſs to conſider, that ſchiſms, with which this kingdom ſeems to abound, commonly turn to hereſy in the end, which may God of his mercy pleaſe to avert, and rather to illuminate your hearts and minds, and qualify them to receive his divine inſpirations and benedictions, that being all united both in will and deed with the holy *Roman* Catholick Church, in obedience to one King, who ſhall deſerve the name of *moſt Chriſtian*, ye may enjoy ſecurity and tranquillity in this life, and finally arrive at that kingdom which his divine Majeſty hath prepared from eternity for thoſe who conſtantly perſevere in the communion of his ſaid Church, out of which there is no ſalvation, and give clear proofs of a lively faith by holy and virtuous actions."

By this writing, which in appearance was not unlike that publiſhed by the Duke of *Mayenne*, though, in fact, the intention of it was very different, the Legate endeavoured to make it the principal end of the Aſſembly, not to confer with the Catholicks of the King's party, nor to come to any agreement with him, if he ſhould determine to reconcile himſelf to the Church, nor yet to raiſe any Prince of the Blood to the Throne, but to elect a new Sovereign, who ſhould not only be dependent upon the Apoſtolick See, but approved of likewiſe by his Catholick Majeſty, that he might be induced to employ his money and forces to ſupport and eſtabliſh the perſon ſo choſen. And though the Pope (after he was acquainted with the Legate's partiality, and particularly informed by the *Venetian* Senate, that he was much ſuſpected, and that many were ſcandalized at his proceedings, becauſe they thought he ſeemed to have a greater regard to the intereſts of the *Spaniards* than the preſervation of religion and the ſtate) declared his intentions more explicitly than he had done before by the Prothonotary *Agucchi*, in the inſtructions brought by Monſignor *Innocentio Malvagia*, whom he ſent to be Commiſſary of the army in the room of *Matteucci*, and gave the Legate a ſtrict charge not to promote any election that ſhould ſeem monſtrous and unnatural, or that was not generally approved, and conſequently might probably cauſe new

 wars

1593 wars more destructive than the former: yet, either because he really thought the interests of religion so linked together with those of *Spain*, that they could not be separated, or to advance his own private designs, which made it necessary for him to gain the full confidence and favour of his Catholick Majesty; or on account of the hatred that he had conceived to the King, from the protests which were made by the Parliaments against his authority as Legate; or because the Pope's instructions were so obscure that he did not thoroughly comprehend them; he still continued his first practices, and, under the pretence of concern for religion (which indeed seemed very great) did all that lay in his power to assist the *Spanish* Ministers in all their plots and machinations, who were determined in their end, though they had not, as yet, fully agreed about the means of prosecuting it: the Council of *Spain* having resolved, in order to keep up an appearance of decency and moderation, that the union of the two Crowns should not be mentioned, as it was a thing rather fondly conceived, than ever likely to be accomplished: but that the election of the Infanta *Isabella* should be proposed, which, though the means were different, would effectually answer the same purpose.

But at this time there was no other *Spanish* Minister residing in *Paris* but *Diego d'Ivarra*, who persisted in his dislike to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and being of opinion that the forces, money, and authority of his Cathotholick Majesty were sufficient, without his concurrence, to influence the States to make that choice, still kept up his secret practices with the Deputies: with the particulars of which, however, the Duke of *Mayenne* was fully acquainted. *Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa*, Duke of *Feria*, appointed head of the Embassy, was expected, together with *Inigo de Mendozza*, a *Spanish* lawyer of very great learning, who was sent to assert the right and legality of the Infanta's succession: and *Juan Baptista Tassis* was gone as far as the confines of *Flanders* to meet them, and inform them of the present state of affairs. But they came with a prepossession that the Infanta's title was plain and indisputable, and that his Catholick Majesty's forces and authority were so dreaded in *France*, that they should be able to carry their point in the Assembly, without the assistance of the Duke of *Mayenne*. And though *Tassis* assured them, on the contrary, that they must not hope to succeed in any thing without his aid: yet they were so full of their *Spanish* notions, and so far from conducting themselves with that prudence and moderation which the Duke of *Parma* had always observed and recommended, that they persevered in their conceit, and resolved to continue their practices in the manner they were begun. *Tassis* and the *Flemish* Counsellors, who were more intimately acquainted with the humour of the *French*, and judged better of things, as they were nearer the scene of action, advised them to march into *France* with a

powerful

powerful army, under the command of Count *Mansfelt*, and draw near 1593. to *Paris*: and not only to ſecure the intereſt of the Duke of *Mayenne* in particular, but that of the other principal Lords and of every Deputy that had any weight or authority in the Aſſembly, by great ſums of money: and to make large and advantagious offers to the Lords of the houſe of *Lorrain* alſo, who were the heads of the Union, and to give them ample ſecurity for their performance. By theſe means, and not otherwiſe, they thought the election might be carried, which they deſigned to propoſe in favour of the Infanta: for if the *French* were not influenced, on one hand, by the hope of private advantage, and on the other by fear, they thought it impoſſible that they ſhould ever voluntarily conſent to ſubmit to the government of the *Spaniards*: and if the Princes of *Lorrain*, who were in ſo great power, and had good hopes that ſome one of them might obtain the Crown, were not diverted from their pretenſions by very high and ſecure terms, they could not conceive that they would ever agree to transfer that to another, which they aſpired to themſelves: beſides, it was certain that a great and powerful body of forces, and ſuch proviſions of money and commanders as might be ſufficient to overcome all thoſe difficulties and impediments, which would infallibly diſcover themſelves more fully in the progreſs than in the beginning of the undertaking, were neceſſary to ſupport an election ſo extraordinary, and ſo repugnant to the genius of the *French* nation. To all which they added, that, in order to ſucceed in ſo arduous an attempt, a great degree of reputation was requiſite, as well as a certainty that the King of *Navarre* might be vanquiſhed and ſuppreſſed in a reaſonable time, which was not poſſible to be effected without vaſt ſums of money and ſupplies of men.

This was prudent and well-grounded advice, and given by men, who, after they had maturely weighed the difficulty and importance of the undertaking, were of opinion, that, for the honour of his Catholick Majeſty, a thing ſhould not be propoſed without an abſolute certainty of bringing it to a happy concluſion. But thoſe that were newly come from *Spain*, were ſo biaſſed, either by the different opinion that prevailed at that court, or by the ſuggeſtions of *Diego d'Ivarra*, that they reaſoned in another manner, and ſaid, there was no occaſion to ſend many forces into *France*, nor to diſtribute much money there, nor yet to give the houſe of *Lorrain* any further ſatisfaction than what conſiſted in bare promiſes and profeſſions alone: for they imagined, by keeping the Duke of *Mayenne* low, and by driving him and his party into ſtraits and difficulties, they ſhould force them to a neceſſity of complying with their demands, that they might thereby engage their aſſiſtance to raiſe them up again from the deſperate circumſtances they were reduced to: eſpecially, as they were likewiſe informed, that the *French* were not inclined of them-

1593. ſelves to gratify them: that if they ſhould deliver the League, and particularly the *Pariſians*, out out of their preſent diſtreſs and ſcarcity, they would not afterwards conform to the King of *Spain's* deſigns, as gratitude is but a weak tie in concerns of ſo great weight and importance; but that it was more likely they would ſubmit, when they ſaw no other means left to reſcue them out of their miſery, and that their neceſſities would have ſo much the greater effect, by how much the more they were pinched and diſtreſſed by them. That to diſtribute money amongſt them at preſent was merely to throw it away, without any certainty or aſſurance that it would produce the deſired effect, and to ſatiate the avarice of thoſe, who, when they were once glutted with *Spaniſh* gold, and had obtained their own ends, would afterwards give themſelves but little trouble about performing their promiſes as they ought to do. That it was the nature of the *French* to be inſolent and refractory in plenty and proſperity, but abject and tractable in diſtreſs and adverſity: that it would be highly imprudent to diſmember the Kingdom, and tear it in pieces, to give one part to this, and another to that Prince of the houſe of *Lorrain*, in order to obtain the weak and mangled remains.

This advice ſeemed moſt ſuitable to the preſent ſtate of his Catholick Majeſty's affairs: for his treaſury was at this time ſo exhauſted by his late expences, and the commotions that happened in the kingdom of *Arragon*, that he could not raiſe ſuch ſums as would have been neceſſary in the proſecution of the other plan: and affairs in the *Low Countries* being in great confuſion, and the army there very much reduced ſince the Duke of *Parma's* death, it was not poſſible to ſpare ſo large a body of troops as the execution of that deſign required. And, in the laſt place, the natural diſpoſition of the *Spaniards* inclined them to begin with parcimony and frugality in their deſigns upon a kingdom where they had not yet ſo much as got footing. For theſe reaſons, the *Spaniſh* Miniſters determined to follow the laſt opinion, flattering themſelves that they ſhould be able to overcome many difficulties by their own addreſs, and the aſſiſtance of the Legate, and to ſupply their wants by large promiſes and profeſſions, where other means were deficient.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was acquainted with moſt of theſe machinations, well knew they could never ſucceed without his aſſent and concurrence: and ſeeing the ill-will which the *Spaniſh* Miniſters bore him, chiefly becauſe he hoped to obtain the kingdom for himſelf, he was very averſe to any compromiſe with them. Yet the diſcords that aroſe betwixt him and others of his family kept him in ſome ſuſpence. For the Duke of *Lorrain* ſtill pretended a right to the Crown, and to a ſuperiority over the reſt of his houſe; and the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Nemours* aſpired to the kingdom no leſs than he: the firſt, relying on the reputa-

tion

tion and services of his father, in whose blood (as he said) the whole structure of the League was founded: and the other, on the merit of having so effectually defended *Paris*, by which he thought he had deserved more than any one of the rest, and had reason to expect the favour and affections of the people: besides, as both of them were young and unmarried, they were not much averse to the election of the Infanta, in hopes that one of them might be destined for her husband. After some consideration, therefore, the Duke of *Mayenne* resolved to have recourse to more expedients than one, to frustrate the designs of others, and to promote his own. For this purpose, after he had invited the Catholicks of the King's party to a treaty by his declaration, which he thought would be the most effectual way to defeat the attempts of the *Spaniards*, he also caused the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to renew his pretensions, that he might keep them alive, and make his advantage of them at a proper time and opportunity: and *Jean le Maistre*, a man wholly dependent upon him, having been made first President of the Parliament of *Paris*, after the death of President *Brisson*, he began, by his means, not only to practise with the Counsellors of the Parliament and the magistrates of that city, but likewise with those, who, because they inclined to favour the King, were called *Politicks*, that he might also make use of their assistance upon occasion. And having found the Parliament well disposed to him, and depending very much upon the support of the principal commanders of the army, whom he had preferred himself, he proposed and obtained, that (for the greater reputation of the Assembly, and his further security in a point of such weight and consequence as the election of a King) the Parliament also, the Governors of provinces, and the Commanders of the army, should vote in the Assembly of the States, not every one singly, but by Deputies for each body; that so he might counterpoise the votes of the other Deputies, if they should at any time oppose him. In which he proceeded with so much secrecy and address, as he was well versed in affairs, and personally acquainted with every one, that the *Spanish* Ministers and the Legate did not so much as dream of many things till after they were firmly established; and he gained more ground by art, than they were able to do with their gold and promises. And, on the other hand, they had hardly formed any design, but he got to the bottom of it, and found means either to retard, or totally prevent the execution.

In this situation of affairs, as the convention of the States could no longer be deferred, it was *opened* (as they call it) on the 26th of *January*. At which time, all the Deputies being assembled in the hall of the *Louvre*, together with the magistrates and officers of the Crown, the Duke of *Mayenne* sitting under the canopy of state, as the Kings used to do,

1593. do, told them, That he had called, and with much difficulty assembled, that solemn meeting, that they might endeavour to find some remedy for the evils and calamities that oppressed their common country; and having expatiated on the unhappiness of their present condition, the dangerous circumstances that religion was in, and the miseries of the war, he said, that the only remedy would be to elect a King, who in the first place should be so firm and sincere a Catholick, that he should prefer the welfare and honour of the holy Church to his own life; and in the second, should be a person of such distinguished valour, experience, and reputation, that he might not only reconcile those that were now discontented, in a voluntary obedience to him, but be enabled to cope with and effectually suppress the enemies of the church and kingdom. He, therefore, exhorted the States, now they were met, not to spend their time at present in considering of ways and means to redress private grievances, to moderate the taxes, and to pay the debts of the Crown (the usual subjects of deliberation in such Assemblies) but in the first place to chuse a King and pastor for themselves, and the rest of the people of the greatest kingdom in *Christendom*; in which, he conjured them not to suffer themselves to be governed by any particular views of their own, but to proceed with a disinterestedness and integrity worthy of themselves, and such resolution as their immediate necessities and common safety required.

When he had finished his speech, Cardinal *Pellevè*, President of the Clergy in the Assembly, made a long and tedious harangue, in which he highly extolled the Duke of *Mayenne's* zeal and valour, and, after many digressions, returning to the same point, at last concluded with exhorting the Assembly to chuse a King, who, as the present exigency required, was thoroughly attached to the holy Apostolick See, and an enemy to heresy, against which, it was above all things necessary to guard at that time. The Baron *De Senesay* spoke to the same effect, in behalf of the Nobility, but much more briefly and to the purpose: as did also *Honorè de Laurens*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Provence*, and one of the Deputies for the order of the Commons. But nothing more was done at this first meeting, as it is never usual to proceed any further than these ceremonies at the opening of such Assemblies.

The next day there was a very warm debate betwixt the Legate and the *Spanish* Ambassador, on one side, and some of the greatest personages of the Assembly on the other, in a committee of the Chiefs of the party. For the Legate proposed, that, at the second meeting of the States, they all should take a solemn oath never to be reconciled to, or acknowledge, the King of *Navarre* as their Sovereign, even though he should change his religion and profess himself a Catholick: to which the Duke of *May-*

enne would not assent, as a thing very contrary to his designs and inclinations; and the other Deputies that were present offered various arguments against it. But as the Legate urged it with great vehemence, the Archbishop of *Lions* at last said, that the States were Catholicks, dutiful to the holy Church, subject to the superiority of the Apostolick See in such cases, and met together in obedience to the Pope: that, therefore, they would not be so audacious as to endeavour to tie up his hands, and presumptuously to declare what he himself had not declared, precluding his decision, and pronouncing the King of *Navarre* irreconcilable to the church, by a vain determination which did not belong to the secular power, but wholly to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction: for which reasons they resolved not to take that oath, lest they should offend their own consciences, and violate the majesty and jurisdiction of the Pope and the Apostolick See. This answer seemed so full of decency and respect, that it stopped the Legate's mouth; and the Duke of *Mayenne's* intention, that they should not proceed to such a declaration, prevailed.

1593.

But on the 28th, there arrived a trumpet from the King at the gate of the city, and desired admittance that he might deliver a packet of letters directed to the Count *De Belin*, Governor of it: and being asked, what his business was? he freely and openly answered, "That he brought a declaration from the Catholicks of the King's party, addressed to the Assembly of the States;" and after he was introduced into the Governor's presence, and had given the letters into his hand, he made the contents of them publickly known amongst the people. The Governor carried the packet directly to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was in bed, but awake; and he, not caring to open it, except in the presence of the chiefs of the Confederates, sent for the Legate, the Cardinal of *Pellevè*, *Diego d'Ivarra*, the Sieur *De Bassompierre*, Ambassador from the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Archbishop of *Lions*, Monsieur *De Rhosnè*, the Count *De Belin*, the Viscount *De Tavannes*, the Sieur *De Villers*, whom he had lately declared Admiral, Monsieur *De Villeroy*, President *Jeannine*, and two of the ordinary Secretaries of State, in whose presence he took off the cover, and found a writing with this title:

"THE proposal of the Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and chief Catholick Lords, as well Counsellors of the King, as others, now attending his Majesty, for the re-establishment of peace so necessary in this kingdom, for the conservation of the Catholick religion and the State, offered to the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Princes of his family, the Lords and other persons sent by some cities and corporations, at this time assembled in the city of *Paris*."

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1593. After the title was feen, every one was defirous that the contents of the writing might be read to them by one of the Secretaries, which were as follow:

"The Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and chief Catholick Lords, as well of the Council as attendance of his Majefty, having feen a declaration, printed at *Paris* in the name of the Duke of *Mayenne*, dated in the month of *December*, and publifhed by found of trumpet in the faid city on the 5th of this prefent month of *January*, as appears from the bottom of it, and which came into their hands at *Chartres*, do acknowledge and join in opinion with the faid Duke of *Mayenne*, that the continuance of this war is likely to prove the fubverfion of the State, and by neceffary confequence muft be attended with the deftruction of the Catholick religion, as experience hath too plainly evinced, to the great concern of the faid Princes, Lords, and Catholick States, who acknowledge the King that God hath fet over them, and ferve him, as they are bound both by duty and nature, having ever made the confervation of the Catholick religion their principal end, and always been moft ready to defend the Crown, under obedience to his Majefty, with their arms and forces, when they have feen foreigners who were enemies to the grandeur of this monarchy and to the glory and honour of the *French* name, intrude themfelves into the kingdom: as it is fufficiently obvious, that their only aim is to difmember it, from whence endlefs wars will naturally enfue, which, at laft, muft occafion the utter ruin of the Clergy, Nobility, Gentry, provinces, and cities; an event that would alfo infallibly happen to the Catholick religion in this nation. Hence it is, that all good *Frenchmen*, and thofe that are truly zealous for it, ought to exert their utmoft endeavours to avert the firft evil, from which the fecond is infeparable, and both inevitable if the war fhould continue. The moft effectual way to prevent thefe misfortunes, is to eftablifh a firm peace and reconciliation betwixt thofe whom the confequences of war keep fo unhappily divided and armed for the deftruction of each other. Upon this foundation, religion might be reftored, the churches preferved, the Clergy maintained in their reputation and revenues, and juftice re-eftablifhed: the Nobility would recover their ancient power and vigour, for the defence and confervation of the kingdom in repofe and tranquillity: the cities would retrieve their loffes and repair their ruins by the revival of commerce, trades, and manufactures (the chief fupport of the people) which are almoft totally deftroyed: the Univerfities, which in times paft have caufed this kingdom to flourifh, and added fo much fplendor and renown to it, would prefently return to the ftudy of arts and fciences, which are now in a languifhing condition, and foon likely to be extinguifhed: the fields would

1593.

would be tilled again, which in so many places are left fallow, and instead of the fruits which they used to bring forth for the nourishment of man, are at present only covered with briars and thistles: in short, by peace every one might be enabled to do his duty, God might be served as he ought to be, and the people, in full enjoyment of security and repose, would bless the authors of their happiness: whereas, on the contrary, they will have just cause to detest and execrate those that shall obstruct it.

"For this purpose, in answer to the declaration which the said Duke of *Mayenne* hath made, as well in his own name as in the names of the rest of his party assembled at *Paris*, where he acquaints us, that he hath convened the States to take some measures for the good of the Catholick religion and the tranquillity of this kingdom: as it is clear (even if there was no other impediment but the place itself, where it is neither possible nor reasonable for any others but those of their own party to meet) that nothing can be concluded on there, which can be valid, or conducible to the end that he professes to aim at: and as it is most certain, on the other hand, that this can only tend to enflame the war so much the more, and put an end to all hopes and means of reconciliation; the said Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and other Catholick Lords, now present with his Majesty, being well assured that the other Princes, Lords, and Catholick States, who acknowledge him, do willingly concur with them in the same zeal for the Catholick religion and the welfare of the State, as they are unanimous in the obedience and fidelity due to their King and natural Sovereign; have, in the name of them all, and with the consent and permission of his Majesty, thought fit, by this writing, to acquaint the said Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Princes of his family, the Prelates, Lords, and other persons assembled in the city of *Paris*, that if they will enter into a conference and communication concerning proper means to compose the present distractions, for the conservation of the Catholick religion and the State, and will appoint any persons of worth and integrity to meet at a time and place, betwixt *Paris* and *St. Dennis*, that may be agreed upon; they will also, on their parts, send such Deputies thither, upon the day fixed, to receive and bring back all such proposals and overtures as shall be made to promote so desirable a purpose; as they are confident that, if every one will bring with him those upright intentions that he ought to do, and which they themselves promise to do, means may be found to obtain so great a happiness: protesting before God and man, that if they neglect this way, and have recourse to other unlawful means, which cannot but be destructive to religion, and must reduce the kingdom of *France* to the lowest ebb of misery, making it a prey to the insatiable greediness of the *Spaniards*,

1593. and a trophy of their insolence, acquired by the concurrence of the secret practices and headlong passions of those who bear the name of *Frenchmen* indeed, but degenerate from the virtue which hath ever been held in so great veneration by our ancestors; the guilt of those evils which shall flow from thence, neither can, nor ought in justice to be imputed to any but those, who, by such a refusal, shall be manifestly seen to be the authors of them, as men who prefer expedients that serve their own private interests and ambition and that of their abettors, to those that tend to the glory of God and the preservation of the kingdom.---Given in the King's Council, where the said Princes and Lords have purposely assembled themselves, and with his Majesty's permission resolved to make the abovesaid overtures and proposals, at *Chartres*, the 27th of *January* 1593.

Sign'd, REVOL."

The first promoter of this writing, drawn up and presented in this manner, was the Sieur *De Villeroy*. For being naturally averse to the designs of the *Spaniards*, and rather inclined to an agreement with the King than to any other measures: and as he was employed by the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, who was desirous to set some treaty on foot, which he might make use of, as occasion served, for his own advantage, he wrote to his brother-in-law, the Sieur *De Fleury*, advising him to represent to the Duke of *Nevers*, and the rest of the Catholick Lords that attended the King, in what a perilous situation the affairs of the kingdom were at that time, with how much earnestness the *Spaniards* laboured to promote the election of the Infanta *Isabella*, how many there were that favoured that election for their own interests, and that the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had never been able to prevail upon the King to be reconciled to the church, was now reduced to a necessity of coming into terms with his Catholick Majesty, if some means were not used to prevent it: that they ought to consider, if the foreigners should succeed in their pretensions, and the Lords of the house of *Lorrain* should engage themselves to support them, in how great danger the King would be of losing the Crown, as he would then have the whole power of the *Spaniards* to contend with, which, in such circumstances, would be entirely turned upon him to his utter destruction: that the *French* confederates would then become irreconcileable, when they had once put themselves under the dominion and entered into the service of foreigners: that all hopes of reconciliation with the Pope and the Church would also be at an end, as soon as the States had agreed to the election, which they would certainly proceed to in a few weeks: that, therefore, no time was to be lost in providing some means to interrupt the course of these designs.

These considerations were suggested by the Sieur *De Fleury*, not only

to the Duke of *Nevers*, but to *Gaſpar*, Count of *Schomberg*, who about that time had been ſent for by the King, and was come to attend him. He was a *German* by birth, a man of great ſpirit, and one that ſpoke his ſentiments freely; in general eſteem for his valour and experience; at the ſame time wiſe and deliberate in council, provident in his opinions, firmly attached, and very faithful to the King, and (which made him the propereſt perſon to be applied to at that juncture) he had never been at any of the conſultations that had been held amongſt the Catholicks about leaving his party: for which reaſon he was likely to have more weight and authority with him, upon this occaſion, than either the Duke of *Nevers*, or almoſt any other perſon. It was his opinion, that the arguments which had been urged by Monſieur *De Villeroy* deſerved very ſerious conſideration, and that many others might be added to them. For every one already knew, that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* had thoughts of leaving the King, and of going over to the League, and that many Princes of the Blood and other Lords were inclined to do the ſame: that the Catholicks, for the moſt part, thinking themſelves abuſed and impoſed upon by the King's promiſes, were very much diſſatisfied, and that every one was tired of the war, and longed impatiently for peace. He therefore took a convenient opportunity of diſcourſing with the King about it, and with great ſtrength of reaſon and eloquence, of which he had a conſiderable ſhare, fully acquainted him with thoſe things, which, out of reſpect, were but coldly, and in part, repreſented to him by others; and demonſtrated to him the certainty of his ruin, if he did not immediately take ſome meaſures to ſatisfy the Catholicks, and to fruſtrate the deſigns and attempts of the *Spaniards*. The conjuncture was alſo favourable; for the King's late ſucceſſes had made him ſo ſtrong, that if the Catholicks adhered firmly to him, he would have but little need of foreign forces, which he himſelf had found by experience were of ſmall ſervice to him, and of very great prejudice to his kingdom. The Sieur *Du Pleſſis* was likewiſe at a diſtance, who uſed to raiſe ſcruples in his mind, and to diſſuade him from changing his religion, by arguments partly theological and partly political; and the Duke of *Boüillon* (one of the heads of the *Hugonots*, and then attending the King) had always been one of thoſe who were of opinion, that the King could never be in peaceable poſſeſſion of the Crown, except he turned Catholick: and perhaps, for his own intereſt, was not diſpleaſed that he ſhould do ſo, that he might enjoy the firſt place amongſt the *Hugonots*. All theſe obſtacles, therefore, being removed, and neceſſity ſo dictating, as the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Count *De Soiſſons*, and many others, now began to talk very loudly, and the States aſſembled by the League being held in much greater conſideration by the King, than perhaps they were by the Confederates

1593.

1593. federates themselves; after many consultations with the Duke of *Boüillon*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the High Chancellor, and President *De Thou*, to whose opinion the King paid great deference, on account of his learning and experience, he resolved that the Catholicks should make this overture, with an intention either to interrupt the proceedings of the States by such an expedient, or to come to an agreement and reconciliation with the Apostolick See, and the Lords of the house of *Lorrain*.

As soon as the writing was read, in the presence of the Duke of *Mayenne* and the other Lords, the Cardinal of *Piacenza* rose up in a hasty manner, and, without further deliberation or consultation, said angrily, "That the proposal was full of heresy, and that they would be hereticks that took it into consideration, and, therefore, it was by no means proper to return any answer to it." Cardinal *Pellevè* and *Diego d'Ivarra* concurred in his opinion without any demur: but the Duke of *Mayenne* continued in suspense, as did the rest also that were present, not caring immediately to oppose the Legate. *Villeroy* and *Jeannine* however, who were not so much over-awed by his presence, found out an evasion, without directly contradicting the Cardinal, and said, "That as the writing was not addressed to the Duke of *Mayenne* alone, but to the whole Assembly of the States, and the trumpet had freely declared so to many at his entrance into the city, by which the matter was become publick, it was proper to communicate it to the States, lest the Deputies should be disgusted at the very beginning, and think they were not openly and fairly dealt with, but that endeavours were used to conceal many things from their knowledge, and to deceive them: that this would be a bad setting out, and not only create suspicion but divisions also amongst the Deputies." The Count *De Belin* added, "That the trumpet had not only declared, that the writing was directed to the whole Assembly, but had also dispersed some copies of it amongst the people, as he was informed, by which it was become so publick, that it could not be kept secret from the Deputies."

It was resolved, therefore, that every one who was present at that meeting should consider of the matter till the next day, and then assemble again in the same place, to declare what measures they thought most proper to be taken upon this occasion. At which time, though the Legate and *Spanish* Ambassador used their utmost endeavours to have the writing rejected and suppressed, it was nevertheless resolved, by the Duke of *Mayenne*, with the concurrence of the greater part of the votes, that it would be highly imprudent to use the Deputies so ill, or to give them any cause of disgust, but that they ought, on the contrary, to shew them all manner of due respect, and to have the writing read in a full Assembly, where, afterwards, such a resolution might be taken as should be thought

most convenient. But whilst this was delayed by the contrariety of opinions and other obstacles that intervened, the King, who was then at *Chartres*, published a Manifesto, on the twenty-ninth of the same month; in which, after he had briefly set forth his ardent desire for the safety and welfare of the publick, he said, " It gave him extreme concern to see the times so perverse, that many, degenerating from that fidelity to their Prince, which had ever been peculiar to the *French* nation, now turned all their study and endeavours to oppose the royal authority, under a pretence of religion: a pretence injuriously made use of by them, as plainly appeared from the war twice raised against *Henry* the third, of happy memory, whom it would be cruel to vilify in such a manner as to impute the cause of it to matter of religion, when he had always been a zealous Catholick, and most dutiful to the Apostolick See, and had even employed all his forces to reduce those that were not of the Catholick religion, at a time when they had furiously taken arms, and ran together to besiege and destroy him at *Tours*: that it was now as clear as day-light how unreasonably and unjustly they had made use of the same pretext against himself; for the more they endeavoured to mask and disguise their malignity, under that specious excuse, the more evidently it appeared to the eyes of all men: nor was there any one who did not know, that their conspiracy was formed for the oppression and ruin of their country, not for the support of religion; and plainly see, that their union was composed of three sorts of persons, and proceeded from three different causes. First, from the wickedness of those, who, out of an inordinate ambition to possess themselves of the kingdom, and to dismember it, had been the heads and authors of this rebellion. Secondly, from the subtilty of foreigners, ancient enemies to the *French* Crown and name, who, having found this opportunity of putting their inveterate designs in execution, had voluntarily joined in and abetted so perfidious a conspiracy. And lastly, from the madness of some of the meanest of the people, who being abandoned by fortune to extreme want and misery, or else out of fear of the punishment due to their crimes, had listed themselves under this factious confederacy, in hopes of plunder and escaping the hands of justice. But as it often pleases divine Providence to bring good out of evil, so it had miraculously come to pass in this case, since the Duke of *Mayenne*, by giving his reasons in writing for assembling a congregation at *Paris*, which he calls *the States*, hath clearly laid open and manifested his designs by his own confession: for whilst he endeavours, with all his power and dissimulation, to make his intentions appear full of uprightness and integrity, and to persuade others that he has no thought of usurping that which does not belong to him, he cannot give more convincing proofs of his ambition and disloyalty, than by framing an Edict, and sealing it with the royal

signet,

1593. ſignet, for the convocation of the States; a prerogative reſerved only to the regal power, and never communicated to any other: by which he hath ſhewn to all the world, that he uſurps the office and majeſty of a King, and is guilty of high treaſon, having arrogated to himſelf the royal authority and proper enſigns of Sovereignty. But what eye is ſo dazzled, or whoſe underſtanding ſo over-clouded, as not to ſee how falſe thoſe things are, which he dreſſes up in his Edict with ſo much pomp and oſtentation? That the laws do not permit him to render due obſervance and obedience to the King, whom God hath ſet over him, is a falſity as apparent as it is true, that the *Salic* law, a fundamental and ſalutary conſtitution, that took birth with the kingdom, hath ever been the baſis of the ſubjects obedience, and the ſecurity of the Crown. And it is moſt certain, that the intention of this conſtitution is openly violated, when the lawful dominions of that Prince is controverted, who is called by God and the preſcribed order of it to the Crown: that the force and authority of this law is ſo great and venerable, that no other hath power to prejudice it, and that the Kings themſelves, who are not obliged by other laws, are ſubject, and not ſuperior to this alone: that, therefore, it is trifling to urge the authority of the decree of the States at *Blois* in the year 1576: for neither the King nor the States, but that law alone ought to decide the ſucceſſion of the kingdom. And yet, what man of ſound underſtanding will ever maintain, that the Aſſembly at *Blois* was a lawful congregation of the States? in which all freedom in voting was reſtrained, the voice of good men ſuppreſſed, and nothing endeavoured by the conſpirators of that confederacy (the effects of which are felt to this time) but to oppoſe the authority of the King who then reigned, and to make him a ſlave to his enemies, diſpoſing of the affairs of the kingdom according to the will and caprice of factious men. Can any one forget the violence and reſtraint that was offered to the late King, from which he took ſo much pains to defend and extricate himſelf; or believe that he would voluntarily infringe that law, by virtue of which his grandfather *Francis* the firſt ſucceeded to the Crown? But what occaſion is there for further proofs? The ſame men, who forcibly and treacherouſly cauſed that decree to be made, ſoon broke it themſelves, and declared it invalid and of no effect: for if the Duke of *Mayenne* had thought it otherwiſe, after his rebellious attempt to depoſe *Henry* the third, he would not have taken the title of Lieutenant-General of the Crown and State of *France*, before the Throne was vacant, but of Lieutenant to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to whom they had given the kingdom by that ſeditious Decree. Yet he not only then uſurped that title, but alſo for three months together after the death of the late King, who was murdered by their inſtigation; ſhewing thereby, how little regard he paid to the determination of thoſe States: from whence

whence it was sufficiently evident, that it was not out of reverence to the decision of his own States, as it is now given out, that he afterwards set up the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, but to make use of his name and pretended authority, as it suited his convenience, and to usurp the royal power, and gain time and means to establish himself in it. He further represented, that the objection urged against his own person was no less vain and frivolous, *viz.* That he was not a Catholick: for he was neither Infidel nor Pagan, but worshiped the same God and the same Redeemer that the Catholicks confess and adore: that some difference in opinion ought not to make so desperate and irreconcileable a division. That he would not be obstinate, nor refuse to be taught and instructed; and that he was ready, whenever he should be convinced of his error, to renounce it, and to conform himself to that way of worship which the Catholicks of his kingdom required him to embrace, and that he wished he could with a safe conscience extinguish all scruples in his subjects: but he intreated the Catholicks not to wonder if he could not so easily give up that religion which he had imbibed with his milk; nor ought it to appear strange, that he did not relinquish the opinions in which he had been educated, till he was first made sensible of the error they thought he was in; for when that was once effected, no-body should be more willing or ready to condemn it, and to pursue that course which should be proved to be the best. That it was fit he should proceed with mature deliberation in an affair that concerned his soul and eternal life: and so much the more, as his example might draw many after it, to whose perdition he would not be accessary, but was desirous to save them if it lay in his power. That he had, therefore, often desired a Council might be assembled, not to oppose himself to those had been already held, as his enemies reported, but that he, together with those of the same religion, might be taught and instructed thereby. That it was no absurdity to call a Council to regulate many new things, which time and occasions usually produce: and to say they had been already settled by other Councils would be trifling: for so all later Councils would have been superfluous and absurd, in confirming and ordaining things again which had been established and decreed by former ones. That if a more speedy and proper way of instructing him could be found out, he would not reject it: and that he had given sufficient proof of his inclination to the world, when he permitted the Catholicks that acknowledged and obeyed him, to send Ambassadors to the Pope for that purpose; and when he had so often caused his adversaries to be told, that in the midst of arms it was no time to talk of conversions, exhorting them to think of peace, that they might resolve upon a conference, in which he might be instructed: but that they had abused his goodness, and seemed to lend an ear to it, only when they wanted to excite a jealousy in the *Spaniards*,

1593.

1593. *Spaniards*, for the furtherance of their own designs. That it was plain they did not desire to have him converted, since they now represented it in their writings as a thing to be despaired of, having never yet so much as attempted it; nay, as soon as the Marquis *De Pisani's* embassy, for that purpose, was agreed upon, they had used all possible means to thwart his negotiation, and had brought it to pass, that the Pope would not admit him to an audience. That if they pretended and gave out that they would refer the matter wholly to the Pope, he, on the other hand, was not without hopes, that his Holiness, at last, when he was better acquainted with their wiles and artifices, would take such a resolution as should be most conformable to decency and reason. That seditious persons ought, therefore, no longer to tempt the good Catholicks, who continued armed for their own defence and the safety of their country; but rather to acknowledge their error, and, like sheep that had gone astray, to return and join themselves again with the rest of the fold: for except the Princes of the house of *Lorrain*, who were in a manner foreigners, all the Princes of the Blood, Prelates, Lords, Officers of the Crown, and almost all the *Noblesse* were of his party (which made the true body of *France*) united for the support of their liberties and the security of the kingdom. That they should consider how unworthy, how monstrous a thing it was, to open a passage for the *Spaniards* to come and invade the very bowels of the kingdom, after their ancestors, and even they themselves, had poured out so much of their blood only to drive them from the confines. That it behoved them to reflect, how black and insatiable their avarice would appear, which had prostituted the glory of the *French* name, and the liberties of their country, for the lucre of gold. But that it was no wonder they did not feel remorse of conscience upon that occasion, since they had not shewn any for the most cruel parricide that ever was committed, upon the person of their late King, which they were so far from detesting and abhorring, as they ought to do, that they impiously attributed it to the hand of God. That if (as they now pretended to be) they would be accounted innocent of that fact, which hath obscured the glory, and cast an indelible reproach of the vilest perfidy upon the *French* name, they should not, at the same time, exult and triumph in it, and not only extol, but canonize the name of the murderer, and be guilty of so many other unheard of barbarities: but rather shew, that they were shocked at so foul a deed, and resolved to make their peace with that country which had bred, and cherished, and exalted them to such a height of greatness: and not any longer to take part with foreign nations, that are enemies to and very different from *France*, both in their language and manners, and also in loyalty and goodness of disposition. That if these motives were not sufficient to make an impression upon the hearts of those that have

swerved

ſwerved from their duty, and to convince them of their error, they ſhould at leaſt confirm the reſolution of true *Frenchmen*, to perſevere with conſtancy in the defence of their country, in which he himſelf had for the time paſt, and would alſo for the future, always ſet them an example, by expoſing his perſon, health, blood, and very life, before any of them, as a ſacrifice for ſo beneficial and meritorious a purpoſe. That his care and affection for them till that preſent were ſufficiently known, and, with what tenderneſs he had not only embraced the Catholicks, but preſerved, protected, and maintained them in their poſſeſſions and privileges: how much he had favoured and ſupported their religion, and how conſtantly and inviolably he had obſerved every thing that he had promiſed at his acceſſion to the Crown: and that now, for their further ſecurity, and to put an end to all ſcruples, he ſolemnly ſwore before Almighty God, and the whole world, that he was reſolved to perſiſt in protecting and ſupporting them to the laſt breath of his life; that he never would do any thing voluntarily to the prejudice either of their perſons, eſtates, or religion, and that he deſired thoſe things, which his ſubjects required from him, might, for the glory of God, be peaceably and properly executed, as he hoped in his divine Majeſty and invariable providence that the good effects would then quickly be ſeen, which, out of a confidence in his mercies, he would venture to promiſe and prognoſticate. That, in the mean time, he had decreed, by the advice of his Council, and declared by that Manifeſto, that the Duke of *Mayenne*, in having aſſembled a congregation at *Paris*, under the name of *States*, had, in an unjuſt and rebellious manner, uſurped the regal power and authority, and that thoſe States being null, invalid, and ſeditious, were not to be deemed in any wiſe lawful, nor any thing that ſhould be done, eſtabliſhed, or determined upon in that Aſſembly, as binding or obligatory."

This writing, which did not carry with it any neceſſity of an anſwer, was variouſly received and interpreted, according to the different diſpoſition of men's minds: but that ſent by the Catholick Lords of the King's party to the Aſſembly at *Paris*, occaſioned much doubt and diverſity of opinion amongſt the confederates, on many accounts. For the Legate, having cauſed it to be examined by the Divines of the *Sorbonne*, ſtill declared that it was heretical, and therefore not worthy of any anſwer: and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ſaid, it was only to be looked upon as an artifice, to fruſtrate the good purpoſe for which they were met together. But the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, Monſieur *Villeroy*, Preſident *Jeannine*, and the Count *De Belin*, maintained, that of what nature ſoever it was, it ought neither to be deſpiſed nor rejected, and gave their reaſons for it. And betwixt theſe two opinions, the Duke of *Mayenne* was ſo divided, that he could not well tell what to determine upon: for, on one hand, he was very de-

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1593 sirous to enter into a treaty with the Royalists; and, on the other, he did not care absolutely to alienate or exasperate the Legate and the *Spaniards.* At last, after many private consultations with his friends, he resolved to defer the proposing of that affair to the consideration of the Assembly, till he had first conferred with the Duke of *Feria* and the rest that were coming, and till he had seen the strength of the army, and what orders the Count of *Mansfelt* had, who was now preparing to enter the confines; that he might afterwards proceed as time and occasion should direct. For which purpose he determined to go and meet the Ambassadors, and to receive and conduct the army himself, lest the Duke of *Guise* should he before-hand with him, and (to the prejudice of his reputation) have the command of it given to him by the *Spaniards*, who openly favoured him. He was in hopes also of effecting something by his arms, which might give him fresh credit and authority: but above all, it was necessary for him to draw a large sum of money from the *Spaniards*, to be then distributed amongst the Deputies, to promote his designs, many of whom, from the dearth in *Paris*, and their own poverty, had great occasion for it.

When this resolution was taken, he called the Deputies of the Assembly together, and desired them to employ themselves in matters of smaller concern, and not to enter into any discussion relating to the election, till his return, as it was proper that all the *Spanish* Ambassadors should be present upon that occasion, as well as himself and the Duke of *Guise*, and the other principal men of the party, whom he would bring along with him thither in a few days: which, as his desire was the same as a command, they all promised to do, without hesitation. And having left Monsieur *De Villeroy* and President *Jeannine* to frustrate any under-hand practices that might be set on foot in the mean time, he went, with four hundred horse, to *Soissons*, where he had ordered the *French* forces to be in readiness to receive him. At his arrival in that city, on the ninth of *February*, he found the Duke of *Feria* and the other Ambassadors there, with whom he entered into a conference: but they began to disagree at the very first meeting.

At the court of *Spain* it was thought both agreeable to justice and very expedient, that the *Salic* law should be broken, because all those of the house of *Bourbon* were either notorious hereticks, or favourers of heresy; and that the Crown should devolve to the Infanta *Isabella*, his Catholick Majesty's daughter, who, by the ordinary laws, was the next heir to the late King, as born of *Elizabeth* his eldest daughter. And when it was represented, on the other hand, that in failure of posterity in the Royal Family, the rightof naming a new King reverted to the commonalty of the people of *France:* they replied, that, admitting this to be true, yet it

was but just that the commonalty should have a regard, in such an election, to the law of nations, which always preferred the next heir: and that it was very reasonable great condescensions should be made, on account of the vast expences which the King of *Spain* had been at, and of many other things which he had done, for the support of that Crown and the Catholick religion: since, with great prejudice to his own affairs, he had employed all his forces and all the revenues of his kingdom for the benefit of *France*, which, if he had abandoned it, from the beginning, to the mercy of the *Navarrese*, must inevitably have been compelled to bow its neck and receive the yoke of heresy: from whence the absolute ruin of every individual, and the general servitude of so christian a kingdom, must necessarily have ensued. These Counsellors, therefore, having thus persuaded themselves that such arguments would naturally make the same impression upon the minds of the *French*, determined to apply themselves immediately to the advancement of so great a design. For which purpose, having express orders so to do from the court of *Spain*, and being also made to believe, by *Diego d'Ivarra's* letters, that the States would concur chearfully and without opposition in the election of the Infanta; the Ambassadors began, without further delay, to sollicit the Duke of *Mayenne* to assent to it and support that choice.

1593.

They said, his Catholick Majesty had very just pretensions to expect such an election. First, from the right which the Infanta had to the Crown (as born of the eldest daughter of *France*;) and in the next place, in consideration of the favours which *France* had already received from him, and of those which it might receive for the future, as he was resolved to employ all his power and forces to free the kingdom from the contagion of heresy, and to establish the Crown, as soon as possible, in peace and security. To these professions, they added many magnificent promises to every one in particular, but especially to the Duke of *Mayenne*, assuring him, that his Catholick Majesty designed to heap honours and riches upon him without end, and to give him the highest dignity in the kingdom next to the Crown: reminding him, in the last place, of the preference which he had already shewn him, in putting his army under his command, having given positive orders to Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* to obey and acknowledge him as his superior in every thing.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, who had already received information that Count *Charles* did not bring above four thousand foot and a thousand horse along with him, and that the Ambassadors had orders not to furnish him with more than twenty-five thousand ducats, which was a sum by no means equal to the urgency of the present occasion, answered the proposal of the Ambassadors in terms of great resentment, and with much less reserve than he used to do, and reproached them "with their trifling supplies

 both

1593. both of men and money, which were not likely to ſet the Confederates free from the yoke of hereſy, nor to reſtore tranquillity to the kingdom, as they vainly boaſted, but to perpetuate the calamities of war, and to reduce the affairs of the League to the loweſt ebb of diſtreſs. That he could not help remembring in times paſt, how his Catholick Majeſty's armies had hardly come in ſight, before they vaniſhed again: which had only ſerved to foment, and not to remedy, the evils that oppreſſed the kingdom. That ſuch was much more likely to be the caſe at preſent, ſince, at a time when meaſures were to have been taken for the common ſafety, and when he, to ſilence their importunate clamours and remonſtrances, had, with infinite difficulty, aſſembled the States of the kingdom, there came ſuch pitiful ſuccours, that neither their army was powerful enough to give life and vigour to ſo great an undertaking, nor their money ſufficient to ſupply or ſo much as afford them the leaſt relief in their preſent neceſſities. That he could not ſufficiently expreſs his extreme ſurpriſe at ſo perverſe a manner of proceeding: that the King of *Spain* and his Counſellors muſt be very improvident, upon this occaſion, not to ſee, that, after ſuch behaviour, nothing could be expected from that quarter, and that it was in vain to propoſe the Infanta for Queen, without ſending a proper ſtrength to make her acknowledged, and to eſtabliſh her in the throne. That it was a difficult and weighty undertaking, and not well reliſhed by many; and to embark in it with ſuch a handful of forces, and ſo ſmall a degree of power and reputation, was the ſure way to damp and defeat it; which, out of regard to his Catholick Majeſty, he would never comply with. That people, who had entirely fixed their hopes upon the preſent Aſſembly, would be provoked to the laſt degree, and driven to deſpair, when they ſaw a Queen, and a foreigner too, propoſed, without ſufficient power or means of attaining the Crown. That it was a thing diſguſtful to the conſtitution of the *French* nation, repugnant to the tenor of the *Salic* law, that ſounded harſhly in the ears of a free people, who were not accuſtomed to be kept under: and therefore it was neceſſary both to let them ſee, that they would be ſecure under the protection of a powerful army, and to conciliate their affections by largeſſes and other allurements. But to attempt a thing of ſo great conſequence with ſo feeble a ſupport, was neither ſuitable to the grandeur of his Catholick Majeſty, nor conſiſtent with the honour and reputation of the Confederates. And that for his part, he neither thought fit, nor was able, nor knew how to engage in ſuch a deſign, as he was certain that it would not only miſcarry, but neceſſitate the Deputies, in deſpair, to come to an agreement with the hereticks, rather than plunge themſelves into an abyſs of miſery, to the evident deſtruction both of the publick and every private man."

Such an anſwer ſeemed very ſtrange, as it was not at all expected by the Ambaſſadors,

Ambaſſadors, and they ſoon began to perceive that they had built their hopes upon a ſandy foundation: yet they perſiſted in their pretenſions, and replied, " That the commotions in the kingdom of *Arragon*, the long indiſpoſition, and afterwards the death of the Duke of *Parma*, had prevented their maſter from exerting himſelf in ſo effectual a manner as he would do in a few months, if there ſhould be occaſion. That the ſuccours of his Catholick Majeſty had always been ſo powerful and ſo opportune, that they had manifeſtly delivered the Kingdom and the Catholick religion from the bondage of hereticks; and that the *French* had no reaſon to complain of any other perſon, when they had loſt ſo many battles and brought their affairs into into ſuch confuſion by their own miſconduct, that the King of *Spain* was obliged to neglect his own concerns to recover them, in a manner, from the grave. That the ſupplies of money which he had advanced were not pitiful, but the greedineſs of the *French* enormous and inſatiable: and yet, when they ſhould give juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction to his Catholick Majeſty, he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to content them: but that to deſire to have the ſole benefit of all advantages, all conveniencies, and to reeeive all manner of ſatiſfaction and contentment themſelves, and to give none at all to other people, was not a fair or equal manner of proceeding. That it was reaſonably expected they would declare their good-will, at leaſt, in acknowledging the title of the Infanta to be good and valid; and, for the reſt, it was not to be imagined that his Catholick Majeſty would be regardleſs of his daughter's intereſts: for he was reſolved to drain his kingdom both of men and money to place her upon the throne, and to eſtabliſh her firmly in it. That the King, tired out with ſo many broils and ſuch vaſt demands, would no longer oppreſs his ſubjects, nor exhauſt his own treaſury, without any aſſurance that his labours and expences ſhould meet with a due recompence at laſt: but, if the Infanta ſhould be elected, he would immediately ſend fifty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, to be paid by himſelf till every thing was ſettled to their common ſatisfaction, and would pour out all the treaſures of his kingdom upon the *French*."

The Duke of *Mayenne*, ſeeming to make little account of theſe magnificent promiſes for the future, ſaid, " it was neceſſary to conſider the preſent ſituation of affairs; and that, in order to make the States ſwallow the bitter pill of foreign dominion, it muſt be qualified with the ſweets of honour and advantage, if they expect it to go down." But *Inigo Mendozza*, who was more fit to preſide in diſputes amongſt ſchoolmen, than to conduct a ſtate affair of ſuch importance, replied, " That it was very well known, all the Deputies would not only concur in the election of the Infanta, but even entreat his Catholick majeſty to permit her to be their Queen, and that he alone oppoſed that election, which was ſo much

deſired.

1593. desired by every other person." Upon this, the Duke grew warm, and told *Mendozza*, "That he was but little acquainted with the affairs of *France*; and as he was a stranger to the magnanimity of the nation, the *Spaniards* might very likely expect to tyrannize over the Deputies of a *French* Assembly, in the same manner that they did over the ignorant and unhappy *Indians*; but that he would find himself much mistaken in his account." *Mendozza* answered, "That, on the contrary, he should find, they would make him know they were sufficiently enabled to get the Infanta elected, without his concurrence or assistance." But the Duke, not having patience to bear that, replied, "That he was under no apprehension upon that account, as he was very well convinced, that if he did not assent to it, all the rest of the world had it not in their power to make such an election." To which the Duke of *Feria* took upon himself to answer, and said, "They would soon make him sensible of his error, and would take away the command of the army, and give it to the Duke of *Guise*." This nettled the Duke of *Mayenne* still more than any thing that had been said before: and, as he was apt to indulge his choler, when he was once provoked, he replied, "That it was in his power to turn the whole strength of *France* upon them, and that, if he pleased, he could thrust them all out of the kingdom in a week's time: that they acted the parts of Ambassadors sent from the King of *Navarre*, rather than from his Catholick Majesty, nor could they have done him more effectual service if they had actually been in his pay: but that they must not expect to treat him as their subject, as he was not so at present, nor did he think he ever should be, if they did not behave themselves in a better manner to him for the future." After which, he took his leave of them in an abrupt and disdainful manner, and left them to themselves.

The next day *Juan Baptista Tassis* resumed the affair, and endeavoured to sooth and gain him over with promises; but the Duke told them plainly, "That if they treated him in such a manner at present, he was not such a fool but he could easily perceive how they would use him when he was a vassal and in their power:" and refused, for a long time, to confer any more with the Duke of *Feria* and *Mendozza*. But the Prothonotary *Agucchi* and Commissary *Malvagia*, who were there by the Legate's orders, and Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, who was come thither to consult in what manner the army should be employed, took so much pains to reconcile them, that the *Spaniards*, knowing they could do nothing without the assistance of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and he, when his passions were in some measure cooled, remembring that he was not in such circumstances that he could spare the support of the *Spaniards*, their animosities were at last composed, but with much prejudice to his Catholick Majesty's designs. For the Duke, to give a more effectual check to them, wrote to *Villeroy*,

Villeroy, *Jeannine*, and the Archbishop of *Lions*, by all means to cause 1593. the writing published by the Catholicks of the King's party, to be answered, and to begin the conference with them which they had proposed, that so he might have a resource at hand, whenever he should be ill-treated by the *Spaniards* for the future. And yet, with much dissimulation on both sides, it was agreed amongst themselves, that the Duke of *Mayenne* should consent to the election of the Infanta, and promote it in the Assembly of the States: and, on the other hand, when she was elected, that he should have the duchy of *Burgundy*, and the government of *Picardy* for his life, the title and authority of the Queen's Lieutenant-General throughout the whole kingdom: that all debts should be paid, as well those that had been contracted in the name of the publick, as in his own, and that all the sums which he had disbursed out of his own pocket should be refunded to him: besides which, they advanced him five and twenty thousand crowns in ready money, and furnished him with bills for two hundred thousand more, and ordered Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* with the army to obey him in every thing, and to act according to his instructions.

This agreement, patched up in such a manner, put a stop to their feuds and dissensions for the present indeed, but did not produce that unanimity afterwards which was so necessary to secure success in the prosecution of their designs. For the Duke of *Mayenne* did not think himself bound to observe promises that had been violently extorted from him by the necessities of the publick; and as the *Spaniards* did not entertain any great hopes that he would perform them, they were determined to take any opportunity that should offer, of accomplishing their ends without him. They left *Soissons*, however, on the twentieth of *February*, and came to *Paris*, where they began to treat with the Deputies; but soon found, that the Assembly was entirely governed by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and that nothing at all could be effected without his assistance.

On the other hand, when the Duke came to the confines, whither he was gone to review the army, he found it so weak that he gave up all hopes of succeeding in any thing that might tend either to his honour or advantage. Yet they were all of opinion, that the army should not advance into the inner parts of the kingdom, but with different views: the *Spanish* Ministers agreed to it, that *Paris* might not be delivered from the scarcity under which it laboured at that time, still persisting in their conceit, that it would be of service to their affairs to have the League and the *Parisians* kept low and in distress: the Duke of *Mayenne* was afraid the *Spaniards* would be encouraged to grow still bolder by the nearness of those forces: and Count *Charles*, considering that his army was so small and

1593. and that he had but little money, was not willing to engage himſelf in places at a diſtance from the confines, and in undertakings that would take up much time and be attended with any great difficulty: ſo that tho' the Legate and the *Pariſians* were very importunate to have the army advance and lay ſiege to *St. Dennis*, to open a paſſage for the conveyance of proviſions into the city on that ſide, yet it was unanimouſly reſolved, for theſe different reaſons, that it ſhould be employed in other enterpriſes, and the Duke of *Mayenne* recommended the ſiege of *Noyon* in preference to any other, not only becauſe he thought himſelf almoſt certain of taking the place, and of increaſing his reputation and authority by that means, but for the ſake of diſpatch, that he might return to aſſiſt in the Aſſembly, and alſo becauſe it lay near to *Rheims*, where the Lords of the houſe of *Lorrain* were to have a meeting before the States ſhould come to a final reſolution.

When they had drawn their forces together, therefore, from all parts, they ſat down before *Noyon*, and having fortified their camp, they immediately began to break ground, to caſt up trenches, and raiſe batteries. This army conſiſted of four thouſand foot and one thouſand *Spaniſh* horſe: twelve hundred *German* foot and one hundred horſe, paid by the Pope, and commanded by *Appio Conti*, as General of the Church, and by Commiſſary *Malvagia*; betwixt five and ſix hundred *German* foot, of the Prince of *Aiguillon's* regiment; three thouſand *French* foot, and betwixt eight and nine hundred horſe of the Duke of *Mayenne's* troops, with which were the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Aumale*, the Sieurs *De Rhoſnè* and *De la Chaſtre*. Monſieur *D'Eſtree* commanded in the town with nine hundred foot and about eighty horſe, but not aſſiſted by the townſmen, who had always, from the beginning, inclined to the confederates. In a few days three batteries were raiſed, one by the *Walloons*, under the command of *La Berlotte*; another, where the *Spaniards* wrought, under *Antonio Zuniga* and *Ludovico Velaſco*; and a third, carried on by the *Germans*, under *Appio Conti*: and the *French*, being entrenched on the ſide towards *Chigny*, lay upon the road to prevent any relief from that quarter. The ſiege laſted but a few days, in compariſon of what people imagined it would have done: for the Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf aſſiſted at all the works with extreme diligence, to ſhew that now he commanded alone, without being controuled by any ſuperior General, he knew how to carry on ſuch an undertaking with ſucceſs: and exerting his utmoſt ſkill and endeavours, he harraſſed and annoyed the beſieged in ſo many places, with mines, batteries, drawing off their water, and continual aſſaults, that they were not able to hold out any longer, but agreed to ſurrender; and upon the laſt day of the month Monſieur *D'Eſtree* delivered the town into their hands upon terms, which occaſioned great murmuring and

diſcontent

discontent in the army; for the soldiers insisted, that they ought to have the plundering of it, as a reward for their extraordinary labours and diligence. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was an enemy to rapine and all proceedings of that kind, and knew how well the townsmen were affected to him, would not suffer foreigners to glut themselves with the riches and blood of the *French*.

But an accident happened, during this siege, which very much weakened the army of the League: for the Colonel of the Pope's lansquenets having refused to obey the command of *Appio Conti*, who ordered him to make his men work at the trenches as the other soldiers did, there passed such high words betwixt them, that at last they drew their swords, and *Appio Conti* was killed upon the spot, by a thrust which he received from the *German*, who was immediately seized, in the midst of his men, by the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, but afterwards made his escape out of the hands of those that had him in their custody. Upon which, the rest of the *German* officers immediately furled up their colours and refused to serve any longer: an event that did not displease the Commissary *Malvagia*, who (though the Duke vehemently opposed it) dismissed them from the Pope's pay with no less precipitation than *Matteucci* had some time before disbanded the *Swiss*. His Catholick Majesty's infantry were likewise much diminished, especially the *Walloons*, who, being ill paid, deserted in great numbers: and the *French*, according to their custom, began to dwindle away and abate in their vigour: so that it was not possible to attempt any thing else at that time, as Count *Mansfelt*, either on account of the weakness of his army, or because he had received such orders from the *Spanish* Ministers, was not willing to advance any further, though the *Parisians* were very clamorous and importunate to have siege laid to *St. Dennis*; which the chief commanders did not then care to undertake. However, as they insisted that the garrisons of those towns that adhered to the League should be augmented, that they might be able to convoy their provisions more securely, which were often intercepted by the King's garrisons, it was determined at *Paris* that the Pope's *Germans* should be admitted into the city, that so neither the forces of the *Spaniards* nor those of the Duke of *Mayenne* should be increased there: but the Legate's orders for that purpose not arriving till after the death of *Appio Conti*, and after the Commissary had dismissed the *Germans*, the Duke of *Mayenne* took hold of the opportunity, and instead of them, sent the regiment that belonged to the Prince his son, to the great encouragement of those that depended upon him and wished to see him exalted.

Noyon, therefore, being taken, and almost one half of the army dispersed, Count *Charles* marched back again towards the frontiers, for the con-

1593. convenience of returning more ſpeedily into *Flanders*, upon occaſion; and the Duke of *Mayenne* ſet out for *Rheims* with a deſign to meet the reſt of the Princes of his family there, and then to go to aſſiſt at the Aſſembly in *Paris*. In the mean time, an unexpected accident had obliged the King to go to *Tours*, which was of ſome prejudice to his affairs, particularly as it prevented him from relieving *Noyon*. He had been treating, ever ſince the year 1587, about giving his ſiſter *Catherine* in marriage to the Count *De Soiſſons*, but as the articles had not been executed according to agreement (for which purpoſe the Count had gone to him at the camp in *Xaintoigne*) they were as much diſguſted at each other, as the Princeſs was charmed with the gentle manners and behaviour of the Count. So that though he had both abandoned and returned to the Catholick party during the Aſſembly of the States at *Blois*, yet they had continued a ſecret correſpondence by letters, which enflamed their paſſion ſtill more and more, and they had proceeded ſo far, by the means of Madam *De Grammont*, that the Count, who was one of thoſe that began to think of leaving the King's party, came to *Tours*, under a pretence of viſiting his mother, and poſted from thence privately into *Bearn*, in order to conſummate his marriage, as had been agreed upon with the Princeſs *Catherine*. But the King (who hoped the marriage of his ſiſter would be a means to gain him the alliance of other Princes, and built much upon it) had watched the Count's actions ſo narrowly, that he penetrated into that deſign before it could be put in execution. He had been ſome time a lover of Madam *De Grammont*, but forſook her after he left *Gaſcony*, ſo that ſhe did all that lay in her power to revenge the diſgrace of being abandoned by him; but his ſiſter's Gentlewomen, in whom ſhe moſt confided, being bribed by him, were as ready, on the other hand, to give him intelligence of every thing that paſſed. When he was informed therefore of what was in agitation, he ordered ſome of the Parliament to go into *Bearn*, in order to break that contract: and having ſent the Baron *De Biron* before him (whom he had lately made Admiral) under a pretence of taking poſſeſſion of that dignity in the Parliament, he ſpeedily followed him, leaving his Court and Council at *Chartres*, and came to *Tours*, whither he ſent for the Princeſs, and brought her with him back, at the end of two months, to the ſame city, being exceedingly chagrined to find himſelf ſo little regarded by thoſe of his own blood. But this was a circumſtance that more clearly convinced him that it was high time to come to a reſolution, and to ſecure himſelf, ſince he plainly ſaw, that even the Princes of the Blood were alienated from him. Thus every little accident, though it ſeemed to thwart his deſigns at firſt, was always favourable to him in the end, and ſerved to promote his greatneſs and eſtabliſhment.

During

1593.

During the ſiege of *Noyon*, there had been warm debates in the Aſſembly at *Paris*, about returning an anſwer to the Catholicks of the King's party. For the *Spaniards*, ſupported by the Cardinal Legate, endeavoured, with all their power, to prevent it; alledging, that as the writing was manifeſtly heretical, and declared ſo by the Divines of the *Sorbonne*, it could not be taken into conſideration, nor ought the States to give any anſwer to it: what made it heretical, they ſaid, was, that it maintained that ſubjects were obliged to obey their Prince, though he ſhould be a known heretick and condemned by the holy Church: that this was a net to catch the vulgar, an obſtacle thrown in the way to retard the proceedings of the States, a ſtumbling-block to interrupt the due ſervice of God; that it would be unwiſe to throw away their time about ſubtilties deviſed by their enemies, or the contrivances of the King of *Navarre*, by whom it was certain that writing was dictated, ſince they themſelves that cauſed it to be preſented, confeſs they did it with his conſent, and it was ſigned by no body but *Revel*, one of his Secretaries of State: and therefore, as he that deſires to be good, ought not to hearken to the temptations of the devil: ſo they that have any regard to the ſafety of the kingdom and the eſtabliſhment of the Catholick religion, ſhould by no means liſten to the ſuggeſtions of the King of *Navarre*, and thoſe that ſpoke by his inſtigation, and through his very mouth. On the other hand, many of the Deputies ſaid, that they ought not to ſhut their ears againſt thoſe of the ſame blood and religion, who perhaps were deſirous to renounce their errors and make peace with their conſciences, by retiring to the good Catholicks, and adhering to the Confederates for the future, which, if it ſhould happen, would ſo weaken the King of *Navarre*, and reduce him to ſo low a condition, that he might eaſily be vanquiſhed and ſuppreſſed. That all means ought to be eagerly embraced and employed which might conduce to peace, as that was the chief aim of all good *Frenchmen*, and to which every one aſpired for their own ſafety: and if it could be obtained by gentle means and common conſent, why ſhould they plunge themſelves afreſh into the miſeries of war and endleſs diſtractions? That, for this very purpoſe, the Duke of *Mayenne* had, in his Declaration, invited the Catholicks of the King's party to meet and confer with him: that he had ſo proteſted to them, adding, that if they reſolved not to unite with him, all ſubſequent evils and calamities ſhould be imputed to them: which Declaration the Catholicks confiding in, had now demanded a conference, and if they ſhould refuſe it, they would draw the guilt of thoſe things upon themſelves. That their propoſing it with the King's conſent was no objection, as it was not to be expected that all things could be done, and every end obtained at once: that being yet ſubject to him, they were neceſſitated to proceed in that manner,

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1593. but afterwards, when they were drawn over by little and little, by reason and gentle means, perhaps they might make a clearer and more explicit declaration. That it was no great matter if *Revol* was Secretary to the King of *Navarre*, for he was a Catholick, and perhaps no less inclined to leave him than the rest: that it was already known that even the Princes of the Blood had thoughts of abandoning their party, and that the Catholicks were dissatisfied, because he had not kept his promise of changing his religion: and therefore it was necessary to encourage such beginnings, to induce them to come to a firmer resolution, and to reunite in one body, for the safety and repose of the kingdom.

This opinion seemed the more plausible, and was supported by the Duke of *Mayenne's* friends, who had received orders from him to propose it: nor was there any thing wanting to make it pass but the concurrence of the Legate, from whom neither the States nor the Duke himself cared to alienate themselves. The Archbishop of *Lions*, therefore, went to him, and desired him to consider, that if the proposal of the Royalists was not accepted, great commotions would certainly ensue: for the Nobility and the order of the Commons stood up so strenuously for it, that, as they were tired out with the miseries of war and the continual toils and hardships of bearing arms, they would cause an insurrection, and very likely go over to the King of *Navarre*. That no bad consequences could be apprehended from that conference; for care should be taken to employ such persons in conducting it, as would be very far from abandoning or giving up the cause of religion. That if the Catholicks of the King's party should join that of the Confederates, it would be a compleat victory: and if, on the other hand, they should shew themselves averse to it, it would be an easy matter, after such satisfaction had been apparently given to the world and to the States, to find a thousand ways to dissolve the conference. That in the time of Cardinal *Caietano* there had been many other treaties and conferences carried on, both by himself and others, which were not attended with any evil consequences: and if there should not be one at present, he would not only be accounted scrupulous and severe, but obstinate, and an enemy to peace. That if the proposals of the Catholicks should be rejected through his opposition alone, it would be imputed to an unseasonable pride, and a too interested union with the *Spaniards*, which perhaps might not be much approved of at the court of *Rome*: that people began to murmur at it already, and that the demand was so reasonable, that whosoever refused to comply with it was sure to incur great blame. The Legate's ears were likewise continually deafned with popular complaints of his too great partiality to the *Spaniards*: for the *Prevôt des Marchands* told him, that the city, which hoped to be in a great measure delivered out of its present

necessity

necessity by this conference, would certainly mutiny if it was refused: 1593.
and the Parliament boldly declared, and gave out in publick, that they would concur with the States. So that he was forced at last to give his consent in private, that an answer should be sent to the Catholicks, and that the conference should be agreed to, but without his open approbation. It was accordingly decreed, by an unanimous vote of the States, that the conference should be accepted; and on the 4th of *March* they drew up the following answer to the declaration of the Catholicks.

" SOME days ago we received a letter addressed to us, and sent by a trumpet in your name: and we could wish it proceeded from that zeal and earnestness which, before the present distractions, ye always used to shew for the preservation of the Catholick religion, and from such respect and obedience as is due to the Church, our holy father the Pope, and the Apostolick See. For then certainly we should soon be reconciled and united together against the hereticks: nor should we any longer have occasion for other arms to pull down and demolish those new altars which are erected in opposition to ours, and to prevent the establishment of heresy, which (because it hath been tolerated, or rather honoured with reward and recompence, instead of being punished, as it ought to have been) is not contented now with toleration and connivance, but aspires to absolute superiority, and to domineer in an imperious manner, under the authority of an heretick Prince. And though no one in particular is mentioned in that letter, nor is it signed by any of those in whose names it was delivered to us, and we are therefore uncertain who sent it, or rather certain that it was done by the suggestion of others, as Catholicks in your circumstances have not that liberty, which is necessary to hear, deliberate, and resolve, according to the dictates of their own consciences, upon any of those measures which our miseries and the common safety require: yet we should not have so long delayed returning an answer to it, if we had not waited for the coming of several of the Deputies who were then upon the road. But as most of them are now arrived, lest a longer silence should be misinterpreted, we do it this day, without deferring it to another, in expectation of those that are yet to come. And we declare, in the first place, that we have all promised and sworn by the name of Almighty God (after receiving his most precious body and the benediction of the Holy See, by the hands of the Cardinal Legate) that the scope of all our designs, the beginning, means, and end of all our actions, shall be to secure and preserve the *Roman*, Catholick, Apostolick religion, in which we are determined to live and die. The holy One himself, who cannot lie, hath taught us, that if we seek the kingdom and glory of God before all other things, temporal blessings shall likewise be added to us: amongst which,

which, next to the ſecurity of our religion, we look upon the preſerving of the State entire to be the firſt, and think that all other means of preventing ruin and deſtruction, founded merely upon human wiſdom, ſavour of impiety, are unjuſt, contrary to our duty, and the profeſſion we make of being true Catholicks, and without probability of being crowned with any good ſucceſs. Whenſoever, therefore, we ſhall be delivered from the fear of thoſe dangers which good men apprehend from the evils that are produced by hereſy, we will not reject any means or counſel that may tend to alleviate our calamities and bring them to an end. For we acknowledge, and are but too ſenſible, of the miſeries that attend civil wars, and have no occaſion for any one to ſhew us our wounds, though it is known both to God and man who are the authors of them. We think it ſufficient to ſay, that we have been educated and inſtructed in the doctrines of the holy Church, nor can our ſouls and conſciences enjoy any repoſe and tranquillity, or taſte any happineſs, whilſt we are in fear of ſeeing our religion ſubverted; the danger of which can neither be diſſembled nor avoided, if men go on as they have begun. Hence it is, that judging, as ye do, that our reconciliation is abſolutely neceſſary, we ſeek it with a truly chriſtian charity, and beſeech and conjure ye, in the name of God, to come into it. Let not the reproaches and aſperſions which have been caſt upon us deter ye from leaving the hereticks, whom at the ſame time ye both follow and deteſt. As for ambition, which they ſay is the cauſe of our taking up arms, it is now in your power to ſee our hearts laid open, and to diſcover whether religion be the real motive, or only a pretence. If we lift up our hands to Heaven to give God thanks, if we be ready and willing to follow all good counſels, to love ye, to honour ye, to do ye the ſervice ye ſhall juſtly deſerve: then praiſe us as honeſt men, who have had the courage to deſpiſe all dangers for the preſervation of religion, and have not wanted integrity and moderation to forbear doing any thing that is repugnant to honour and reaſon. But if ye ſhall find the contrary, we then give ye leave to upbraid us with hypocriſy, and to condemn us as wicked men: by which ye will engage both heaven and earth againſt us, and force us to lay down our arms like vanquiſhed men, or leave us ſo weak, that a victory over us will be attended neither with danger nor glory. In the mean time lay the blame upon hereſy, the evil conſequences of which are ſufficiently known to ye, and rather be afraid of that devouring cancer, which daily gets ground amongſt us, than of a pretended and imaginary ambition, which (if there really was any ſuch thing) will be left deſtitute and alone when it ſhall be ſtripped of the cloke of religion. It is likewiſe unreaſonable to blame us for introducing foreigners into the kingdom: for we muſt either give up our religion together with our honours, eſtates, and lives, or oppoſe the power

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of the hereticks, whom nothing can ſatiate but our ruin: and therefore we are compelled to make uſe of their aſſiſtance, as ye have turned your arms againſt us. The moſt holy fathers and the Apoſtolick See indeed have ſent us relief: and though many of them have been exalted to that ſupreme dignity ſince the beginning of theſe troubles, yet not ſo much as one of them hath ever deviated in his affection to us; a moſt certain ſign that our cauſe is juſt. His Catholick Majeſty, a Prince allied to and confederated with this Crown, and the only one who, in theſe times, is able to ſupport and defend religion, hath likewiſe aſſiſted us with his forces and other ſuccours, but without any recompence or reward, except the glory which ſo good a work hath juſtly acquired him. Our Kings have always had recourſe to them upon the like occaſions, and when hereticks have rebelled againſt them: we have followed their example, without entering into any treaty prejudicial to the State, or to our reputation, though our neceſſities have been much more urgent than theirs. Ye ought rather to remember, that the *Engliſh*, who now aſſiſt ye in eſtabliſhing hereſy, are the ancient enemies of this kingdom, and yet bear the title of what they formerly uſurped, and have their hands imbrued in the innocent blood of an infinite number of Catholicks, who bravely died in the ſervice of God and the Church. Forbear alſo to charge us with the crime of high treaſon, becauſe we will not obey an heretick Prince, whom ye call our natural King; and take care, that whilſt ye turn your eyes towards the earth to look into human laws, ye forget not the divine laws that come from heaven. It is not nature, nor the law of nations, that teacheth us what Kings we are to acknowledge; but the law of God, the law of his Church, and that of the kingdom, which requires not only proximity of blood in the Prince that is to command us (which is your main argument) but alſo the profeſſion of the Catholick religion: and this qualification hath given name to that law which we call the fundamental law of the State, always obſerved and obeyed by our anceſtors without any exception: though the other, of proximity of blood, hath ſometimes been ſet aſide, whilſt the kingdom remained nevertheleſs entire, and in its former dignity. To promote ſo juſt and neceſſary a reconciliation, we accept the conference which ye propoſe, provided it may be carried on betwixt Catholicks only, and to deliberate upon the means of preſerving religion and the ſtate. And ſince ye are deſirous it ſhould be held in ſome place betwixt *Paris* and *St. Dennis*, we could wiſh ye would approve of *Mont-martre*, *St. Meaux*, or the Queen's palace at *Chaliot*; and that ye would be pleaſed to ſend your Deputies thither, any day that ye ſhall think proper, before the end of this month, and to acquaint us with it: at which time we will cauſe our Deputies to meet them there, and to proceed with ſincere affection, free from paſ-

1593.

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After this anſwer was received and read in the King's council, who was not yet returned from *Poictou*, thoſe that were preſent reſolved upon a conference, but to defer entering into particulars about it, till they had the King's conſent, and the general concurrence of the council. In the mean time they made an excuſe for this delay, in a letter drawn up in very affectionate terms, which was admitted: and other letters having paſſed betwixt them, they at laſt agreed to have it held at *Surenne*, a place betwixt *Paris* and *St. Dennis*.

There were great diſputes at *Paris* about the choice of the perſons to conduct this treaty: for the Legate and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors uſed their utmoſt endeavours that *William Roſe*, Biſhop of *Senlis*, might be one of them; a man of a ſour temper, and a ſharp, though eloquent tongue, which he had let looſe with great freedom, for many years, againſt the Kings and againſt their party. On the other hand, thoſe that inclined to peace were very deſirous to have *Villeroy* nominated, who was objected to by many, as partial to the King. At laſt, to ſatisfy all parties, it was agreed that both of them ſhould be excluded, and thoſe that were unanimouſly choſen, were the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, *Pericard*, Biſhop of *Auranches*, *Godefroy de Billy*, Abbot of *St. Vincent de Laon*, the Admiral *Villers*, the Count *De Belin*, the Baron *De Talmay*, the Sieurs *De Montigny* and *Montaulin*, the Preſidents *Jeannine* and *Le Maiſtre*, *Stephen Bernard*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Dijon*, and *Honorè de Laurent*, Counſellor in the Parliament of *Aix*. Thoſe of the King's ſide made choice of the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, the Sieurs *De Chavigny* and *Bellieure*, the Count *De Schomberg*, Preſident *De Thou*, *Nicholas* Sieur *De Ramboüillet*, the Sieur *De Pontarre*, and Secretary *Revol*. But at their firſt meeting, with the mutual conſent of the Deputies, the Sieur *De Vic*, Governor of *St. Dennis*, was admitted on the King's behalf, and Monſieur *De Villeroy* for the League, as the Duke of *Mayenne* was particularly deſirous that he ſhould aſſiſt at the treaty; and in the progreſs of it, the Sieurs *De Rheſnè* and *De la Chaſtre* were alſo allowed to be preſent.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Feria* had a ſolemn and publick audience in the Aſſembly, where he made a *Latin* ſpeech, in which he offered his Catholick Majeſty's aſſiſtance to the States, for the conſervation of religion, and the election of ſuch a King as the ſituation of affairs required, and at the ſame time preſented letters from him, in which, after

after many professions of his friendship and affection, he referred them to what the Duke of *Feria* and the other Ambassadors should propose in his name, who said they would defer that till the arrival of the Duke of *Mayenne* and the other Princes, who were then at the meeting at *Rheims* with the Duke of *Lorrain*.

The interests and opinions of the several parties at this meeting, were no less different than in the States. For when the Duke of *Lorrain* and the rest of the Princes would not give place to him, though he was the head of the family, and that the *Spaniards* were already engaged in the design of getting the Infanta elected, he began to grow weary of a war, which for some years had lain so heavy upon his subjects: and though the *Spaniards* sometimes spread a report, that if the Infanta should be elected Queen, she would marry the Cardinal his son, it seemed so improbable a thing to him, that he gave little or no credit to it; and seeing he could obtain nothing else, would have been well content with a peace that would have secured the cities of *Thoul* and *Verdun* to him. On the contrary, the Duke of *Mayenne* was desirous to have him continue armed, and to favour the election of him and his sons, as he thought his past labours justly entitled him to that reward, and that no other person at that time was capable of supporting such a weight: but this he rather intimated than expresly declared, and endeavoured with great address to insinuate it into the rest; amongst whom the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbœuf* adhered to him, but the Dukes of *Guise* and *Nemours* would not come into his designs, as they were both intent upon promoting their own advancement, and full of hopes that the *Spaniards* might at last consent to give the Infanta in marriage to one of them. The Duke of *Mayenne*, however, took great pains to convince them of the absurdity of that conceit, by shewing them, that the *Spaniards* were very far from having any such intention, as it was their only design to establish the Infanta in the possession of the Crown, and when that was once effected, to have it united with that of *Spain*, either in her life-time or after her death; with which purpose it would be very inconsistent to give her a young *French* husband, and such a one too as might be able not only to controul her, but all the power of the Nobility and the forces of the whole kingdom.

It was a very remarkable thing, that the King had a strong party even in this meeting, though it consisted only of the house of *Lorrain*. For *Girolamo Gondi*, by the Grand Duke of *Tuscany's* orders, had formerly begun, and still kept on foot, a treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain*, in order to prevail upon him and the rest of his family to come to an accommodation with the King, proposing, that his Majesty should turn Catholick, and not only give full security for the establishment of that religion, but

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In the mean time the conference was begun, on the 29th of *April*, where, at their firſt meeting, after mutual exhortations to lay aſide all paſſions and private intereſts, and to apply themſelves with ſincerity to find out means for the ſafety and welfare of the publick, the Deputies ſhewed each other their commiſſions and authority, and gave paſſports and ſafe conducts on both ſides: after which, a propoſal was made for a ceſſation of arms in the neighbouring places, that ſo the Deputies themſelves and their attendants might be ſecure, and treat freely without diſturbance or apprehenſion. For this purpoſe, a truce was concluded and publiſhed on the 3d of *May*, to extend four leagues round *Paris* and *Surenne*; which ſo rejoiced the *Pariſians*, who had been ſo many years ſhut up and impriſoned within their walls, that it was eaſy to foreſee how much conſolation and joy a general peace would occaſion throughout the whole kingdom. Both parties agreed, that a peace was abſolutely neceſſary to deliver *France* out of her preſent miſeries, and from impending ruin: every one recommended it, and ſhewed himſelf ready to embrace it, but they differed widely about the means of obtaining that end. For the Deputies of the League inſiſted, that religion alone ſhould be the foundation-

foundation-ſtone, and that no other agreement could, or ought to be concluded, in which that was not the firſt and chief conſideration, and therefore exhorted the Royaliſts to abandon the heretick Prince whom they followed, and unanimouſly to concur with them in chuſing a Catholick King, and ſuch a one as might be acceptable to the Pope, and approved of by him: by which, the roots of all diſcords, that aroſe from diverſity of religions, would be effectually plucked up, and they might, by their joint endeavours, firmly eſtabliſh good order, and government, and peace in the kingdom. On the other hand, the Deputies of the King's party aſſerted, that to lay a foundation for a peace, it was neceſſary to acknowledge and obey a lawful and truly *French* Prince, that was called to the Crown by the laws: under whoſe protection they might all reunite and put an end to their preſent troubles and diſſenſions. That religion was a ſecondary conſideration, ſince *Chriſtians* had anciently acknowledged and obeyed Princes, that were not only hereticks and ſchiſmaticks, but alſo enemies and perſecutors of the Church; and the moſt holy and moſt learned Fathers of *Chriſtendom*, nay, even the Apoſtles themſelves, had taught and preached ſuch obedience. And that, therefore, they exhorted thoſe of the League to unite with them in acknowledging their King, to whom the Crown undoubtedly belonged, both by a right lineal deſcent, and by virtue of the *Salic* law: for as he would give them all manner of ſatisfaction, and the moſt full and ample ſecurity for the preſervation of religion that could be deſired, ſo, in time, he might be induced to embrace the doctrines of the Catholick church, to which he did not ſeem abſolutely averſe at preſent.

1593.

The Archbiſhop of *Lyons* and the reſt of his fellow Deputies, who could not bear to hear this doctrine broached, expreſſed their abhorrence and deteſtation of it, and endeavoured to refute it; though the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* took much pains to ſupport it, with a great diſplay of learning, authorities, and examples. But they, on the other ſide, ſaid freely, that this was the ſure way to make the kingdom ſchiſmatical, and to alienate it entirely from the communion of the Catholick church, and that they would ſooner loſe their lives, than conſent to ſo ſhameful and pernicious a thing. In anſwer to this, the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* repreſented, that to be ſo obſtinate in this point, would be the means of ſubjecting the kingdom to the dominion not only of foreign Princes, but of its moſt inveterate enemies; and that for their parts, ſince they were ſuffered to live in liberty of conſcience and the enjoyment of their religion, they would not upon any account ſtain themſelves with a crime of ſo deep a die. After long diſputes, the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* propoſed, that ſince they could not agree amongſt themſelves to acknowledge a King, who was not publickly and certainly a Catholick, they ſhould jointly exhort King

1593. *Henry* to change his religion, and come into the bosom of the church: for if he should accept of the invitation, and resolve so to do, all doubts and reasons for opposing him would cease: but if he should refuse it, then every Catholick would forsake him, and, being all united together, would chuse another Prince of the Blood, who should be a Catholick, and generally approved of. The Confederates answered, That they neither could, nor ought to exhort or invite the King of *Navarre*, who had not only often shewn that he paid no regard to, but rather despised, such invitations, but also, after he had promised them to turn Catholick, had deceived them, and abused their credulity. So that, since he had slighted his friends in that manner, it might reasonably be expected, that he would behave himself with much less respect to his enemies; and that as he had been declared a relapsed heretick, and excommunicated by the Apostolick See, they could not treat with him; nor concern themselves about any thing that related to his interest. The Royalists alledged, that he now seemed to have changed his opinion, and that all former invitations, as they were called, had been attended with threats of compulsion, and therefore he could not in honour comply with them: but that he took those exhortations in good part which were offered to him with modesty, and by way of entreaty, and shewed a manifest desire to reconcile himself to the church. That the tumults and distractions of war had hitherto prevented him from performing his promise: as it was fit that he should be allowed to act in his conversion with decency and freedom, and in a manner consistent with his reputation, and that they hoped they should see him a good Catholick in a very short time. To which the others replied, They should be very glad of his conversion (if it should ever happen) for the sake of his soul: but that these were only artifices and politick inventions, calculated to impose upon the vulgar, nor could they found any resolution upon so uncertain a bottom.

Several meetings passed in these disputes, but nothing was concluded or agreed upon: so that many were of opinion (as they had prognosticated from the first) that the conference would break up without effecting any thing. The *Spaniards*, likewise, taking fresh courage (when the Deputies of the League seemed so resolutely determined never to acknowledge any Prince that was not a sincere Catholick: and the King and his Deputies, on the other hand, so obstinately insisted upon postponing the consideration of religion to the *Salic* law, and the political constitution of the kingdom) resolved to exert their utmost strength, and boldly to attempt the accomplishment of their main design, by proposing the election of the Infanta. For this purpose, after the Legate had caused prayers to be offered up, and many solemn processions to be made, with no less pomp than devotion, to beg of God that he would be pleased to inspire the States with his grace to take good resolutions, and to make choice of pro-

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per means for the common ſafety, on the nineteenth of *May*, the *Spaniſh* 1593.
Ambaſſadors (who were to make the propoſal) the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Guiſe*, *Aumale*, and *Elbœuf*, the Count *De Chaligny*, the Sieur *De Baſſompierre* on behalf of the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Sieur *De la Pierre* for the Duke of *Savoy*, *Lorenzo Tornabuoni* for the Duke of *Mercœur*, Cardinal *Pellevè*, the Count *De Belin* Governor of *Paris*, ſix Deputies in the name of the States to treat with the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and the Biſhop of *Senlis* for the Clergy, the Sieurs *De la Chaſtre* and *Montaulin* for the Nobility, the *Prevôt des Marchands* and *Stephen Bernard* for the Commons, all aſſembled at his palace. This meeting, compoſed of members that were the very life and ſoul of the States, and of the League, was opened by the Duke of *Feria*, who told them, " he could not ſufficiently expreſs his deteſtation of the conference which was now ſet on foot with thoſe of the King's party: that the Cardinal Legate, as well as he himſelf and the other *Spaniſh* Miniſters, had agreed to it, only that they might not ſeem wanting in any poſſible means which might tend to reclaim thoſe that had gone aſtray, and bring them back into the boſom of the holy church, and that when the obſtinacy of the *Politicks* was plainly ſeen, who preferred the conſideration of temporal concerns to religion itſelf, the world might be convinced of their wickedneſs, and of the good intentions of his Catholick Majeſty, whoſe principal objects were Chriſtian charity, the ſecurity of religion, and the peace and happineſs of the moſt Chriſtian kingdom of *France*. But as this trial had alſo been made, and nothing left undone to ſatisfy the deſires of every one, it was now high time to put an end to thoſe treaties, which, without any hopes of advantage, were likely to be attended with many dangers and evils, and to apply themſelves for the future, to the election of ſome perſon to govern the kingdom, that ſhould be approved of by general conſent, for which purpoſe they were aſſembled together with ſo much difficulty, and from ſo many different parts. That as his Catholick Majeſty, who had poured out ſuch immenſe treaſures, and ſo much of his ſubjects blood, to ſupport that cauſe, had never refuſed to liſten to any propoſals that might conduce to the publick good, ſo he was at laſt convinced, that the moſt ſalutary means, and beſt for all parties, and in which alone both juſtice and decency, honour and advantage jointly concurred, would be to elect the Infanta *Clara Eugenia Iſabella*, his Majeſty's daughter, to be Queen of *France*, to whom, as born of the eldeſt daughter to *Henry* the ſecond, whoſe male heirs were extinct, the Crown juſtly and lawfully belonged, as might be eaſily ſhewn, not only from reaſon, but the authority of many laws and conſtitutions: that his Majeſty wiſhed and and deſired, that the States might agree to ſo equitable an election, for the more general ſatisfaction, that ſo the gratitude of the *French* in remembring what great things he had done for them, might concur with the

1593. the juſtice of the cauſe, to re-eſtabliſh publick tranquillity and contentment." Here he expatiated largely in the praiſe of the Infanta, extolling her goodneſs, prudence, and magnanimity, which were ſuch as rendered her worthy of exaltation to ſo illuſtrious a kingdom; and concluded with ſaying, " that there were, at preſent, eight thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe ready to enter the confines, upon the leaſt intimation from the States, and that there ſhould be as many more to ſupport them in three months, all which forces ſhould be paid by his Majeſty till the war was at an end: that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould have an hundred thouſand crowns advanced to him every month, to maintain ten thouſand *French* foot and four thouſand horſe: that if theſe were not thought ſufficient, his Catholick Majeſty would add as many more as occaſion required; for they might aſſure themſelves, that, out of the tender affection which he bore to his daughter, he would not fail to employ his whole ſtrength to eſtabliſh her in the free and peaceable poſſeſſion of the Crown." Adding, in the laſt place, " That the Princes of the houſe of *Lorrain* in particular, and then all the reſt of the Lords and Gentlemen, ſhould be generouſly rewarded and contented, the Clergy reſtored to their former dignity and authority, the Nobility ſatisfied, the grievances of the people redreſſed, and all the ſeveral orders of *France* ſettled, not only in full peace and ſecurity, but in their ancient luſtre and glory."

When the Duke of *Feria* had finiſhed his ſpeech, the Biſhop of *Senlis*, who hardly had patience to ſtay till it was concluded, without giving time for any other perſon to declare his opinion, as they ought to have done in order, got up, and anſwered in a reproachful manner, " That it ſeemed the *Politicks* were in the right, who had always ſaid, that intereſts of ſtate were concealed under the cloak of religion, which he, with others of his order, had, upon all occaſions, taken the utmoſt pains to refute from their pulpits: that it now grieved him to the heart to hear that it was true, from open confeſſion, and the mouths of the Ambaſſadors themſelves, and that the preachers had not only been deceived themſelves, but had deceived others, by aſſerting and maintaining a thing that was falſe. That he ſhould from henceforth look upon the *Spaniards* as no leſs deſigning than the *Navarreſe*, but prayed them, for their own honour and the reputation of the holy Union, to deſiſt from ſuch an attempt: for as the throne of *France* had been glorioully filled by men for the ſpace of twelve hundred years, according to the inſtitution of the *Salic* law, it was not to be imagined that it would now be transferred to women, who, by various marriages, might call in variety of maſters, and ſubject the *French* nation to the dominion of foreigners." So bold and unexpected an anſwer from one of the principal engines of the League, and a moſt inveterate enemy to the King, not only in ſome

 meaſure

meaſure daſhed the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, but gave many of that Aſſembly reaſon to apprehend, that ſo ſtinging a reproach would diſconcert matters and throw them into confuſion. But the Duke of *Mayenne* endeavoured, with all his addreſs, to excuſe what the Biſhop of *Senlis* had ſaid, imputing it to an exceſs of zeal and too warm a temper, which ſometimes carried him beyond the bounds of moderation; and ſaid, "That when he was grown cool again, and made ſenſible of his error, he was ſure he would willingly retract what he had ſo haſtily and inconſiderately advanced in the firſt ſallies of his paſſion." The *Spaniards* recovered their ſpirits upon this encouragement from the Duke of *Mayenne*, and what was added by Cardinal *Pellevè* and ſome others: but it was well known, that it was not out of ambition, or to promote any worldly intereſt (as ſome would have had it thought) but merely from motives of conſcience, that the Biſhop of *Senlis*, during the whole courſe of theſe commotions, had ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported the cauſe of the Union, and had always ſpoken with ſo much bitterneſs and unlimited freedom againſt the perſon of the preſent King, and the memory of the laſt. It is certain, however, that what he ſaid very much lowered the credit of the *Spaniards*; and that his example made a deep impreſſion upon many who followed the League, not for their own intereſt, but out of regard to religion.

But the *Spaniards*, taking courage from the Duke of *Mayenne's* behaviour (which nevertheleſs was diſſembled) and the confidence they had in many of the Deputies, demanded a publick audience in the Aſſembly of the States, which being granted, and appointed on the 26th of the ſame month, *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis* was the firſt that ſpoke, and in a ſhort, but very artful ſpeech, propoſed the Infanta a ſecond time. After him, *Inigo de Mendozza*, in a long diſcourſe, divided into ſeven heads, ſet forth the title by which ſhe pretended to the ſucceſſion, and concluded with ſaying, "They did not make uſe of thoſe arguments in order to reduce that to a litigation, which was to be acknowledged from the voluntary election of the States, but for their information and ſatisfaction, that ſo, after due advice, the Aſſembly might act conformably to reaſon and juſtice in their diſpoſal of the Crown, as the Infanta was willing to acknowledge it from their free choice, though it juſtly belonged to her by lawful ſucceſſion." But the propoſal was no better reliſhed by the greater part of the Deputies than it had been by the Biſhop of *Senlis*: many were highly provoked that foreigners ſhould be propoſed to rule over them, as if they were either ſlaves to the will of others, or incapable of managing their own affairs: ſome could not forbear making a joke of it, when they ſaw neither men nor money, nor any other ſuch preparations made to ſupport it, as the importance and reputation of the enterpriſe

1593. enterprise required: others were surprized at the boldness and folly of the *Spaniards*, in declaring their design so openly, without having previously engaged the affections of the States, and disposed them to concur in it by the allurements of private interest: and several objected to the Infanta's title, and said, that even if women should be declared capable of inheriting the Crown, the right apparently did not belong to her, but to the Kings of *England*, who were prior descendants from daughters of *France*, and with whom there had been so many long wars to set aside such pretensions, to maintain the *Salic* law, and the lawful succession of males. But the Princes of the house of *Lorrain*, who aspired to the Crown themselves, were the most offended at it, though they artfully concealed their resentment: and the Duke of *Mayenne*, with much dissimulation, seemed unwilling to dissent from the King of *Spain* in any thing, or from what he had agreed upon with the Ambassadors at *Soissons*; yet he secretly instigated the Deputies to reject the proposal, as sure to be attended with great dishonour to the nation in general, with [illegible] to every individual, and not only destructive to their own liberty, but that of their posterity, and at the same time not founded upon any secure bottom, but vainly supported by the uncertainty of future promises and expectations.

The Deputies, therefore, were unanimously resolved not to consent to it: however, to avoid exasperating the *Spaniards*, and to gain time to bring things to maturity, they said, in a complaisant manner, "That their proposal should be taken into consideration, and an answer returned to it as soon as possible." In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne*, in order to raise difficulties and throw impediments in their way, began to sift the Ambassadors what husband the Infanta was to have when the States had elected her Queen, and pressed them to declare what commissions they had from his Catholick Majesty relating to that point. Their answer was like all the rest of their proceedings in this negociation; for they made no scruple of declaring, "That their master designed to give her in marriage to *Ernest*, Archduke of *Austria*, the Emperor's brother, whom he had also appointed to succeed the late Duke of *Parma* in his government of the *Low Countries*. But this was immediately excepted against by all the Deputies, who protested, "They would not submit to a King of a different nation and language, which the ears of *Frenchmen* would never be prevailed upon to endure:" and though the Duke of *Mayenne*, for many reasons, pretended to approve of the Archduke, yet the rest openly declared they would not bear it. So that when the *Spaniards* perceived that the Infanta was not at all likely to succeed in her election, if some more effectual means were not taken to secure it, they said, "They had instructions, if the States did not approve of the Archduke,

duke, to propoſe, that his Catholick Majeſty would give the Infanta in marriage to ſome *French* Prince, who ſhould be nominated and elected by him within the term of ſix months." This overture was not ſo generally diſliked as the other, becauſe there were many that pretended to her, amongſt whom were the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Nemours*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, whilſt he publickly applauded the propoſal, endeavoured to find out whether they were diſpoſed to make choice of any one of his ſons, and being at laſt ſufficiently convinced that they were not, becauſe they did not care to put the government of the kingdom into his hands, and were certain, that in ſuch caſe the Infanta would only be a mere wife, and not a Sovereign, he reſolved to take a very different courſe from what he had done before, and began to encourage and promote the conference at *Surenne* betwixt the Catholicks of both parties, which was yet on foot.

1593.

The King, who had intelligence of every thing that paſſed here, uſed his utmoſt endeavours, by means of the conference, to prevent the States from conſenting to either of thoſe propoſals: but the conſideration of his religion was of ſuch importance, that the arguments of the Deputies on his ſide had but little weight: on the contrary, the Catholicks that yet adhered to him were much diſſatisfied, that his converſion, which had been ſo long deſired, and ſo often promiſed, was ſtill deferred, and ſeemed every day further off. The Princes of the Blood openly threatened, and now determined in good earneſt, to come to ſome reſolution, when they ſaw the election of a King of another family ſo warmly promoted: and every one of them was naturally induced to hope, that he might poſſibly be the man fixed upon to marry the Infanta, and conſequently be ſupported and eſtabliſhed in the throne by the arms of his Catholick Majeſty. The Cardinal of *Bourbon* conceived great expectations: the Count *De Soiſſons* was extremely diſguſted ſince he had been diſappointed in his hopes of marrying the Princeſs *Catherine*: the Prince of *Conti* did not think his being commonly reputed impotent would be of any diſſervice to his pretenſions, but rather incline the *Spaniards* to make choice of him, that ſo, if the Infanta ſhould have no iſſue, there might ſtill be ſome probability left of uniting the two Crowns: and in the laſt place, that match was aſpired to by the Duke of *Montpenſier*, a young Prince of great courage and vivacity, of a handſome perſon and graceful behaviour: ſo that the election of the Infanta ſeemed more likely to go down with the King's own party than with thoſe of the League. But private men, who had none of theſe pretenſions, and were only governed by a regard for religion and their own eaſe and convenience, publickly exclaimed, that the King's obſtinacy encouraged the *Spaniards* both in their open and ſecret practices: that all his pretences for delay were now exhauſted; that he

 himſelf

1593. himſelf had no longer the face to alledge any reaſons, or to offer any excuſe for it; that it was too evident he was faſcinated by the arts of the Miniſters, and faſt bound in the chains of hereſy: that it was high time to think of their ſouls, their religion, their own ſalvation, and that of their children, leſt they ſhould be acceſſary to ſending themſelves and all their poſterity to the devil: that they ought to let him and his deſperate crew of *Hugonots* go to perdition by themſelves, and not ſuffer him to carry the whole kingdom along with him.

Next to religion, their own private concerns came under conſideration: every one was tired of the hardſhips and burthen of war, every one began to lament his own condition, the ſufferings of his family, the ruin of his domeſtick affairs, and expences which had no end: every one ſighed, every one moſt ardently longed for the bleſſings of peace and repoſe. Amongſt the reſt, Monſieur *D'O*, weary of being treaſurer without money, the Sieurs *De Bellegarde*, *St. Luc*, *De Termes*, *Sancy*, *Grillon*, and all the old ſervants of *Henry* the third, particularly bewailed themſelves and their hard fortune, which, inſtead of a golden King, whom it had taken from them, had now given them a King of iron: for the late King bountifully poured out his treaſures upon his followers, whereas the preſent, who was no leſs parſimonious by nature than diſtreſſed in his circumſtances, propoſed no recompence or reward to them for their paſt labours, but freſh wars, ſieges, ſkirmiſhes, and battles. They ſaid they could no longer bear the grievous fatigues of war, and to live encloſed betwixt a back and breaſt-plate of iron, like tortoiſes in their ſhells: that they were thoroughly heartſick of a King that was accuſtomed to live after the manner of the *Hugonots*, of ſcampering about the country day and night to ſupport themſelves by rapine and plundering cottages, of warming their fingers by the flames of ſome houſe that was ſet on fire, and, when they went to ſleep, of lying down with their own horſes, or, perhaps, ſtinking cattle, in the hut of ſome wretched peaſant: that formerly war uſed to be made to obtain peace and ſecurity ſometime or other; but now they ſerved a Prince who never deſired to ſee any end of the miſeries that attend it, but looked upon battles, and wounds, and ſlaughter, and the thunder of cannon, only as paſtime and diverſion. Theſe complaints, ſometimes mixed with curſes and imprecations, ſometimes with ſatire and raillery, after the manner of the *French*, were ſo publick, that they came to the King's ears, which were continually filled with ſerious exhortations and admonitions by the Count *De Schomberg*, the High Chancellor, and *James Davy* Sieur *du Perron*, who, whilſt he was employed in negotiating the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* intereſts, had, by frequent diſputations and arguments, made a convert of the Baron *De Salignac* (one of the King's bed-chamber, and in whom he put much confidence) and by his means was admitted into

 converſation

conversation with the King, at vacant hours, in his own private apartment: where sometimes entering into serious arguments with him, sometimes entertaining him with his poetry and eloquence (of which he had a considerable share) and sometimes with his wit and humour, he had insinuated himself so far into his favour and good opinion, that from these matters of amusement and recreation, he began to be advised with and admitted to consultations in affairs of greater weight and importance. This man, perceiving that the King's conversion would give him a much fairer chance of making his fortune, than he could ever expect from the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* exaltation, began to exert his utmost endeavours to bring it about, making use of all possible means, watching every opportunity, and taking the advantage of the present conjuncture, with wonderful art and address, to promote his designs.

All these things, which were very well known to the King, but particularly the absolute necessity of his conversation, at last made so deep an impression upon him, that, in order to lay a foundation for it, and to know, with some degree of certainty, what he might depend upon, if he declared himself a Catholick, he ordered the Count *De Schomberg* and Secretary *Revol* (who were come to consult him about what they should finally propose in the conference at *Surenne*) to sound the Catholicks of the League, and endeavour to find how they were likely to relish and receive his conversion, provided he should really determine to return into the bosom of the church. After his Deputies, therefore, had thoroughly considered the matter, they resolved to make this overture to those of the Union, and to signify to them, that the King designed to fulfill his promises in a few days. In consequence of this resolution, when they met together again at the conference, in which there had been warm debates, and great difference in their opinions, though nothing effectual was yet agreed upon, the Archbishop of *Bourges* told them, he brought them good tidings, and such as would rejoice every true *French* heart; for the King, being moved by the inspiration of God, was resolved, in a few days, to give all his subjects the consolation they desired, by embracing the Catholick faith, and reconciling himself to the Church: and therefore, as he was certain this news would be acceptable to them all, so he intreated them to consider what measures were most proper to be taken to favour and promote that conversion, and to conduct it in such a manner that it might produce general peace and security. The Deputies of the League were something disconcerted at this motion: but the Archbishop of *Lyons*, endeavouring to suppress all appearance of doubt or suspence, presently answered, " That he believed his fellow Deputies would give him leave to say, they should exceedingly rejoice at the King of *Navarre's* conversion, and prayed to God it might be real and sincere, and for the rest, he de-

1593. manded time to consult them in private." Which being granted (after a consultation that lasted many hours, in which they differed very much in their opinions) they at last replied, "That (as they had told them before) they should rejoice at the King of *Navarre's* conversion whenever it happened: but even in that case, it did not belong to them to judge and declare whether it was sincere or not, but to the Pope and the Apostolick See; so that they could not pretend to enter into a deliberation about any thing that depended upon such a conversion, the verity of which was not determinable by their authority or jurisdiction." And though they persisted in this resolution, yet the King's Deputies presented a writing to them, which contained three proposals: one, that the King should turn Catholick: another, that, in the mean time, proper measures should be treated of for securing religion and concluding a peace: and the third, that, whilst these things were in agitation, a cessation of arms should be agreed upon throughout the whole kingdom. The Deputies, on the other side, could not indeed refuse to accept this writing, but sent it directly to be discussed by the Duke of *Mayenne* and the States, where it occasioned very long debates and great difference in their opinions: yet, as the Royalists endeavoured to discover the intentions of the Confederates, so they, on the other hand, would not declare how they designed to act, if the King should publickly return into the Church.

But these overtures from the King's party occasioned such jealousies and apprehensions in the *Spanish* Ambassadors, that they began to press, with greater vehemence than ever, for a compliance with their proposal: to facilitate which, they were at last forced to offer, that his Catholick Majesty should give the Infanta to one of the Princes of the house of *Lorrain*. But this offer likewise raised many doubts: because there was no certainty, when the Infanta was once elected and declared, that either she or the King her father would observe a promise, to which a private man can hardly be obliged, much less a Sovereign. It was also considered, that if her first husband should die before her, she might perhaps take another, either of the house of *Austria*, or a *Spaniard*, or one of some other nation: and that, if she should have no children by this marriage, the King of *Spain* would afterwards pretend a right to the Crown. But the principal obstruction proceeded from the Duke of *Mayenne:* for when he saw that neither he himself, nor his posterity, were likely to succeed in their expectations, the matter was protracted without coming to any resolution, except that it was determined in the States, that an answer should be returned, in terms of moderation, to the writing which had been sent them by those of the King's party in the conference, without discontinuing that treaty. Both parties, therefore, being assembled at *La Roquette*, a house in the country not far from *St. Anthony's* gate, the

Archbishop

Archbiſhop of *Lyons* ſaid, "That as to the King's converſion, they all wiſhed it might be real and unfeigned, but could not prevail upon themſelves to believe it was ſo; on the contrary, they had great reaſon to think it diſſembled. For if it was ſincere, ſo many difficulties and delays would not have been interpoſed, and if he was indeed moved by the inſpiration of God, he would not continue in his hereſy and the publick exerciſe of it, he would not ſtill encourage and harbour the principal Miniſters that preached thoſe doctrines, nor would he leave the chief offices of the kingdom in their hands. However, as it was not their buſineſs to approve of or reject that converſion, they would refer the matter to the Pope, who alone had authority to judge of and determine it. And for what concerned a treaty of peace, they could not well enter into any thing of that kind at preſent for many reaſons, particularly, leſt they ſhould be obliged to treat with the King of *Navarre*, who was out of the pale of the Church, and anticipate the Pope's judgment, by ſeeming inclined to acknowledge him themſelves, and encouraging others by their example to do the ſame. As to a ceſſation of arms, they would return an anſwer to that, when ſatisfaction was given in the other points." Thus whilſt they neither aſſented to the propoſals, nor yet ſeemed altogether averſe to them, they endeavoured to keep the other ſide in ſuſpence, till the Duke of *Mayenne* could diſcover what was likely to be the event of the propoſal made by the *Spaniards*.

But the Cardinal Legate, who was exceedingly mortified when he ſaw the *Spaniſh* negotiation attended with ſuch difficulties, and that people were ſo generally inclined to a ceſſation of arms, out of the hopes they had conceived of the King's converſion, and a deſire of repoſe, began to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it: and pretending to be indiſpoſed, he wrote a letter to Cardinal *Pellevè*, on the 13th of *June*, deſiring him to go to the States in his name, and remonſtrate to them, in the ſtrongeſt manner, what miſchiefs and dangers were likely to enſue from the conference at *Surenne*, and to acquaint them, that they could not treat about the converſion of the King of *Navarre*, nor about a peace, or a ceſſation of arms, or any other thing with him, without acting in oppoſition to the decrees of the ſacred canons, and the declarations of the Apoſtolick See, and violating the oath they had taken, never to conſent to any agreement with the Heretick. All which things he inſiſted upon with great vehemence in his letter, and concluded it with proteſting, that if they continued to treat about a peace, or even a truce, he would immediately go out of the city, and leave the kingdom as ſoon as he could, that he might neither be acceſſary to ſo great an evil, nor diſobey the inſtructions he had from the Pope. This letter, which was firſt read by the Cardinal in the Aſſembly of the States, and afterwards printed, that it might be the

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1593. more publick, in ſome meaſure damped the ardour of the Deputies who before had been moſt eager for a ceſſation of arms.

In the mean time, the King, who knew the *Spaniards* had loſt much of their former credit, and had but a very weak army to ſupport their pretenſions, reſolved to take his advantage of it, and to go upon ſome enterprize of importance to add freſh reputation to his affairs, and to further the negociations that were carrying on in his favour. For which purpoſe, after he had aſſembled his whole army, and drawn the garriſons out of all the neighbouring towns with great expedition, and made ſufficient proviſion of artillery, ammunition, pioneers, and other things neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking, on the 7th of *June* he came before *Dreux*, a town but ſixteen leagues from *Paris*, which, from the nature of its ſituation, the ſtrength of its fortifications, and the diſpoſition of the people that were in it, was expected to make an obſtinate defence. The ſuburbs of the town were bravely ſtormed the firſt day; and thoſe that had undertaken to defend them, being driven from every poſt, when they found it impoſſible to maintain them, endeavoured to burn them down. After this, the whole army encamped as faſt as they could, and the next day began to throw up four trenches, which were carried on with ſo much diligence, under the inſpection of the Baron *De Biron*, and the Sieur *De Montluet*, one of the Field Marſhals, that on the 13th they were all advanced as far as the very foſs. Four batteries were alſo raiſed with the ſame diſpatch: one of four pieces of cannon, againſt the great baſtion, near the *Porte de Chartres*: another, of ſix, againſt the *Porte de Paris*: the third, of three pieces, againſt the curtain near the town hall: and the fourth of five, in the Fauxbourg of *St. John*, which battered a large tower that ſtood on that ſide. The King haſtened and encouraged the works in all places with his preſence: ſo that as ſoon as the orillon of the great baſtion was beaten down, two Colonels advanced to reconnoitre the place, which being taken by the army as an order and ſignal for an aſſault, the ſoldiers of the different nations ruſhed furiouſly on to it, vying with each other who ſhould be firſt in the attack. Upon which the beſieged, being overpowered by the number and reſolution of the aſſailants, abandoned the baſtion, in which a regiment of *French* lodged and fortified themſelves the ſame evening. The next day the batteries continued playing upon the walls with ſuch fury, that, ſeveral breaches being made, and the army ready to advance to the aſſault in four different places, the beſieged reſolved to quit the town, and retire into the caſtle, as they did, but in ſuch confuſion and diſorder, that they were overtaken by the King's ſoldiers, who entered furiouſly at the ſame time, and obliged them to ſet fire to ſome part of the town to facilitate their retreat, which fire, after it had done great miſchief, and burnt down many houſes on every ſide, was at

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laft extinguifhed with much difficulty at the King's command, by the *Swifs*, who had ftaid, drawn up in battalia, near his perfon. So that upon the 18th the King became mafter of the town, and began with the fame ardour and refolution to lay fiege to the caftle; and as there was a large quantity of cattle, and many of the townfmen and country people fhut up in the outworks and precincts of it, the Baron *De Biron* caufed a petard to be faftened to one of the gates the fame night, and made himfelf mafter of thofe works and all the booty, with great flaughter of the enemy, though he loft above an hundred of his own men in that action. But the reduction of the caftle itfelf, which was very ftrong and advantageoufly fituated, was attended with much difficulty, and great numbers of men were killed in their approaches, till the Count *De Torigny*, who made the foldiers under him work in the midft of the greateft dangers, had finifhed a large trench, under the fhelter of which fome batteries were raifed: but whilft the King, who defpifed all perils, was carefully infpecting them, two Colonels were killed clofe by his fide, and the Duke of *Montpenfier* was grievoufly wounded with a mufket ball in the chin, which, glancing along his jaw, wounded him in the fhoulder alfo. Over againft the King's batteries there ftood an old tower, but of fo firm a ftructure, that the cannon-fhot made but fmall impreffion upon it. An *Englifh* engineer, therefore, confidering the great quantities of powder that were thrown away to little or no purpofe, refolved to try another method, and having got to the foot of the tower, under the cover of thick wooden planks plated with iron, he caufed three great holes, like ovens, to be dug under it, and putting a barrel of powder into each, fet fire to them: which, though it had a much lefs effect than mines ufually have, threw down part of the tower, and made fuch a breach, that the artillery did more execution in battering the reft. Neverthelefs, the befieged were not difmayed at it, but made a brave refiftance for fome days: but the affailants proceeded with fuch diligence and ardour, that after they had fuftained many affaults, and had no perfon of any authority to command them, nor the leaft profpect of relief from *Paris*, though it was fo near, they were obliged, by extreme neceffity, to furrender, and delivered up the caftle into the King's hands on the 8th of *July*.

1593.

The report of the King's fuccefs very much difcouraged the Deputies at *Paris*, who, in this interval, had been as active and affiduous in their negotiations there, as the other fide had been in their military operations at *Dreux*. For the *Spanifh* Ambaffadors being now determined to make their laft efforts, met the principal of them again in Council, and told them, that, in order to remove all obftacles that might prevent the Infanta's election, his Catholick Majefty would confent to give her in marriage to the Duke of *Guife*, as foon as fhe was elected: which was fo unexpected

1593. expected a ſtroke, that it ſtung the Duke of *Mayenne* to the quick, who being thus taken at unawares, and not provided with any other expedient upon ſo ſudden an emergency, anſwered, however, "That he moſt humbly thanked his Catholick Majeſty, for the great honour he vouchſafed to ſhew his nephew, but deſired to ſee the Ambaſſador's commiſſion, and to know whether thoſe terms were expreſly included in it: for the greater and more deſirable the favour was, the more cautiouſly it was neceſſary to proceed in believing and accepting it." The Duke of *Mayenne* ſtrongly ſuſpected that the Ambaſſadors had not ſuch a power from his Catholick Majeſty, but were forced, by the circumſtances of their affairs, to make that propoſal of their own accord: but he was preſently convinced of the contrary, for they produced their commiſſion, and ſhewed him an article, by which they were fully impowered to propoſe a marriage betwixt the Infanta and the Duke of *Guiſe*, provided the States would elect her to be their Queen. The Duke of *Mayenne* was exceedingly perplexed at this, and did not well know how to evade it, nor could he diſſemble ſo perfectly but they all perceived an alteration in his countenance: but the Sieur *De Baſſompierre*, Ambaſſador from the Duke of *Lorrain*, gave him ſome aſſiſtance in this embarraſſment, and ſaid, "That a thing of ſo great importance ſhould not be determined without making his Maſter acquainted with it, who had had the principal ſhare in the expences and calamities of the war, and therefore nothing ought to be concluded upon without firſt having his opinion and conſent:" and here, to give the Duke of *Mayenne* time to think of an anſwer, he expatiated at large upon what the Duke of *Lorrain* had done in favour of the League, and the great deference and reſpect that was to be ſhewn to his authority. When he had done ſpeaking, the *Spaniards* anſwered, "That they readily agreed, that the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould be informed of all that had paſſed, and were certain he would be highly pleaſed with the honour done to his family." In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* had in ſome meaſure compoſed himſelf, and after he had again thanked his Catholick Majeſty and the Ambaſſadors, ſaid, "That he accepted the offer, but that it was not conſiſtent with his Catholick Majeſty's reputation, that the Infanta ſhould be elected, without being ſure, in the firſt place, of proper ſtrength to eſtabliſh her: nor was it by any means prudent to hazard the fortune of his nephew, and the whole family, except upon terms that would be acceptable in general, and not only neceſſary in the preſent ſituation of affairs, but ſufficient to ſupport and ſecure him for the future; ſo that he muſt deſire ſome time to concert and propoſe ſuch means and conditions as the nature of the deſign required for its accompliſhment." Upon this demur they parted, the Cardinal Legate and the Ambaſſadors rejoicing exceedingly,

ingly, and being in a manner aſſured, that they had now conducted their negotiation to the deſired concluſion. 1593.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*, being determined to interrupt it at all events, began to ſound his nephew; inſinuating, "That he was afraid the *Spaniards* had propoſed that match, not with any deſign of performing their engagement, but to deceive him, as he could never perſuade himſelf, that after they had taken ſuch pains to exalt the Infanta to the Crown, they would afterwards conſent to marry her to a *French* huſband, and the chief of a party too, who, by that aſſiſtance, might controul her, and be King in fact, whilſt ſhe would only have the bare title of Queen: that no advantage of any kind whatſoever could accrue from thence to King *Philip* or his kingdom: for if he had no further deſign than to marry his daughter to a king of *France*, he might eaſily do that, whoever was in poſſeſſion of the Crown, whether friend or enemy: but if he aſpired to unite the two Crowns, this was not the way to effect it, and therefore he could not poſſibly ſee what benefit the Monarchy of *Spain* could expect from it: for which reaſon it would be prudent to look forwards, and provide againſt any hidden artifice. That to elect the Infanta firſt, and then to defer the marriage for a certain time, would be to leave it in her power either to take or refuſe him, and that it was highly neceſſary to find ſome means to make the match ſecure. Beſides, if the King of *Spain* ſhould proceed with ſincerity in the affair, it could not be amiſs to conſider coolly and diſpaſſionately what ſtrength they had to eſtabliſh themſelves in the kingdom: that the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was in hopes of obtaining the Crown himſelf, or that the Infanta might marry the Cardinal his ſon, would certainly be diſguſted, and withdraw his aſſiſtance: and how prejudicial that would prove to their intereſts, might eaſily be comprehended from the ſituation of his territories, through which all the ſupplies were obliged to paſs that came out of *Germany* to the aid of both parties. That it was to be feared the Duke of *Savoy* would do the ſame, who had till then ſupported the war in *Provence* and *Dauphinè*; for when he was once deprived of the expectation which he had conceived, of being able to ſecure the kingdom to himſelf, or at leaſt ſome province of it, he would no longer expoſe himſelf and his States to the dangers and calamities of war. That the Duke of *Nemours* was already in a great meaſure alienated from them, and only with-held from leaving them, by the affection and reſpect which he yet bore to an elder brother; and if that ſhould be extinguiſhed, there was no doubt but he would proſecute his own pretenſions. That the Duke of *Mercœur* might be expected to do the ſame, as ſoon as he loſt all hopes of obtaining *Bretagne*: ſo that it would be worth while to conſider, how it would be poſſible for the forces of the League, when they were diminiſhed in that manner, to make

1593 head against the King, whom they were hardly able to oppose now they were all united. That the King of *Spain* was sufficiently employed in the wars in the *Low Countries*, and the commotions in *Arragon*; that his Kingdom was exhausted, and that he was several millions in debt to the *Genoese*. That he had no General of any eminence or reputation, and therefore it was much to be doubted he could not perform what he promised. In short, that this step was like *Cæsar's* passing the *Rubicon*, and could not be too maturely weighed before it was taken."

To these suggestions the Duke of *Guise* answered, with much moderation, seeming inclined to act according to his advice, tho' he was otherwise determined in his own breast, as might well be conjectured from the treaties he was engaged in, the daily manner of his proceeding, the concourse of his adherents, and their frequent meetings at his house and his mother's. So that the Duke of *Mayenne* did not absolutely confide in him, but resolved, in the next place, to propose such high conditions as might serve to check the ardour of the *Spaniards*. These were, "That the Duke of *Guise* and the Infanta should be elected King and Queen at the same time: that the election should be kept secret till the marriage was consummated, which the States should give the Duke of *Mayenne* authority to declare at a proper time. That, in case the Infanta should die first, the Duke of *Guise* should continue King, and govern the kingdom by himself. That if she was left a widow, she should be obliged to take another husband of the house of *Lorrain*, with the advice of the Princes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown. That if she had no issue, the eldest of the Duke of *Guise's* brothers should succeed, and afterwards the next male heirs of the family, in their natural order. That none but *Frenchmen* should be admitted to any offices, employments, dignities, benefices, governments of provinces, cities, castles, and fortresses in the kingdom. That the command of the armies, with the authority of Lieutenant-General, should be continued to the Duke of *Mayenne*: that the government of the provinces of *Burgundy*, *Champagne*, and *Brie* should be secured to him and his heirs for ever, with power to dispose of all the offices and benefices in them. That two hundred thousand crowns should be paid him down in ready money at present, and six hundred thousand more within a certain limited time, for which proper security should be given to him. That all the debts should be discharged, which he had been obliged to contract, on account of the present war: that a yearly pension of one hundred thousand crowns should be settled upon him and his posterity, together with the principality of *Jainville*, and the cities of *Vitry* and *St. Disier*: and, after many other demands of less consequence, that all the presentations and nominations to churches, benefices, governments, and all donatives, employments,

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and favours already conferred by him as Lieutenant of the Crown, ſhould remain valid, as well as every thing that he ſhould grant or diſpoſe of till the conſummation of the marriage, and the eſtabliſhment of the King and Queen."

1593.

But theſe conditions, hard and exorbitant as they were, did not at all ſtagger the *Spaniards*, who had beforehand determined to comply with his demands, whatever they might be, provided they could ſecure the Infanta's election: as they knew they might afterwards find a thouſand opportunities and excuſes to diſengage themſelves from obſerving any thing but what they ſhould think convenient, and at the ſame time thought it but reaſonable that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould have a proper recompence. But when he ſaw he was to be excluded from the reward of his labours, and that they thought of diſpoſing of the kingdom to others, and not to him or his children, though every thing in a great meaſure depended upon his concurrence: and finding alſo that even the terms which he had propoſed were not ſufficient to divert the *Spaniards* from their reſolution, nor to alter the inclination or rather the eager deſire of his nephew, he reſolved to ſet other engines to work, in order to fruſtrate thoſe deſigns. For which purpoſe, as he had always given the Cardinal of *Bourbon* ſome hopes of exalting him to the throne, he now promoted his pretenſions with ſuch vigour, that the matter was almoſt brought to a concluſion. He repreſented to every one of the Deputies apart, " how odious a thing it would be to interrupt the courſe of the *Salic* law, how difficult to exclude the houſe of *Bourbon* from the Crown, whoſe ſucceſſion they had confirmed when they declared the late Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, by the name of *Charles* the tenth; how harſh and unpleaſing it would ſound in the ears of the people, when they heard of treaties ſet on foot to introduce the ſucceſſion of women, and the aſſumption of new families to the Crown, whilſt there were ſo many Princes left of the Royal Line, amongſt whom one ſurely might be elected with general ſatisfaction. That though the King of *Navarre* was an obſtinate heretick, the Prince of *Conti* unfit to govern, and the Count *De Soiſſons* deſperately in love with the Princeſs *Catherine*, who was an *Hugonot* as well as her brother: yet there was the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who had always, at his own great peril, undauntedly oppoſed the increaſe of hereſy: that as he had ever been obedient to the church, neither the Pope nor the King of *Spain* could have any objection to him: that he was of a mature age, ſo that he would be able to rule without a guardian, and to take the reins of government into his own hands. That no great confidence could be put in the *Spaniards*, who had failed ſo much in their engagements both in publick and in private: that the Ambaſſadors, who promiſed mountains of gold, lived more like tradeſmen than Miniſters of

1593. ſo great a King, or agreeably to the magnificent offers they had made: that he himſelf had very large ſums due to him, and yet could not get ſo much as a farthing from them. That it had been ſeen what notable feats Count *Charles* had done with his army; that they were ſo buſied in *Flanders*, they could have no leiſure to attend to the affairs of other people. That, on the other hand, the election of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* would of itſelf ſuppreſs the King of *Navarre*: as there was no doubt but all the Catholicks of that party would come over to the Cardinal, and the *Navarreſe* muſt be left deſtitute of all ſupport, and deſerted by every one but a parcel of deſperate *Hugonots*. So that the *French* forces alone would be ſufficient, to extirpate hereſy and to eſtabliſh a truly Catholick *French* King, without having further occaſion for any foreign ſupplies. That they ought to remember what the Biſhop of *Senlis* had ſaid, and not to confirm ſome people in their opinion, that whatſoever had been yet done was out of ſelf-intereſt and ambition; but to ſhew the world, that they had taken up arms for the ſake of religion alone."

Theſe arguments, ſupported by a man of his authority, made a wonderful impreſſion upon the minds of the *French*, ſufficiently inclined of themſelves to venerate the inſtitutions of the *Salic* law, and to reverence the Royal Family. When he ſaw, therefore, that he had drawn the greater part of the Deputies into his opinion, he diſpatched the Admiral *De Villers*, with a copy of articles ſigned by himſelf, to confer with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was then at *Gaillon*, a houſe belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Roüen*. But he had ſcarcely ſet out, when the Duke ſent an expreſs after him, with orders not to precipitate matters, as Preſident *Jeannine*, the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and Madam *De Montpenſier*, had ſuggeſted another expedient to him, which might ſerve to thwart the deſigns of the *Spaniards*, without proceeding ſo haſtily to the election of a perſon that was his enemy, who likewiſe, on account of the weakneſs of his underſtanding, and the levity of his diſpoſition, was not by any means fit to govern in times of ſuch diſtraction, and might poſſibly diſunite his party: for it was very likely that the Duke of *Guiſe* and his adherents, now they were ſupported by the *Spaniards*, would not conſent to that election, in which caſe his party would be the weakeſt of the three. The remedy propoſed was to proceed from the Parliament, the authority of which they thought ſufficient to prevent the deſigns in agitation. For which purpoſe, Madam *De Montpenſier*, having often ſollicited the firſt Preſident *Le Maiſtre* to think of ſome means to prevent the Crown from falling into the hands of ſtrangers, he, as a man of upright intentions, and who had followed the League for no other end but the preſervation of the Catholick religion, freely embarked in the undertaking, and, after it had been ſome days under conſideration, aſſembled all the

the chambers in Parliament, where, by unanimous consent, a decree was made of the following tenor. 1593.

" In consequence of some proposals, lately made to the court of Parliament, and taken into deliberation at a full meeting of the Counsellors of all the several chambers, the said Parliament not having (as indeed it never yet had) any other intention than to maintain the *Roman* Catholick Apostolick religion, and the State and Crown of *France*, under the protection of a most Christian Catholick *French* King, hath ordered, and doth hereby order, that this day in the afternoon, President *Le Maistre*, attended by a proper number of the Counsellors of this Parliament, shall make a Remonstrance to Monseigneur the Duke of *Mayenne*, Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France*, in the presence of the Princes and Officers of the Crown, who are now in this city, that no treaty or negociation ought to be entered into for transferring the Crown into the hands of foreign Princes or Princesses: that the fundamental laws of the kingdom ought to be observed, and the decrees made by the Parliament about declaring a Catholick and *French* King, duly put in execution: that the said Duke of *Mayenne* ought to employ the authority that hath been given him to hinder the Crown from falling into the hands of Strangers, contrary to the laws of the kingdom: that he ought likewise to provide, as soon as possible, for the repose of the people, and to use his utmost endeavours to deliver them out of the extreme misery to which they are [illegible]: that, in the mean time, the said Parliament hath declared, and doth hereby declare, all treaties held or to be held for the future, concerning the establishment of any foreign Prince or Princess whatsoever, to be invalid, and of no force or effect, as prejudicial to the *Salic* law, and the other fundamental constitutions of this kingdom."

When this decree was notified in publick by the President to the Duke of *Mayenne*, he pretended to be offended at it, and reprimanded the Parliament for their forwardness, in a very grave manner. But it damped the proceedings of the *Spaniards* exceedingly: for though it more particularly concerned the Assembly of the States, than any one else, to resent this decree of the Parliament, as made in prejudice of their authority, yet they seemed, on the contrary, to be very far from being displeased at it: and having been taught their lesson by the Duke of *Mayenne's* agents, not only professed their abhorrence of the *Spanish* designs, but an inclination to a truce, which was now promoted more vigorously than ever in the conference at *Surenne*. The *Parisians* were still much more inclined to it; for as they were tired out with their sufferings, and saw no means so likely to relieve them as the conclusion of a truce, the sweets of

1593. of which they had begun to taste in the short cessation of arms that had been agreed upon in those quarters, they grew so impatient for an accommodation, that they began to mutiny, and threatened both the Princes and the Assembly to desert them, if they did not come to some speedy resolution. The *Spaniards* fared no better: for as the citizens were persuaded they would not suffer their army to advance and relieve the city by opening the passes, only because it answered their ends better to keep them in subjection and distress, whenever the Ambassadors went abroad, they were publickly insulted and shouted at.

But the resolution which the King took was so happily timed, that it gave a thorough change to the face of affairs: for as he was well informed of every thing that passed, he began to be apprehensive, and with great reason, that if the League should elect the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Catholicks of his own party would, in all probability, desert him, since he himself saw so many plain indications of it, and heard such open murmurings every day, that it was hardly to be doubted of. The arguments that were urged by the Deputies of the Union in the conference at *Surenne*, had made a deep impression upon the generality of the people, and not only the Princes and Lords, but almost every private man, expressed a concern and abhorrence at spending their blood and fortunes for the establishment of heresy, which they had formerly been used to fight against, and oppose with all their power: and even in the King's quarters, people were continually cursing their own blindness, and exhorting each other to change their side. They said, " That after so many promises had been broken, they were bound to take some other means for the preservation of religion and their common safety: that they did not think themselves obliged to pour out any more of their blood for a Prince so obstinately heretical, who had abused their credulity so long, and had fed them with nothing but vain words and professions: that it was high time to reflect with what a degree of madness, Catholick had been engaged against Catholick, only to open a way to the Crown, either for the *Spaniards* or the *Hugonots*, who were equally their enemies: that there had been already sufficient done to support the lawful successor in his right to the throne, but that he had shewn himself ungrateful for so long services, and incorrigible in his errors: that all conscientious Catholicks ought not to follow him any further in the way to perdition, but to reunite for the establishment of a King, who should acknowledge the favour he received from the affections of his subjects: that so many Princes and Lords, so many Knights and Gentlemen, and such numbers of valiant soldiers had been already slain in that cause, that the kingdom was all over scars and wounds, and drained of its best blood, and, if some remedy was not speedily applied, the very skeleton and remains of *France*

muſt be ſacrificed to the obſtinacy of the *Hugonots*, or the ambition of the *Spaniards*."

The Princes of the Blood, after many conſultations, began to grow ſtill more reſolute, and the Duke of *Montpenſier*, who was ill in bed of his wound, plainly told the King, when he came to viſit him, "That all the Princes were going to abandon his Majeſty; and that for his own part, in the condition he then was, though it would give him great concern, he thought himſelf obliged to follow their example, and would not be the laſt in endeavouring to ſave his ſoul, and make peace with his conſcience." The Count *De Schomberg* likewiſe informed him, he had received intelligence from Monſieur *De Villeroy*, that Admiral *Villers* was already ſet out with a copy of articles to be ſigned by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and that within a few days he would hear, that he and all the reſt of the Princes were at *Paris*. That God had bleſſed him with victory, and expected the firſt fruits of it: that as he had taken *Dreux* with ſo much reputation, in the very face of his enemies, he might turn to God and the Church without having it thought, by any one, that he did it by compulſion. The ſame was confirmed by Secretary *Revol*; and *Villeroy* himſelf wrote to him from *Pontoiſe*, that if he did not haſten his converſion, one of theſe two conſequences muſt inevitably follow, either that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* would be elected King, and deprive him of the aſſiſtance of the Catholicks that at preſent adhered to him: or that the Infanta and the Duke of *Guiſe* would be choſen, and then all the forces of his Catholick Majeſty would be poured upon him like a torrent.

The King, either moved by theſe conſiderations, or looking upon the urgency of the preſent criſis as a divine call and admonition, determined to turn Catholick, and immediately diſpatched meſſengers into every part of the kingdom, to invite Prelates and other Divines to inſtruct and aſſiſt him in his converſion. Amongſt the reſt he ſent to the Preachers of *Paris*, ſome of whom refuſed to go, and ſome few reſolved to attend him, upon ſo ſolemn and important an occaſion; in which number was the Curate of *St. Euſtache*, though the Legate adviſed and expreſsly commanded them to the contrary. When they were aſſembled therefore at *Mante*, and had given the King ſatisfaction in the controverted points of their faith, he ſeemed to be fully convinced and enlightened, and acknowledged the viſible hand of God in reclaiming him from his errors, and bringing him back into the boſom of the Church: after which he cauſed it to be publiſhed, that, on the 25th of *July*, he would go to maſs at *St. Dennis*.

The news of this was brought by his Deputies to the conference at *Surenne*; where the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, after he had recapitulated all the late tranſactions, concluded with ſaying, "That the King had ordered the Marquis *De Piſani* to be ſent to *Rome*, to ſollicit that his converſion might

1593. might be approved of and authenticated by the Pope: but as he had not been received there, he was resolved to defer the care of his salvation no longer, but would reconcile himself to the Church, that afterwards he might send a solemn and splendid embassy to render due obedience to his Holiness: that after consulting with other Prelates and Divines, they had determined, that the King should cause himself to be absolved, *ad futuram cautelam*, and go to mass, that so he might afterwards demand the Pope's benediction: that this had been judged the most expeditious and secure way for many reasons, both to avoid the necessity of leaving the disposal of the Crown to the arbitrement of foreigners, and to provide an effectual remedy for the distractions of the Kingdom." The Archbishop of *Lyons* insisted, on the contrary, that he could not be received without the Pope's assent, nor absolved without his orders, and protested, that they would not look upon him as a Catholick, nor acknowledge him as their King, without an express declaration of his being such from the Pope, of whose pleasure they ought to be satisfied before they proceeded to any sort of absolution.

When the report of this conversion was spread abroad amongst the people, no restraint was sufficient to suppress their rejoicings, or to prevent them from publickly declaring, that the pacification of the kingdom wholly depended upon it: so that the Cardinal Legate, who was not a little mortified and embarrassed with it, published an address in writing to the Catholicks of *France*, on the 13th of *July*, in which he informed them of the arrogance of some Prelates, who had assumed to themselves a power of absolving the King of *Navarre* from the censures of the Church, and exhorted them not to look upon his conversion as real and sincere, nor to countenance the undue means that had been practised upon that occasion: in the last place, forbidding all men to assist or be present at those ceremonies, on pain of excommunication, and of being deprived of the benefices and ecclesiastical dignities which they possessed. But this was all to no purpose; for the spirits of the people were raised, and, now all religious scruples were removed, every one was disposed to acknowledge the lawful successor, in hopes of living for the future in peace and security. The chiefs of the parties themselves concurred in this general inclination; and though they resolved not to dissent from the Pope's judgment, and the declaration of the Apostolick See, yet they were not willing to proceed any further till they saw the issue of this conversion, and how the Pope approved of it: which resolution, encouraged by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and enforced by the necessity of affairs, was embraced even by the Duke of *Guise*, who thought that any endeavours to elect him in such a conjuncture, would make others ridiculous, and involve his own family in ruin, as he himself, attended by the Marshals *De la Chastre* and *St. Paul*, gave the *Spanish* Ministers to understand.

In the mean time above half the people of *Paris* ran out of the city to see the ceremony of the conversion, even from the day before the absolution, which was on the 25th of *July*, the festival of the Apostle *St. James*. At which time, the King, clothed all in white, and attended by the Princes, Lords, and the whole Court, with the guards before them under arms, went to the great church at *St. Dennis*, the gates of which they found shut: but as soon as the High Chancellor knocked, they were immediately opened, and the Archbishop of *Bourges* appeared, seated on his chair, in his pontifical habit, and surrounded with a great number of Prelates. At the King's approach the Archbishop asked him, "Who he was, and what he wanted?" He answered, "That he was *Henry* of *Bourbon*, King of *France* and *Navarre*; and that he demanded to be received into the bosom of the Catholick church." The Archbishop then asked him, "If he desired it from the bottom of his heart, and had truly repented of his former errors?" Upon which, the King fell upon his knees, and protested, "That he was sorry for his former errors, that he now abjured and detested them, that he would live and die a Catholick in the Apostolick *Roman* church, and would defend and protect it in all dangers at the peril of his life." After this, he read aloud the profession of faith that was presented to him in writing, and then was conducted into the church, amidst infinite acclamations of the people, and repeated salutes of the cannon. When he came there, he kneeled down before the high altar, and offered up the prayers that were dictated to him by the Archbishop; and having been admitted by him to secret confession, he sat down under a canopy of state, and assisted at high mass, which was celebrated by the Bishop of *Nantes*, to the inexpressible joy and consolation of every one: after which he retired to the palace, through an innumerable multitude of the people, and re-echoed shouts of *Long live the King*.

In this interval, as affairs had now taken so different a turn from what the States expected, they thought it was time to give an answer to the *Spanish* Ambassadors: for which purpose, they were introduced into the Assembly, where the Duke of *Mayenne* returned thanks in a solemn manner to his Catholick Majesty, not only for the assistance which they had already received from him, and the supplies he promised them for the future, but for the honour done to his family in offering the Infanta in marriage to his nephew the Duke of *Guise*: and told them at last, "That the Assembly, after mature deliberation, did not think it a proper time at present to proceed to the election, but prayed his Majesty to wait a little longer, till things were thoroughly ripe, and in the mean time not to fail them in his wonted protection, and the supplies he had been so good to promise."

1593. After this declaration, which very much diſcouraged the *Spaniards*, it was determined in the States to endeavour to conclude a truce: and though the Legate ſtrongly oppoſed it, and proteſted over and over again that he would leave them, yet he was at laſt ſo far prevailed upon, by the reaſons that they alledged for it, and with the offer of cauſing the decrees of the Council of *Trent* to be received in the States, that he conſented to ſtay in the city, eſpecially as he was uncertain how his departure might be reliſhed at the court of *Rome*. A general truce, therefore, was agreed upon in the conference at *Surenne*, to extend throughout the whole kingdom, for the three following months of *Auguſt*, *September*, and *October*, and it was publiſhed with infinite rejoicings amongſt the people in all places. After which, the Duke of *Mayenne*, being deſirous to diſmiſs the Aſſembly in an honourable manner, firſt cauſed a decree to be made for the receiving the decrees of the Council of *Trent*, and then calling them together again on the 8th of *Auguſt*, he made them all ſwear to perſevere in the Union, and not to depart from it on any account whatſoever: and having deſired them to meet again at the ſame place in *October*, to deliberate upon the State of affairs, and ſuch inſtructions as they ſhould receive from *Rome*, he at laſt diſmiſſed them, to the great ſatisfaction of the Deputies, who immediately returned to their reſpective homes, and the care of their own affairs.

The End of the Thirteenth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF *FRANCE.*

BOOK XIV.

ARGUMENT.

The means used by the King to make his conversion more beneficial. The continuation of the truce for two months longer, viz. November and December, at the end of which, Meaux is the first place that submits to the King. The Sieur De la Chastre follows its example with the city of Bourges, and Admiral Villers with Havre de Grace and Roüen. The Count De Brisac, Governor of Paris, makes a composition. The King is received into that city without any tumult, and drives out the Spanish Ambassadors and garrison: the Cardinal Legate also leaves the city, and goes out of the kingdom. Many other cities come over to the King. The Duke of Nemours is imprisoned, and the city of Lyons voluntarily surrenders. The Duke of Mayenne sets another treaty on foot with the Spaniards, and offers them fresh

 terms

terms to prosecute the war. He has an interview with Ernest, Archduke of Austria, Governor of the Low Countries, and at last goes into Picardy with Count Charles of Mansfelt and the army. The King lays siege to Laon: the Duke of Mayenne and the Spaniards attempt to relieve it: after many efforts, to no purpose, they at last retire and the place is surrendered. The Sieur De Balagny goes over to the King, with the city of Cambray: the King is likewise received into Amiens and other towns in Picardy. The Duke of Montpensier takes Honfleur. Many encounters happen in Bretagne, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphinè. The King returns to Paris, and is wounded in the mouth by a young merchant, in his own apartment, who is taken, confesses the fact, and is executed for it, and the Jesuits are banished out of the kingdom. The King publickly proclaims war against the Spaniards, and renews the negociation at Rome to obtain absolution from the Pope. The Marshal De Biron is declared Governor of Burgundy. He begins the war with success in that province, takes Autun, Auxerre, and at last Dijon, and lays siege to the castles. The Sieurs De Tremblecourt and D'Ossonville enter Burgundy in a hostile manner (which had put itself under the protection of the Crown of Spain) and take some places there. The Constable of Castile, Governor of Milan, marches with succours into that province: the King likewise marches to reinforce the army that was besieging the castles of Dijon. They meet and engage with various success at Fontain-Françoise. The Constable retires beyond the river Soane. The King follows him, passes the river, and another engagement ensues. The King returns to the siege of the castles, which at last surrender. He concludes a truce with the Duke of Mayenne, in order to treat of an accommodation, and makes his entrance into Lyons. The Pope resolves to give the King his benediction: the ceremony is solemnized with great joy at Rome. The news of it is brought to court, where likewise good accounts arrive from Dauphinè and Languedoc.

1593.

THE King's conversion was certainly the most proper and efficacious remedy that could have been administered in the distempered and dangerous condition of the kingdom, and the truce, so opportunely concluded, likewise served to prepare matters, and gave due time for so salutary a medicine to operate. For as the people on both sides began to taste the liberty and happiness that resulted from concord, at a season of the year too when the harvest and vintage made them more sensible of the blessings, they were so delighted and refreshed with it, that it was afterwards much more easy to remove all scruples and objections, and to inspire them with a desire of a lasting peace, and of shewing a ready obedience to their lawful Prince. After the truce took place, men presently began to enter into a free commerce again with each other,

as they were not only of the ſame nation, but many of them ſtrictly allied either by friendſhip or kindred: ſo that all diſcords, and animoſities, and factious intereſts, which had kept them ſo many years divided, now began to ſubſide, and every one rejoiced to reunite himſelf with his acquaintance, to renew their former affection and familiarity, ſo unhappily interrupted, and to co-operate in their endeavours to remedy the griefs and misfortunes that had been occaſioned by ſo long a war. There were frequent and friendly meetings amongſt perſons of all ranks; every one related his paſt ſufferings, expreſſed his deteſtation of the cauſes of ſuch unhappy diſcords, inveighed againſt the authors of thoſe evils and misfortunes, and at the ſame time praiſed and magnified the bleſſings of peace and concord. In theſe converſations, where the King's cauſe was repreſented as moſt juſt, on account of his maniſeſt right to the Crown, eſpecially now all ſcruples of conſcience were in a great meaſure removed by his converſion, the things that were urged in his favour were eagerly liſtened to by the people, and made them much more deſirous to live in obedience to him, than to continue ſo ruinous a civil war, only to gratify the ambition of the Duke of *Mayenne*, or to promote the deſigns of the *Spaniards*, the end of which was now pretty well known to every one. Thoſe of the King's party extolled the clemency and goodneſs of the Prince they ſerved, the ſincerity with which he had embraced the Catholick faith, his kindneſs and affability to all his followers, his valour and magnanimity in war, his wiſdom and great abilities in matters of government, his conduct and happy ſucceſs in all his undertakings: and further aſked thoſe of the League, Whether they were not yet ſufficiently convinced of the ambitious views of the houſe of *Lorrain*, and the artifices of the *Spaniards*? gently reproaching them with making war againſt good and true *Frenchmen*, in favour of the inveterate enemies of the nation, and endeavouring, at the expence of their own blood, to eſtabliſh the *Spaniſh* monarchy upon the wreck and ruins of *France*. So great a degree of blindneſs, they ſaid, was indeed deplorable, and intreated them to remember their obligations, and the love they owed to their country, to have compaſſion upon themſelves, and to take ſhelter under the benevolence of a Prince, who ſtood with his arms open, ready to receive and embrace them.

Theſe things made a very deep impreſſion upon the minds of men, who were tired out with the war, and ſinking under the weight of continual miſeries and afflictions. In the mean time the King himſelf took the utmoſt pains to pleaſe and oblige every one, receiving all thoſe that came to wait upon him in a very gracious manner, and aſſuring them of his favour. He likewiſe artfully cauſed his moſt truſty Counſellors to diſperſe themſelves into different places, under a pretence of going to ſee

1593. their houses and friends again, and to use all their endeavours every where to conciliate the affections of the people to him. And because the Duke of *Mayenne* still kept a treaty on foot, either to conclude a peace or prolong the truce, the Sieur *De Sancy*, the Count of *Schomberg*, and President *De Thou*, went to *Paris* under that colour, where they staid many days, and made use of all their eloquence and addresss to gain the King as many adherents as possible. The Archbishop of *Bourges* went to that city to visit his diocese, and at the same time to find some means of conferring with the Sieur *De la Chastre*, who they already knew was much offended at the proceedings of the *Spaniards*. The High Chancellor took a journey into the territories of *Orleans*, as he said, to look into the state of his own affairs. The first President of the Parliament of *Roüen* repaired to that city, to try if he could set some negociation on foot with the Admiral *Villers*, for which purpose the King himself also advanced towards that part of the country. The Sieur *De Fleury* went to *Pontoise*, to treat with his brother-in-law Monsieur *De Villeroy*; and the Prelates, who had been concerned in the King's conversion, dispersed themselves into different provinces, to testify the sincerity of his repentance, and to enforce those arguments which they urged in justification of the authority by which they had given him absolution. In this manner the King's interests were promoted within the kingdom, whilst *Ludovico Gonzaga*, Duke of *Nevers*, who had been appointed Ambassador to *Rome*, was preparing to set out for *Italy* with a splendid train, to render obedience to the Pope in the King's name, and to sollicit his Holiness to confirm what had been already done. With him the King resolved to send *Claude D'Angenes*, Bishop of *Mans*, a Prelate well known and respected at the court of *Rome*, on account of his great learning and wisdom, together with *James Davy* Sieur *du Perron*, now made Bishop of *Eureux*, *Lewis Seguiere*, Dean of *Paris*, and *Claude Goüin*, Dean of *Beauvais*, two Canonists of high reputation. But as the Duke of *Nevers* could not be supposed to perform his journey with so much expedition as was necessary, both in regard to the quality of his person, and the bad state of health he laboured under at that time, the King dispatched the Sieur *De la Clielle* beforehand, with very humble and submissive letters to the Pope, in which he acquainted him with his conversion, and of the Embassy that he had appointed to ask his benediction, and to render him due obedience. The King thought the Duke of *Nevers* a very fit person for that employment, not only because he was much esteemed for his wisdom, and a Prince of the first rank and reputation in the kingdom, but because he was likewise an *Italian*, and, besides his thorough knowledge of that language, which would enable him to negociate without the assistance of interpreters, he had much weight amongst the Princes of

Italy,

Italy, and great intereſt with many of the Cardinals. The Prelates were ordered to attend him, that they might be ready to vindicate and maintain what they had done in his abſolution, by canonical and theological authorities: and he alſo thought it neceſſary to ſend *La Clielle* before them, not only to ſhew his impatience to be reconciled to the Apoſtolick See, but in hopes, as he was a man of great penetration and addreſs, that he might diſpoſe and prepare things in a proper manner before the Duke's arrival.

1593.

Such were the methods that the King took to advance his affairs. But the deſigns of the other party were neither ſo determinate, nor the means they made uſe of ſo proper to obtain them: for as the intereſts of the confederates were various, and often repugnant to each other, they did not always act in concert, nor direct their views to the ſame object. The Duke of *Mayenne* had acquained the King's party, that he agreed to the truce, to ſee what ſhould be reſolved upon at *Rome*, and ſaid he had no objection to a general peace, provided the Pope aſſented to it. He therefore ſtill kept the treaty on foot, by means of Monſieur *Villeroy* and Preſident *Jeannine*, with whom he afterwards joined the Sieur *De Baſſompierre*, to ſhew that the Duke of *Lorrain* concurred with him in every thing. An accommodation was promoted with much earneſtneſs by theſe agents, who promiſed, in his name, to ſend the Cardinal of *Joyeuſe* and the Baron *De Seneçay* to *Rome*, to ſollicit the Pope's approbation of the King's converſion, and to prevail upon his Holineſs, if poſſible, to acknowledge him, that ſo an end might be put to the civil war. This was propoſed as the principal foundation of the agreement, though they treated at the ſame time about the eſtabliſhment of the Catholick religion, and ſecuring the intereſts of his family. But his real deſigns were very different: for as he had not yet quite laid aſide his hopes of obtaining the Crown, and imputed all his paſt miſcarriages to the malice of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and not to the intention of his Catholick Majeſty, he immediately diſpatched his wife's ſon, the Sieur *De Montpezat*, together with *Belliſaire*, one of his moſt truſty agents, to the court of *Spain*, to remove the ſuſpicions that had been occaſioned by the miſrepreſentations of the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d'Ivarra*, and endeavour to regain the favour of the King and his Council; and further to propoſe, that the Infanta ſhould be choſen Queen, provided ſhe would marry his eldeſt ſon; and, if the King conſented to it, to ſettle the conditions, and demand ſuch ſupplies as were neceſſary to bring the undertaking to a happy concluſion. For this purpoſe he had acceded to the truce, and was deſirous to have it continued, that there might be time to negociate this affair, and to make ſufficient preparations in *Spain*.

On the other hand, the *Spaniſh* Miniſters were more than ever deter-

1593. mined in their resolution not to agree to his advancement, being well assured, that when he had once accomplished his ends, he would be ungrateful for the favour he had received, and a most bitter enemy to their Monarchy. Upon which account, they not only continued to shew great honour and respect to the Duke of *Guise*, and to promise him the Infanta in marriage: but the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d'Ivarra* contrived how to transfer the Duke of *Mayenne's* power upon him, to suppress his uncle by his means: and they carried their personal dislike and hatred to him so far, that sometimes they thought of having him assassinated. This, however, was opposed by *Baptista Tassis* and *Inigo de Mendozza*, men of greater moderation, who weighed things more coolly and dispassionately; and even the Duke of *Guise* himself was wholly averse to it: for as he was a young Prince of great honour and good sense, he abhorred the thoughts of entering into any conspiracy against his uncle, and at the same time knew he had neither forces nor reputation sufficient to cope with his maturer wisdom, and the well-grounded authority which he had established in his party. Those that had the chief hand in moderating the Duke of *Guise's* youth, and in confirming him in his good resolutions, were the Marshals *De la Chastre*, *Rhosne*, and *St.Paul*, who had all been formerly preferred by his father: and as they had likewise been afterwards advanced by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and were well acquainted with the artifices of the *Spaniards*, they dissuaded him from plunging himself into any such dangers, by representing to his consideration, that he had neither sufficient funds, nor men, nor cities, nor commanders, that depended upon him; that the *Spaniards* were reduced to extreme difficulties for want of money; that Count *Charles's* army was dissipated, the affairs of *Flanders* in a bad situation, and without any head that was able to conduct matters of so great importance: that, on the contrary, the Duke of *Mayenne* had all the cities and fortresses of the party in his own hands, that he was in possession of a long established authority amongst the people, and was highly esteemed for his valour and prudence: that all the *French* forces depended upon him, that the Duke of *Lorrain* was joined with him, that the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbœuf* were at his devotion, and the Parliament of *Paris* entirely in his interest: so that to suffer himself to be carried away by the persuasions of strangers, would be to expose his own fortune to inevitable ruin, only to gratify the malice of two spiteful Ministers, who endeavoured to spread flames and discord to satiate the hatred they had unreasonably conceived. These considerations, added to the weakness and ungracious behaviour of the *Spaniards*, made such an impression upon the Duke of *Guise*, that he began to be disgusted at them, and was highly exasperated that they should endeavour to impose upon him, by a pretence of giving him the Infanta in marriage,

and

and take the advantage of his youth to make a tool of him only to ruin his family. 1593.

The Cardinal Legate for his part, did not altogether aſſent to what the *Spaniſh* Miniſters were plotting againſt the Duke of *Mayenne*: though he was much diſpleaſed at him for having prevented the election of the Infanta and the Duke of *Guiſe*; by which ſcheme he thought he had ſhewn himſelf a very able politician, and not only firmly ſecured his Catholick Majeſty in his own private intereſt, but provided for the eſtabliſhment of the Catholick religion, to the utter ſuppreſſion and excluſion of the King of *Navarre* (which were his three principal objects) and that he had alſo pitched upon a perſon of the ſame nation, generally liked by the people, which was a point that was chiefly recommended to him, and enjoined by the Pope's commiſſion. But now he ſaw thoſe deſigns fruſtrated, and a truce formally concluded with the other party, he was ſo mortified and incenſed at it, that he ſtill perſiſted in exhorting the confederates not to build upon or make any account of the imaginary converſion of the *Navarreſe*, as he yet contemptuouſly called him, and took great pains to bring them to an agreement amongſt themſelves, that when the States met again, they might perfect *the re-eſtabliſhment of royalty*; for ſo they ſtyled the joint election of the Infanta and the Duke of *Guiſe* to be King and Queen of *France*.

He likewiſe endeavoured to inculcate theſe notions at *Rome*, by frequent letters, penned as his paſſions dictated. But the Pope, who was a man of mature wiſdom, did not ſuffer himſelf to be abſolutely governed by the Legate's intelligence; for as he was informed of every particular by the *Venetian* and *Florentine* Ambaſſadors, he neither approved of the Infanta's election, nor her marriage with the Duke of *Guiſe*. But when he ſaw the thing itſelf was ſo difficult, and thwarted by ſo many impediments, he thought it in a manner impoſſible to be effected; and therefore did not care to declare himſelf, ſeeming only to give his conſent, that he might not alienate the King of *Spain* from him, with whom he found it neceſſary to keep up a good underſtanding, leſt he ſhould precipitate the affairs of religion and the church into further dangers and troubles. He would have been glad, from the beginning, to have ſeen one of the Princes of the houſe of *Bourbon*, who was a true Catholick, elected King (as he had often ſignified to his Miniſters) and to ſuch a Prince he would have conſented that the Infanta ſhould be married; for by the election of a Prince of the Blood, all the Catholicks of *France* would have been reunited in one body, and by the alliance with the King of *Spain* his aſſiſtance would have been ſecured: ſo that neither the temporal ſtate of the kingdom would have been in danger of falling into the hands of foreigners, nor the ſpiritual of being oppreſſed by the *Hugonots*. For the ſame reaſons, he diſapproved of the

1593. Duke of *Guise's* election, concluding, that the Catholicks of the King's party would never be prevailed upon to acknowledge and obey him, and consequently that the war was not likely to be ended by those means. He likewise was of opinion, that his Catholick Majesty never really designed to give his daughter to a weak, indigent, and ill supported Prince, especially as he might be almost certain, that she would never be Queen any further than in name: besides which, he was aware that an election so generally disliked, would gain the King of *Navarre* many adherents, and bring more cities over to his devotion in one day, than he could reduce by force in the whole course of his life. One thing only kept him in suspence, which was, the unfitness of those persons that were nearest in Blood: for the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was a man of but weak understanding, and very unhealthful: the Prince of *Conti* incapable of having children, as it was said, or of governing, on account of his other natural defects: the Count *De Soissons*, though otherwise a man of good understanding and generous courage, was so desperately in love with the Princess *Catherine* (the King's own sister, and an obstinate heretick) that the Catholicks durst not trust him: and the Duke of *Montpensier*, though a young man of great worth and valour, was considered as the furthest removed of them all in the degrees of royal consanguinity. As soon, therefore, as he knew the King was disposed to return into the bosom of the Catholick church, he began to favour his advancement, as he thought it would be the most expeditious way to compose all differences, and put an end to the distractions of the kingdom. But it was a thing not to be determined upon without great deliberation, not only that he might be sufficiently convinced that a lion was not disguised in sheep's clothing, but because it was not yet known how the *French* themselves would relish that change: so that it behoved him to consider well, and to be thoroughly assured, both that the King was a true and sincere Catholick, and that the people would chearfully acknowledge him: for if the King should only pretend to be converted, for interests of state, religion would be left exposed to manifest danger: and if the people should not be willing to acknowledge him, the Pope would suffer no less in his own reputation, for having been more hasty and inconsiderate than even the common people, in approving the conversion of a relapsed heretick. Besides, the regard that was by all means to be shewn to the King of *Spain*, who was already honoured with the title of Defender of the Catholick faith, and Protector of the See of *Rome*, and who, it was well known, had poured out so much of the blood and treasure of his kingdom to support the Catholick religion in *France*, made it necessary to proceed very slowly, and with the utmost caution and maturest deliberation, in a matter of so great importance, as it was certain his Catholick Majesty's supplies had prevented the

the King from entirely ſuppreſſing his adverſaries, whilſt he was yet an obſtinate *Hugonot*; and therefore much gratitude and recompence were due to him for the conſervation of the *Gallican* Church, and great care to be taken not to eſtabliſh an exaſperated and powerful enemy, who might afterwards give him continual diſturbance in the poſſeſſion of his own dominions. 1593.

Theſe motives determined the Pope not to comply haſtily, much leſs to give his aſſent at the very firſt, but to be governed by the event of things: and yet, that he might lay a foundation to proceed upon in his deſigns, he thought it neceſſary to give ſome glimpſe of hope to thoſe who were ſecretly negociating at *Rome* for the King, whom they ſtyled there *the King of Navarre*. The Pope had a reſpect for a principal officer in the houſhold of his nephew Cardinal *Pietro Aldobrandino*, whoſe name was *Giacopo Sanneſio*, a man of an obſcure family, born at a caſtle in the marſhes of *Ancona*, who had long aſſiſted the Cardinal's father in his ſtudies, as it was ſaid, whilſt he was employed as an Advocate in the * *Rota Romana*; and becauſe he was very faithful, and not of too inquiſitive a temper, but a perſon of few words, he committed the care of all his domeſtick affairs to him. This man was acquainted, and ſometimes admitted into converſation, with *Arnaud d' Oſſat*, a man born at *Auche* in *Gaſcony*, of mean parentage, but of excellent parts, and very decent and gentlemanlike behaviour, who having been firſt brought to *Rome* by Monſieur *De Foix*, Ambaſſador from *France*, afterwards continued there in the family of Cardinal *D'Eſte*, and beſides his ſingular learning and eloquence, was, by the experience of many years, exceeding well verſed in the court of *Rome*. He, as a private man, and long accuſtomed to be ſeen at court, was not particularly obſerved by any body, and whilſt he ſollicited ſpiritual affairs there for the Queen Dowager of *Henry* the third, as licences for erecting monaſteries, grants of indulgences, and other things of that kind, might eaſily have an opportunity of negociating with *Sanneſio*, in a corner of the anti-chamber, without ſeeming to be engaged in matters of any great importance, but merely in common converſation. The Pope, therefore, who was deſirous to proceed with ſecrecy, and by degrees, ordered *Sanneſio* to enter into a particular converſation about the King's affairs, with his *French* acquaintance, whom he very well knew to be a man of ſenſe and worth, and to do it in ſuch a manner that it might ſeem to proceed entirely from his own curioſity. Theſe converſations at laſt produced a private negociation, which was ſo far advanced, that when Monſieur *De la Clielle* arrived, many overtures had been already made on both ſides.

* The *Rota*, or *Ruota*, is a particular court or juriſdiction that takes cognizance of beneficiary matters, *&c.*

1593. That Gentleman was now come to *Rome*, with letters from the King to Monſignor *Serafino Olivario*, Auditor of the *Rota*, a Prelate who was deſcended from *French* anceſtors, and for that reaſon had ever been well affected to the Crown, and deſirous to promote the King's cauſe. And though he knew it would be very difficult not only to obtain an audience of his Holineſs for *La Clielle*, as he required, but to introduce any ſort of treaty concerning that matter, yet, as he was a very good-natured and agreeable man, of handſome addreſs, humorous in converſation, and therefore acceptable to the whole court, and even to the Pope himſelf, when he had obtained an audience, under a pretence of other buſineſs, he at laſt brought that upon the carpet, and before he left him, deſired leave to preſent the letters which the King had written to his Holineſs. But the Pope, who was either ſurprized at ſo ſudden and unexpected a thing, or intended to perſevere ſome time in his diſſimulation, or was vexed that he ſhould be in a manner compelled to diſcover his deſigns to any one but the perſons he had fixed upon for that purpoſe, ſeemed highly diſpleaſed, and would have entirely put an end to all converſation of that kind, if the Auditor had not found means to ſooth him again, by talking ſometimes in a ſerious manner, ſometimes with a degree of pleaſantry, and concluded with ſaying, " He thought one ought to lend an ear even to the Devil himſelf, if it was poſſible to believe that he might be converted." Upon which, the Pope likewiſe grew leſs ſerious, and entertained himſelf a long time with *Serafino*, who ſtill preſſing him for an anſwer, and that he would be pleaſed to admit *La Clielle*, not as the King's Agent, but as a private Gentleman, from whom perhaps he might learn many ſecret particulars worth his knowing, the Pope at laſt replied, " He would conſider of it." The ſame evening, however, he ordered *De Oſſat*, by *Sanneſio*, to wait upon the Gentleman that was come from *France*, and to give him good hopes of ſucceſs in his negociation, with advice, as from himſelf only, not to be diſcouraged at any difficulty whatſoever that he ſhould meet with in the courſe of it.

The next night *Silvio Antoniani*, the Pope's Chamberlain, went to *Serafino's* houſe, and taking only the Sieur *De la Clielle* into his coach, introduced him by a private way into the Pope's apartment, where, after he had acquainted him that the King of *France* had ſent him to kiſs his Holineſs's feet, and to preſent thoſe letters to him (which he had in his hand) the Pope, without ſtaying to hear what he had to ſay further, fell into a paſſion, and complained that he had been impoſed upon, as he thought he was to have admitted a private Gentleman, and not an Agent from a relapſed and excommunicated heretick, and commanded him to depart out of his preſence. But *La Clielle* was not at all diſconcerted at this, and remembring the advice that had been given him, preſently

replied, in terms of great submission and humility, " That as he could do 1593. no more, he would leave his Master's letters, and a copy of his commission, which he had brought with him in writing: and though the Pope angrily commanded him to take them away with him, yet he left them upon the table; and after he had kissed his foot, was carried back to the place where he had been taken up.

The day following he had orders to confer with Cardinal *Toledo*, which he did three several times; but after much conversation at each meeting, he was still told, " That the Pope could not comply with the King's desire, because he had formerly applied to the Apostolick See upon the like occasion, and yet had returned to the vomit of heresy: so that after the Cardinal had particularly informed himself of the King's affairs, and the state of *France* in general, nothing further was done in that matter. But the night before *La Clielle* left *Rome*, he had an answer given him, with great secrecy, by means of *De Ossat*, who was ordered to exhort the King to proceed in shewing himself truly converted, and to give further proofs of his being a sincere Catholick; for though the Pope was resolved not to countenance the Duke of *Nevers*, out of regard to his own conscience, and to make a trial of the King's steddiness, yet, at a convenient time, he would at last comply with his request.

With this answer, *La Clielle* set out for *France*, without communicating it so much as to Monsignor *Serafino*, as the Pope was desirous to have it believed by every one, that he was firmly determined not to approve of the King's conversion, which the greater part of the court of *Rome* thought had been conducted in a manner highly prejudicial to the authority of the Pope, and that a few Prelates had licentiously arrogated a power to themselves, which belonged only to the Apostolick See. This had occasioned many to write and publish treatises, in which they argued, that a relapsed heretick, and one declared excommunicated, could not, by any means, be suffered to reign over a Catholick kingdom, and that the step which the *French* Prelates had taken, in giving him absolution, was schismatical, and liable to the censures of the tribunal of the Holy Office, as they call the court of the Inquisition. *Arnaud de Ossat* himself answered these writings, and maintained, by many arguments and authorities, taken out of the sacred Canons and Doctors of the holy church, and other Christian considerations, that the Pope not only might, but absolutely ought to approve of the King's conversion, and admit him into the bosom of the Catholick church. And though there was nothing in his treatise that was in the least contrary to the tenets of the Catholich church, and notwithstanding it was written with the utmost modesty, yet he could not get leave to print it, and was obliged to be content with shewing copies of it to discreet and sensible persons, for which he was so far from being reprehended,

1593. reprehended, that it was secretly approved of by the Pope, who was not displeased that mens ears should by little and little be inured to this doctrine.

But the Legate, being altogether of a different opinion, and more than ever sollicitous to promote the *Spanish* election, was wholly taken up in setting all engines to work, that might in any wise conduce to accomplish that design. For this purpose, besides many exceeding long letters, and several circumstantial informations which he sent to the Pope, and to some of the Cardinals, he at last also dispatched *Pietro Francisco Montorio* to give them more particular intelligence, and to thwart the King's Embassy. But the cunning that he made use of upon this occasion, had a very contrary effect to what he expected, and was of great prejudice to his own designs. For *Montorio* being taken sick at *Lyons*, resolved to send his dispatches by an express to *Rome*, that they might arrive there before the Duke of *Nevers*. In these the Legate advised them to amuse the Duke, by such means as should be thought most proper, and endeavour to protract the affair, till it could certainly be know nwhether the *Spaniards* were likely to succeed in their election after the expiration of the truce, and to have sufficient forces in readiness to support it: and in the mean time to keep the King of *Navarre* also in suspence, that he might not apply himself with his wonted spirit to make preparations for war again. This advice afterwards served the Pope for a pretence to admit the Duke of *Nevers*, who in this interval had passed *Langres*, and was proceeding in his journey towards *Italy*, through *Switzerland*, and the country of the *Grisons*: but when he arrived at *Poschiavo*, a town in the *Valteline*, he was met by Father *Antonio Possevino*, a Jesuit, who was sent by the Pope to let him know, that he rejoiced at the report of the King of *Navarre's* conversion, but that he could not admit an Embassy sent in the name of a King, whom he did not yet acknowledge as such, and therefore he might spare himself the pains of coming any further. The Duke, however, though much mortified, was not absolutely discouraged from pursuing his journey, not directly to *Rome*, but to *Mantua*, from whence he sent *Possevino* back, with many arguments in writing, to the Pope, and the Cardinal Nephews, by which he endeavoured to obtain leave to execute his Embassy. The Marquiss *De Pisani*, Cardinal *Gondi*, and Monsieur *De Metz*, resident Ambassador for the King at *Venice*, likewise came to him there, and both wrote and negociated many things with common consent, which were promoted at the court of *Rome* by the *Venetian* and *Florentine* Ambassadors, in which they were also favoured and assisted by the good offices of Cardinal *Toledo*.

The Pope, taking advantage of the advice which had been sent him by the Cardinal Legate, in order to cover his secret intentions more effectually, shewed that article to the Duke of *Sessa*, Ambassador from the King

King of *Spain*, and to many Cardinals who were of that party, pretending to be much moved by thoſe conſiderations, and that he could not therefore abſolutely refuſe to receive the Duke of *Nevers*. And though both the Duke of *Seſſa* and the *Spaniſh* Cardinals ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and affirmed, that his Catholick Majeſty would certainly have ſuch forces in readineſs at the end of the truce, as ſhould be ſufficient to eſtabliſh the propoſed election: yet the Pope took a middle courſe, and reſolved to admit the Duke of *Nevers* to an audience, not as an Ambaſſador from the King of *France*, but as a Catholick Prince and an *Italian*. For which purpoſe, he ſent *Poſſevino* back again to him at *Mantua*, to let him know his final reſolution, and that he muſt come to *Rome* without much ſtate or ceremony, and with a ſmall retinue, that he might not be looked upon or acknowledged in the quality of an Ambaſſador, but of a private perſon. The Duke indeed did not much reliſh this, and promiſed himſelf no great ſucceſs in his Embaſſy from ſo indifferent a beginning: yet he determined to proceed, that he might not ſeem to ſlight the counſel of the *Venetian* Senate, and other Princes who were the King's friends, or to be wanting in any endeavours that might tend to promote a negotiation of ſo great importance.

1593.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, the League met with a new miſfortune in *France*, beſides their uſual diſcords: for the city of *Lyons* unexpectedly took up arms againſt the Duke of *Nemours*, who was governor of it, and proceeded ſo far as to make him priſoner in the caſtle of *Pierre-Siſe*. The Duke of *Nemours* was a Prince of great courage, but of a haughty, imperious diſpoſition, and much elated with his ſucceſsful defence of *Paris*, which city he had left, and was come to his government of *Lyons*, where he had begun to form a ſecret deſign of reducing it to a free Signiory, together with *Beaujolois* and the territory of *Foretz* (which three precincts were jointly under his command) and to add as many other places and towns to them, as he could make himſelf maſter of: and as his brother, the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*, had the government of *Dauphinè*, he deſigned to unite that province alſo to them, and ſo join his ſtate to that of the Duke of *Savoy*, from whoſe houſe he was deſcended, in expectation of being aſſiſted and ſupported by him. But as he knew that neither the Nobility nor the people would ever willingly conſent to detach themſelves from the Crown of *France*, and ſubmit to his tyranny, he had long been contriving means to obtain his ends by force. For this purpoſe, under different pretences, he had driven many of the principal citizens out of the city, and expoſed the Nobility to ſuch dangers, that many of them, that were moſt able to oppoſe his deſigns, periſhed, to his great ſatisfaction. But not thinking this ſufficient, he had, upon ſeveral occaſions, cauſed a great number of forts and citadels to be built,

1593. built, which entirely ſurrounded the city of *Lyons*, beginning at *Toiſſay*, *Belleville*, and *Tiſy*, and going on to *Charlieu*, *St. Bonnet*, *Montbriſon*, *Vitrieu*, *Coindrieu*, *Pipet*, and, laſtly, to finiſh the circle, had bargained with the Sieur *De St. Julian* for *Quirieu*, in conſideration of fifty thouſand crowns, in order to build another fort there alſo: and then paſſing from the circumference to the center, he was going to rebuild the ruined citadel of *Lyons*, and a deſign was actually ready drawn for it. In theſe ſtrong places he kept garriſons of horſe and foot that depended upon his will: and not having enough of his own to maintain them, he was forced to ſupport them by oppreſſing the people, and by ravaging and plundering the country in a licentious and horrible manner. His other actions very well correſponded with theſe: for he kept a numerous retinue of ſtrangers about his perſon, who were continually inſulting and abuſing the Nobility of the country; and in all publick writings and inſtruments no longer uſed the title of Governor, but barely that of the Duke of *Nemours*, as if he had been an abſolute Sovereign. At the time when the States were aſſembled at *Paris*, to which place he was invited, he would neither go nor ſend thither; he took every opportunity of ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the actions and authority of the Duke of *Mayenne*, his brother-in-law by the mother's ſide: and when the truce was concluded, though he declared that he acceded to it, as far as it concerned the King, yet he would not diſmiſs the leaſt part of his ſoldiery, but, on the contrary, raiſed new forces every day, by which the country was more harraſſed during the ceſſation of arms, than ever it had been before, even in the heat of the war. So that the leading men in thoſe parts, and the inhabitants of *Lyons* were provoked to ſuch a degree, by all theſe things, that they reſolved to complain of him to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who, for the ſecurity of the city, and the ſupport of his own reputation, thought proper to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of his brother: and therefore, under a pretence of ſending the Archbiſhop of *Lyons* to *Rome*, with the Cardinal *De Joyeuſe*, he cauſed him to go directly to that city, with orders to maintain the liberties of the people, and to give him advice of every particular, that he might be able to provide accordingly againſt the danger. This remedy only haſtened the breaking out of the diſtemper: for as the Duke of *Nemours* had no good underſtanding with the Archbiſhop, and ſaw the citizens run in multitudes to him, he reſolved to bring ſome more companies of ſoldiers into the town for his own ſafety, and to bridle the people, who were already in an uproar. But when this came to be known amongſt the citizens, and was exaggerated, as uſual, by common report, they immediately roſe in arms, and barricadoed the ſtreets in ſuch a manner, that the Duke was ſhut up in a corner of the town. In this diſtreſs he deſired to confer with the Archbiſhop, though he would not vouchſafe

1593.

vouchsafe to see him before. But the event did not by any means answer his expectation: for the Archbishop, at that time, shewing but little regard either to his compliments or professions, which he knew were extorted merely by necessity, continued to exhort the people to defend their liberties, and gave them directions how to conduct themselves upon this occasion. So that when the barricadoes were drawn into a narrower compass, and a greater number of men assembled together in arms, the Council went armed to him, and told him, " That, for the security of his own person, and of the city, which was in danger of being plundered, now the people were in a mutiny, they thought it necessary for him to retire to the castle of *Pierre-Sise*:" And as he was not in a condition to make any resistance, he was conducted to that place, and committed to close custody, under a very strict guard. After these proceedings, the principal men of the city and country assembled in Council, and made a decree, by which they deprived both him and the Marquis his brother of their governments, (though they acknowledged they had never received any injury at all from the latter) and committed the government of the city to the Archbishop, which was afterwards confirmed to him by the Duke of *Mayenne*.

When this news arrived at *Paris*, many were exceedingly affected with it, and the *Spanish* Ministers seemed much dejected at the loss of one of the most powerful promoters of their designs: but Madam *De Nemours* was in greater affliction than any of the rest at the sudden ruin of her son, and the danger his person was in at that time. Several were of opinion, that the Duke of *Mayenne* was at the bottom of all this, not only out of a desire to humble the arrogance of his brother-in-law, but to get the city of *Lyons* into his hands, and unite it to his government of *Burgundy*, that he might be master of it, whatsoever the event of things should be: for it was well known, that in all the treaties he had ever entered into, either with the King or the *Spanish* Ministers, he had constantly demanded that both *Lyons* and *Burgundy* should be granted to him: so that though he affected to appear vexed and concerned at the misfortune that had happened to his brother, yet no one thought him really so, when they saw that he did not give himself the least trouble about obtaining his release, though he talked much of it; and that he had also confirmed the Archbishop in the government which the citizens had conferred upon him.

This dissension occasioned fresh distractions and troubles, at a time when affairs seemed likely to have taken a more pacifick turn: for the Duke of *Mayenne* had at last reunited himself and compromised matters with the Duke of *Guise*, at the instances of their common friends, who had made them sensible, that their disagreement would infallibly ruin them both in

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1593. the end. The Duke of *Mayenne*, therefore, to clear himſelf of the aſperſion of thwarting his nephew's advancement; and the Duke of *Guiſe*, that he might not ſhew himſelf regardleſs of his uncle's labours in ſupporting the party, mutually agreed, that if the Duke of *Mayenne* could, by any means, obtain the Crown for himſelf, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould keep united with him, and aſſiſt him with all his forces: but in caſe the Duke of *Mayenne* could not make ſure of the kingdom for himſelf, or one of his ſons, then he ſhould aid the Duke of *Guiſe* in getting it, either by the marriage of the Infanta or ſome other way.

This accommodation was exceſſively diſguſtful to the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego D'Ivarra*, who now ſaw themſelves deprived of the only inſtrument that could create jealouſy in the Duke of *Mayenne*, and by that means enable them to humble him when occaſion required. *Baptiſta Taſſis*, however, at his return from *Flanders*, where he had been to confer with *Don Pedro Henriquez* of *Toledo*, *Condè de Fuentes*, who was Deputy Governor of the *Low Countries* till the arrival of the Arch-duke *Erneſt*, exhorted them to reunite with the Duke of *Mayenne*, according to the advice and deſire of their principal Miniſter, who plainly perceived, that without his concurrence and aſſiſtance all other attempts would prove fruitleſs: and though the *Spaniſh* Miniſters at *Paris* thought themſelves deluded and ill treated by him, yet the *Condè* did not judge it a proper time to take revenge, but to conduct things with patience and diſſimulation, ſince they had ſeen, by experience, that the principal Deputies of the States depended upon the will and authority of the Duke of *Mayenne*. For this purpoſe, at the arrival of *Taſſis*, they began a treaty, in which the Legate himſelf aſſiſted, though he was much more inclined to favour the Duke of *Guiſe*: but he did not care to oppoſe the King of *Spain's* reſolution, on account of the dependence which he had long had upon him, and becauſe there was no breaking friendſhip and a good underſtanding with him, in that ſituation of affairs, without endangering the Catholick religion.

Taſſis, in the firſt place, repreſented to him how well the *Condè de Fuentes* was affected to him; and in the next proceeded, of his own accord, to condemn the perverſe behaviour of his collegues, and hinted, but did not poſitively declare, that the King his maſter would conſent to give the Infanta to one of his ſons, provided they could agree in other matters. After this conference, the other *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and even the Legate himſelf, began to alter their manner of proceeding, and to ſhew more reſpect to the Duke's perſon and authority, by which he eaſily perceived they had received freſh inſtructions from the court of *Spain* in his favour, as indeed they had: for King *Philip* had finally reſolved to get the Infanta elected, if it could be done by means of any

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husband whatsoever, and was persuaded, that if the Duke of *Mayenne* 1593. still persisted in his pretensions to the Crown, he would submit to conditions that would be very advantageous to his kingdom.

But what made the thing still more difficult, was the weak condition his Catholick Majesty was in at that time; for his treasury was so thoroughly exhausted, that he could not make any such preparations as were necessary for so great an undertaking, and his credit was at so low an ebb, that the merchants would no longer accept his bills of exchange, and the *Genoese*, to whom he was indebted many millions, refused to advance him any more money. This weakness, however, was concealed by his Ministers with all possible care, and they continued to assure the Duke of *Mayenne*, that twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse should be in readiness to enter *Picardy* at the end of the truce, and that an hundred thousand crowns should be paid him every month to maintain the same number of *French* forces: and, to gain the greater credit to these promises, they with much difficulty raised him twenty thousand crowns in ready money, and gave him bills for sixty thousand more upon their own bottom, endeavouring to gratify him in every thing, and to feed him with fresh and still greater hopes every day.

This reunion with the *Spaniards*, and the compromise with the Duke of *Guise*, interrupted the treaty of peace with the King's Deputies, in which both Monsieur *Villeroy* and President *Jeannine* had taken great pains, but nothing was concluded on. For the King began to suspect that the Duke of *Mayenne* dissembled, and did not in reality desire to come to any agreement: and this suspicion was occasioned by some letters from the Legate to the Pope that had been intercepted, in which he spoke very ill of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and said it was entirely owing to his malice and ambition that the Infanta and the Duke of *Guise* were not elected, but that he had now tied up his hands in such a manner, that it was not in his power to conclude any agreement with the King of *Navarre*, if he should be so disposed, for he had taken a secret oath to that purpose, and confirmed it in a writing, signed by himself, the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbœuf*, the Count *De Brisac*, the Marshals *De Rhosnè* and *St. Paul*, and many other principal men of the League, a copy of which writing he inclosed in the same letters. When *Villeroy* therefore went to the King to continue the treaty of peace, he refused to proceed any further in that matter, and shewed him the letters and the writing, of which he also gave him a copy for the Duke of *Mayenne*, who said he could not but own he had taken such an oath indeed, but thought there was no occasion to make any excuse for it, as it had always been his intention, if ever he concluded a peace with the King, to do it with a proviso, that the Pope approved of it; for in such case the obligation of that

1593. oath would immediately become void. Nor did any thing that the Le-had written concerning his malice and ambition at all divert him from his present purpose; as those prejudices were now grown out of date, and the orders which were lately come from *Spain* had given a new face to things. So that he resolved to unite himself more strictly than ever with the *Spanish* Ministers, and instead of treating any longer about a peace, only endeavoured to have the truce prolonged, that he might have more time to bring his designs to maturity. And this was effected without much difficulty, for the two next months of *November* and *December*; because the King was also desirous to see the event of the Duke of *Nevers's* Embassy, and the Pope's determination, before he proceeded any further.

But this accommodation betwixt the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Spaniards* made the Pope more cautious in listening to the King's entreaties, as he did not care to admit of his reconciliation, whilst there was any reason to apprehend, that the *French* of the League would dissent from his judgment, and continue the war in conjunction with the *Spaniards*. He considered likewise, that for the reputation of the Apostolick See, the security of the Catholick religion, and the satisfaction of the world, it behoved him to be the most circumspect, the most resolute, and the last man that approved of the King's conversion; lest those evils which might proceed from the establishment of a Prince not yet well settled in his religion, should be imputed to his levity and credulity. For these reasons, when the Duke came near *Rome*, the Pope sent *Possevino* to him again, to acquaint him, that he did not intend to let him stay above ten days in the city, and that he had forbidden all the Cardinals either to see or confer with him: which usage indeed seemed very harsh to the Duke; yet, as he was resolved to persist in his undertaking, and thought this was only dissimulation and outside shew to inhance the value of the favour, he proceeded in his journey, and entered the city, in a private manner, on the 20th of *November*, at the *Porta del Borgo*.

The same evening he went privately to kiss the Pope's feet, and at his first audience only desired that the time of his residence might be prolonged, as the term of ten days was too short for a negociation of so great moment; and that he might have leave to visit the Cardinals, and deliver the letters he had for them from the King, offering to enter into a full discussion of the matter in the presence of his Catholick Majesty's Ambassadors and the Duke of *Mayenne's* Agents, and to shew them how unreasonable it would be to reject the obedience and submission of a King of *France*, who was actually converted, and sued in so humble a manner to be admitted into the bosom of the church. The only answer that he received to this from his Holiness, was, " That he would con-

ſult the Cardinals, and act according to their advice." But in his ſubſe- 1593. quent audiences, the Duke repreſented to him, with great ſtrength of reaſon and eloquence, that as Pope and Vicar of *Chriſt*, he could not reject one that was converted and reconciled to the church: and in the next place, that, as a wiſe and experienced Prince, he ought not to ſlight the obedience of the ſtronger and more powerful party: and finally, that, as protector of the common liberties of *Chriſtendom*, it was his duty not to ſuffer the kingdom of *France* to run the hazard of being divided and diſmembered by the continuance of a ruinous and deſperate war, to the manifeſt danger of the liberties of all Chriſtian Princes, and particularly of the Holy See. He expatiated upon the firſt article with many proofs drawn from the Scripture, the example of the primitive church, and the authority of the Fathers: but as he very well knew the main difficulty did not lie there, he enlarged himſelf much more upon the other two points; and imagining that the Pope perſiſted in his obduracy, becauſe he thought the King was ſo weak, that the Catholicks of the League, united with the King of *Spain*, would eaſily be able to ſuppreſs him, he took much pains to convince him, that moſt of the Parliaments of *France*, all the Princes (except thoſe of the Houſe of *Lorrain*) the flower of the Nobility, and two thirds of the kingdom, followed his party; that his enemies were few and of mean quality, quarrelling amongſt themſelves and reduced to deſpair, ſo that nothing was wanting to give the finiſhing hand to the King's eſtabliſhment, and to reſtore the general tranquillity, but the conſent of the Apoſtolick See and his Holineſs's benediction. Here he recapitulated the King's victories, in which, he ſaid, if the King had ſhewn the utmoſt valour and conduct himſelf, he was nevertheleſs much obliged to the power and ſpirit of the Nobility and people that followed him: he repreſented the weakneſs of the *Spaniards*, who might indeed keep civil diſcord alive by art and induſtry, but could not ſupport them by their arms: he ſhewed the artifices they made uſe of, that their ultimate aim was to uſurp the Crown of *France*, and that they had at laſt ſufficiently diſcovered their ſecret deſign by propoſing the Infanta: he conjured the Pope, by his well known piety and love of juſtice, not to make himſelf the author of violating the *Salic* law, and the other fundamental conſtitutions of the kingdom, not to countenance thoſe who laboured to deprive the lawful heir of his Crown, nor to ſuffer the ſanction of his name to be made uſe of, only to ſow diſcords, to the utter deſtruction of a moſt Chriſtian kingdom and firſt-born of the church: and concluded with ſaying, he had brought ſome of thoſe Prelates with him who had given the King abſolution, and were deſirous to preſent themſelves at his feet, to give him an account of what had been done, as they were in hopes of making it appear they had not deviated from their obedience to the

1593. the Apoſtolick See, nor from the rites and cuſtoms of it, but had acted conformably to the ſacred canons and the ſpirit of the holy church.

But the Pope was fixed in his determination, and though the Duke's arguments made ſome impreſſion upon him, yet being reſolved not to be too precipitate, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Duke ſeemed to inſiſt that the abſolution given to the King in *France* ſhould be confirmed and approved, but did not propoſe that the King ſhould ſubmit to the cenſure and judgment of the Apoſtolick See, he ſaid, "He would conſider of an anſwer." Two days after, as he did not care to talk any more with the Duke, or to anſwer his arguments, he acquainted him, by *Silvio Antoniani*, that he could not prolong the term of ten days, leſt he ſhould give cauſe of diſcontent to thoſe Catholicks, that were not only obedient to the church, but had at all times ſupported, and did then ſupport religion, and that the term was ſufficient, ſince there was nothing elſe to be tranſacted: that it was by no means proper he ſhould ſpeak to the Cardinals, now he had been received like a private man and not an Ambaſſador: and for what concerned the Prelates that came along with him, he could not admit them into his preſence, unleſs they would firſt ſubmit themſelves to Cardinal *Santa Severina*, the Grand Penitentiary, to be examined by him.

This was the Pope's final reſolution: and though the Duke obtained another audience, it was to no purpoſe: for he afterward ſent Cardinal *Toledo* to him again, who, after a long conference and repetition of what had been ſaid before, aſſured him, that his Holineſs would not vary from what he had at firſt determined upon. And notwithſtanding the Duke was very much indiſpoſed with a catarrh, and was obliged to ſtay there longer than ten days, he could make no further progreſs: ſo that when he was introduced to his laſt audience, after he had repeated his former arguments at large, he fell upon his knees in the Pope's preſence, and entreated him at leaſt to give the King abſolution as far as his conſcience was concerned. But he could not obtain even this, and therefore took his leave in great diſcontent, after he had made a heavy complaint, and with much more freedom and ſpirit than he had done before, of the wrongs that were done to the King, and the indignity that was offered to himſelf, who, without any regard to his ill ſtate of health, his age and quality, had undertaken ſo long a journey, merely to re-eſtabliſh peace and ſecurity amongſt fellow Chriſtians.

After he had left the Pope, Cardinal *Toledo* came to him again, and told him, "That ſince the Prelates ſeemed to have ſuch a diſlike to the face of Cardinal *Santa Severina*, they ſhould be heard by the Cardinal of *Arragon*, chief of the congregation of the Holy Office:" but the Duke anſwered, "That as they came jointly with him in quality of Ambaſſadors,

dors, he did not design they should be treated like criminals, but that the Pope should admit them into his presence, and to him, as head of the church, they would give a good account of their actions:" to which the Cardinal replying, " That it was not decent for them to enter into arguments and disputes with his Holiness;" the Duke added, " That he would be content if the Pope would only give them leave to kiss his feet, and for the rest, they should be responsible to Cardinal *Aldobrandino* his nephew:" But this likewise was refused.

1593.

The Duke of *Nevers*, therefore, and the Prelates, after they had committed to writing the particulars of what had been done in the course of this Embassy, departed from *Rome*, and went to *Venice*, where the Bishop of *Mans* printed a little treatise, in which he set forth the reasons that had induced the Prelates to absolve the King: one of which was, that the canons allow the Ordinary, whom it concerns, to absolve from excommunication, and indeed in every other case, where the penitent is hindered by a lawful cause from coming to the Pope's feet himself: and another, that in danger of death the penitent may be absolved by any one; in which danger the King manifestly was, as he was daily exposed to the accidents of war, the persecution of his enemies, and their wicked and treasonable conspiracies. To these arguments he added many others, from whence he concluded, they had power to absolve him *ad futuram cautelam*, that is, provided he would afterwards acknowledge and make his submission to the Pope with all due obedience, which he now fully tendered him.

When the Duke was gone, the Pope assembled the Cardinals in the Consistory, and declared, " That he had refused to admit of the King of *Navarre's* excuses and tender of obedience, because his conscience would not suffer him to lend an ear so easily to one, that had violated his faith before: that to establish him in so potent a kingdom, without the utmost precaution and deliberation, would have argued a very great degree of levity; and as he was certain many would have acquiesced and confided in his determination, he should have been highly culpable, if he had proceeded blindly in guiding the blind, and had led the good *French* Catholicks to the brink of ruin and damnation: that therefore they might assure themselves, he would continue inflexible, and not suffer himself to be imposed upon by artifice and dissimulation in an affair of so great consequence." With this declaration the *Spaniards* were very well satisfied, and the Catholicks of the League contented; yet the King was not at all discouraged or diverted by it from his first resolution, as the Sieur *De la Clielle's* report had prepared him to dispense with so bitter a potion.

The King at this time was at *Melun*, in which town one *Pierre Barriere* was taken, and committed to prison, for conspiring to assassinate him,

1593. him, but at whose instigation is not well known. He was meanly born in the city of *Orleans*, and followed the occupation of a waterman in one of those boats that usually ply upon the *Loire*: but as he was known to be a man of a brutal and barbarous disposition, he had been employed in the perpetration of many villainies, by which, and a dissolute course of life, he was forced to wander about like a vagabond, and at last resolved upon this fact, which he communicated to two Friars, one a *Capuchin*, the other a *Carmelite*, by whom (as he said) he was earnestly exhorted to prosecute his design: but being yet in some measure doubtful and wavering, he thought fit to reveal the secret to *Serafino Banchi* also, a *Dominican* Friar, who was born at *Florence*, but lived at *Lyons*. The Priest, struck with horror at the boldness and wickedness of such a proposal, dissembled, however, and told him it was a thing that ought to be well weighed, and not suddenly resolved upon, and desired him to come again the next day for his further advice and determination, which he would then let him know. In the mean time, he began to consider with himself after what manner he could privately inform the King of it, and at last sent to desire the Sieur *De Brancaleon*, a servant to the Queen Dowager, who was then in that city, would come to him, on the day and hour he had appointed *Barriere* to return for his answer. At that hour they both came, and after he had made them stay and converse together some time, that *Brancaleon* might know the man perfectly, he told *Barriere*, that the affair he had consulted him in was so full of doubts and difficulties, he could not well tell what advice to give him at present, but dismissed him, and immediately discovered the whole to *Brancaleon*, desiring him to acquaint the King with it, that he might take proper means to secure himself against so horrid an attempt. Upon this, *Barriere* left *Lyons*, and came a few days after to *Paris*, where he conferred about it, first with the Curate of *St. Andrew*, and then with Father *Varade*, Rector of the Jesuits, who (as he affirmed) encouraged him to commit the fact: with which resolution he went to *St. Dennis*, and staid there amongst the King's attendants, waiting for an opportunity of putting it in execution. But when the King left that place, and went to *Melun*, he followed him thither also, where he was met by *Brancaleon*, who knew him again, and discovered him to the Archers of the *Grand Prevôt*, by whom he was seized, and committed to prison. On examination, and being confronted with *Brancaleon*, he confessed, he once had a design to assassinate the King, and that he had conferred about it with a *Dominican* Friar at *Lyons*: but that afterwards, when he heard of his conversion, he had laid it aside, and was going to *Orleans*, where he was born, with a resolution to put himself into a Convent of *Capuchins*. These things he declared with an air of boldness and contempt, that plainly shewed him guilty,

guilty, eſpecially as there was a large two edged knife alſo found about 1593. him at that very time. So that after he had been many times examined, and put to the torture, he was condemned to die: at the news of which ſentence, and earneſt exhortations to a ſincere confeſſion of his crime, he diſcovered the whole, and gave a diſtinct account of every particular before he was led to the place of execution, where, after he had confirmed all that he had ſaid before, he ſuffered the puniſhments due to ſo atrocious and execrable a deſign.

In the mean time the truce was almoſt at an end, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who endeavoured to gain as much time as was poſſible, had again diſpatched the Sieur *De Villeroy* to the King, to deſire it might be prolonged; but as he was not able to obtain that, he ſent the Count *De Belin* alſo, who flattered himſelf with better ſucceſs. The King, however, would not by any means conſent to it, being very well convinced, that they only wanted to interpoſe delays, not to ſee what reſolution would be taken at the court of *Rome*, but in expectation of receiving the ſupplies that were raiſing by the *Spaniards*, and to give them ſufficient opportunity to make all neceſſary preparations. This determined him not to ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed any longer, eſpecially as his own friends had been promoting his intereſts in every part of the kingdom, but to begin the war again immediately, that he might ſee the effect of their labours: ſo that though the Duke of *Mayenne*, amongſt many others, employed *Sebaſtiano Zametti* alſo for that purpoſe (who had been a *Piedmonteſe* merchant, but now was become an Agent of ſome reputation at the courts of Princes) and notwithſtanding the Preſident *De Thou* and the Count *De Schomberg* met him at *Paris*, yet it was not poſſible by any terms, how ſpecious ſoever, to prevail upon the King to prolong the ceſſation even for a few days.

At the expiration of the truce, the effects of the King's converſion, and of the negotiations which his Miniſters had ſo opportunely ſet on foot, began to appear: for Monſieur *De Vitry*, Governor of *Meaux*, who had great arrears due to him, and had been with the *Condè de Fuentes* during the time of the truce to get them paid off, was not only diſappointed in what he thought highly reaſonable to demand, but obliged to wait many days before he could be admitted to tell his buſineſs (a behaviour very diſguſtful to the natural impatience of the *French*) and at laſt came back full of diſdain and reſentment, often declaring, *Point d'argent, point de Vitry*, *No pay*, *no Vitry*, which afterwards paſſed into a proverb. He took occaſion, therefore, from his inability to pay the ſoldiers himſelf, to call the people of the town to a parley, and told them, " He had conſtantly followed the party of the League whilſt the diſpute was about religion; but now the King was turned Catholick, he would pay him due

 obedience,

1593. obedience, and no longer adhere to those that were for carrying on the war only out of ambition and private interests; that he would deliver up the keys of the town into their own hands, and leave them at liberty to dispose of themselves as they pleased; but for his own part he was determined to go directly over to that side which he saw was now manifestly in the right." With this resolution, he not only put on a white sash himself, but made all his officers do the same, and was going to march out of the town with his men: but the people, animated by this short speech, and the example of their Governor, unanimously cried out, *Long live the King*, and immediately chose four Deputies to go and surrender the town to him.

This place was of great service to him, both on account of its nearness to *Paris*, and because it shut up the passage of the river *Marne*; but the example which it had set to all other towns that adhered to the League was still of much greater consequence: for as it was the first that submitted to the King since his conversion, it was likely to open a way to revolutions of such importance, that very much depended upon it. The King, however, after he had advised with his Council, as he usually did in such cases, what course was to be taken, and what terms should be granted to the citizens, seemed to be in some doubt, when he saw his Counsellors divided in their opinions. Those that were warmest, and could not forget the past insolence of the common people, nor so soon lay aside the inveteracy of party (amongst whom were some of the *Hugonots* who yet came to Council) would have had those that returned to their obedience, bridled with rigorous conditions, to oblige them to make amends for their former disloyalty and transgressions by a severe repentance, and out of a desire to revenge their old animosities, and to triumph over enemies, whom they already looked upon as vanquished. But those that were wiser, and more moderate, represented, that the inhabitants of *Meaux* had returned to their obedience voluntarily, and by free choice, without being forced to it by the miseries of a siege, or the apprehension of any other calamity: that it was necessary to begin with an example that might invite and allure other places of greater importance to come over, and serve as a pattern for further capitulations and agreements: that since the King was resolved to use all possible means to engage the people to acknowledge him, it would be a preposterous manner of proceeding to terrify them at such a juncture with pains and penalties: that it would be his best policy to encourage this tendency to obedience in his subjects, to overlook their errors and failings, and to confirm them in their good resolutions by mild and gentle treatment: that it was worthy of remembrance, how prejudicial the pardon granted to the *Flemings* by the Duke of *Alva* had been to the *Spanish* interests, from his want of sincerity, from the reservations,

reſervations, ambiguity, and ſeverity of his terms, which made the pardon ſo dubious, that more cities were alienated from his Catholick Majeſty by thoſe conditions, than by all his former unmerciful and ſanguinary proceedings: for which reaſons, they adviſed his Majeſty to avail himſelf of the folly of his neighbours, and to beware of thoſe errors which were ſtill a daily reproach to the *Spaniſh* nation. 1593.

This advice was certainly the moſt proper and ſalutary at that time, and moſt agreeable to the King's own diſpoſition, who was always inclined to clemency and gentle means: and as he knew that his enemies, though weak and divided, were not yet utterly ſuppreſſed, he reſolved to open the door in ſuch a manner, that others might cheerfully come in at it. For which purpoſe, when the Deputies came to wait upon him, he received them very graciouſly, and granted the citizens of *Meaux* all the conditions they well knew how to aſk, and amongſt the reſt, that the exerciſe of the Catholick religion alone ſhould be allowed in their town: he likewiſe exempted them from many impoſts, and confirmed the immunities granted by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the antient privileges of the place: he continued Monſieur *De Vitry* in his government, and gave the reverſion of it to his eldeſt ſon, beſides a handſome ſum of money to diſcharge his debts, and not only paid the ſoldiers, that were under his command, all their arrears, but took them into his own ſervice.

The report of this well-timed clemency and liberality was preſently ſpread all over the kingdom, and made many other places reſolve to follow the example of *Meaux*, in hopes of finding that ſecurity and repoſe under the King's benevolence, which they vainly ſought amidſt the diſtractions of war: eſpecially, when they ſaw an edict publiſhed by the King, on the fourth of *January*, one thouſand five hundred and ninety four, wherein he amply confirmed the above-mentioned conditions, which edict was alſo received without any kind of demur, and approved of by the Parliament. 1594.

About the ſame time, the Sieur *D'Euſtrumel*, brother-in-law to Monſieur *St. Luc*, and Governor of *Peronne*, *Montdidier*, and *Roye*, three conſiderable towns in *Picardy*, agreed for himſelf and thoſe places to ſubmit to the King: but to give a better colour to the thing, he firſt made a truce with him for ſeveral months, by the conditions of which the aforeſaid towns were to remain neutral. The Sieur *D'Alincourt* and Monſieur *De Villeroy* did the ſame for *Pontoiſe*, the King conſenting to a particular truce, by which they were to ſtand neuter, that ſo he might make uſe of *Villeroy* to promote the treaty of peace, which was ſtill kept alive with the Duke of *Mayenne*. But Monſieur *De la Chaſtre*, one of the principal men of the League, declared boldly for the King, and without any reſerve, in the beginning of *February*: for as he had in vain demanded ſup-

1594. plies of men and money from the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, he was ſo provoked at the refuſal, and ſo tired of the diſſenſions which he ſaw in his party, that he agreed with the King, by means of the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, for himſelf and the cities of *Orleans* and *Bourges*, obtaining the ſame conditions for them that had been granted to *Meaux*; and for himſelf, the confirmation of his rank as Marſhal of *France*, conferred on him by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and of the governments he had in poſſeſſion, which after his death were to deſcend, by agreement, to his ſon, the Baron *De la Maiſon*.

In the ſame month the city of *Lyons* alſo made a compoſition: for the people of that place, having long expected that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould either come thither himſelf, or ſend ſome perſon of great authority, to accommodate matters with the Duke of *Nemours*, and to remove him from that government, by giving him ſome equivalent: and as he could neither leave *Paris* in the temper it was then in, nor had any equivalent to give the Duke of *Nemours* (for the government of *Guyenne*, which he would have accepted of, was already promiſed to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Marquis *De Villars*, who commanded there, would not hear of ſubmitting to any other perſon) he could neither prevent the defection of that city, nor was able to make head againſt the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*, who, in order to get his brother releaſed, not only plundered all the country round *Lyons*, and made terrible havock there, but alſo very much diſtreſſed the city itſelf: ſo that after the people had waited many months to no purpoſe, and could not tell what courſe to take, they at laſt reſolved to ſend for Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo*, who was not far off with a good body of men, and having let him into the city, they firſt pulled down and demoliſhed the arms and colours of the League in every part of it, and then boldly ſet up the royal ſtandard.

Not long before, the city of *Aix* had been cloſely beſieged by the Duke of *Eſpernon*; and the Count *De Carſy*, who had married the Duke of *Mayenne's* daughter-in-law, and was not only Governor of that place, but commander in chief of all the forces of the Province, finding he was not likely to receive any relief, either from the Duke of *Savoy* or any other quarter, took a reſolution to ſubmit to the King now he was turned Catholick, but upon condition, that the Duke of *Eſpernon* ſhould not come into it, to whom both the citizens and the Count himſelf profeſſed a particular diſlike; in which point they were ſatisfied, by means of Monſieur *Les Diguieres* and Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo*.

In this ferment amongſt the Chiefs and principal cities of the Union, the Cardinal Legate was in great fear and anxiety: for as he had aſſured them at the court of *Rome*, that the King's converſion would occaſion no great alteration in affairs, he was now afraid, the Pope would look

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upon him as a man of little foresight, and not to be depended upon: and 1594.
since he had been very urgent with his Holiness not to receive the King's embassy, he was apprehensive, that all sinister events that might afterwards happen, would be imputed to his counsel. At the same time he was not a little mortified, that so much pains, and so many endeavours as he had used to conduct the affairs of the League to the conclusion he desired, should now prove vain and fruitless, and that all his contrivances and machinations should be baffled in a moment. After long consideration, therefore, he published a writing, in which he informed and assured the people of *France*, that the Pope looked upon the King of *Navarre's* conversion only as counterfeit and dissembled, and had neither approved of it, nor admitted the Duke of *Nevers* as his Ambassador, but in a private manner, and as an *Italian* Prince. He likewise declared, that the Pope never would approve of that conversion, nor admit the King into the bosom of the church: for which reason, he exhorted all good Catholicks not to depart from the judgment of the Apostolick See, nor from the Union, nor their obedience to the Pope. This writing he thought would lay a restraint upon those that were inclined to submit to the King, and imagined that scruple of conscience would act more powerfully in deterring them from such a resolution, than the consideration of temporal laws would prompt them to persist in it. But it had an effect very different from what he expected: for the people in general were offended, that the voluntary conversion of so great a Prince should be rejected, when the church always had heretofore taken such pains to convert the meanest sinner, and to embrace him with so much tenderness, when he was converted: and the people, now desirous of peace and repose, and abhorring the civil discords that had been attended with such ruinous consequences, both to the publick and every private man, were so much the more inclined to shelter themselves under the King's protection. The Legate, however, who either was still of the same opinion, or could not bear the thoughts of retracting what he had written and advised at *Rome*, continued firmly to support and defend the League, both with the Pope, and amongst the *French* Lords themselves, with whom he was every day in close consultation.

The King of *Spain's* Ministers were in no less uneasiness and apprehension, when they saw that some of those whom they accounted most stanch and trusty had left them. And though they had patched up a sort of an accommodation with the Duke of *Mayenne*, yet they did not build much upon it, especially as the Duke of *Guise* himself was not very well satisfied with it: so that they knew all their hopes would be at end, if some vigorous measures were not speedily taken in the present exigency, which it was very difficult to do, both on account of their want of money, and the bad situation of their affairs in the *Low Countries*: and though they

1594. they used their utmost endeavours, they could not find any one that would either accept their bills of exchange, or have any dealings at all with them. To stay for supplies that would be so long in coming from *Spain*, was a remedy too late and at too great a distance; they resolved therefore to avail themselves of the succours that were nearest at hand, which were the forces in *Flanders*, and dispatched many messengers to order the army there to march into *France* with all possible expedition; for which purpose *Baptista Tassis* also went thither himself. But they had no money to pay those forces, for want of which, some of the *Spanish* troops and great numbers of the *Italian* horse had mutinied. Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* also, who was to command the army, interposed many difficulties and delays, and did not care to leave *Flanders*, either because he could not endure to be commanded by the Duke of *Mayenne*, or thought he was not like to get much honour with such a handful of men, and no means to pay them: so that the *Spanish* army, which was not only a small one, but ill provided and discontented, durst not advance from their own confines.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* was in still greater perplexity than any of the rest. He saw the Count *De Carsy* and Marshal *De la Chastre*, in whom he used to confide more than in any others, had utterly abandoned him: the city of *Lyons* was lost, to which place he had resolved, whatever should happen, to retire with the remains of his fortune: his brother the Duke of *Nemours* was no longer the city's prisoner, but the King's: *Meaux* and *Pontoise* were in his Majesty's hands, towns that lay so near, and were so effectual a check upon the *Parisians*, who allured, on one hand, by the blessings of peace and plenty, and moved, on the other, by their ancient principles and regard to conscience, began to waver, and it was uncertain what resolution they would come to at last. For all these reasons he often thought of making his Peace with the King before he was deserted by every body; in which he was encouraged by Monsieur *De Villeroy* in frequent letters, who had a commission to offer him very honourable and advantagious terms, which he told him he must not expect to obtain when he was reduced to a lower ebb, but would be forced to capitulate, not as the Head of the Union, or Lieutenant-General of the Crown, but as a particular Prince and a private person. But, on on the other hand, he was very loath to give up his old pretensions, in which the *Spaniards* used all their endeavours to confirm him: and to make his peace without the Pope's approbation, to whose judgment he had referred himself, seemed so dishonourable a thing to him, and so likely to tarnish his reputation, that he could not prevail upon himself to submit to it, and resolved, whatever turn things should take, rather to perish than to shew that the late wars had been fomented by him out of

ambitious views, and not for the ſupport of religion. He ſeemed to make little account of his own ruin and the deſtruction of his family, in comparison of the loſs of his honour, which he thought he ſhould forfeit if he departed, in never ſo ſmall a degree, from the will and determination of the Pope and the Apoſtolick See. Upon which conſiderations, he took a reſolution to govern himſelf entirely by the information that he expected from *Rome*, and the court of *Spain:* and in the mean time ſent Monſieur *De Roſnè* into *Flanders*, not only to haſten the march of that army, but that he might be truly informed by him of the ſtrength and certainty of thoſe ſupplies, which he might expect from that quarter.

In this interval, the Cardinal *De Joyeuſe*, and the Baron *De Seneçay*, whom he had laſt ſent to the Pope, and the Abbé *De Orbais* diſpatched by the Duke of *Guiſe*, arrived at *Rome* on the twenty-ſecond of *January*, and when they were admitted to an audience by his Holineſs, after they had given him an account of every thing that had lately happened, the bad ſucceſs of which they imputed to the ſiniſter deſigns, and too manifeſt ambition of the *Spaniards*, they beſeeched him to uſe his good offices and endeavours to know the King of *Spain's* poſitive and final determination; and that he himſelf would be pleaſed to ſuccour the Catholick religion and the cauſe of the League, in the imminent danger they were then in, with ſupplies both of men and money, as his predeceſſors had always done. To theſe requeſts, the Pope, after he had related what had paſſed with the Duke of *Nevers*, anſwered, " That he would endeavour to know his Catholick Majeſty's laſt reſolution, and to confirm him in the laudable deſign of defending religion and ſupporting the League; but excuſed himſelf from aſſiſting them with men and money as they deſired, by ſaying, that he was neceſſitated to exert his whole ſtrength for the ſafety of *Chriſtendom* in general, on ſo urgent an occaſion as the war with the *Turk* in *Hungary*; that, however, he would not fail to lend his aſſiſtance, as far as he was able, in the affairs, of *France*. It was no very difficult matter for the Ambaſſadors, and particularly the Baron *De Senecay*, a man of great ſagacity and penetration, to comprehend the Pope's meaning; and they plainly ſaw, that he neither cared to part with his money, nor was much pleaſed with the affairs of the League: ſo that they wrote to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that he muſt have recourſe to other means of furniſhing himſelf with ſupplies, for there was little or nothing to be expected from the Pope.

The negociation in *Spain* was attended with no better ſucceſs; for though the Sieur *De Montpezat*, after many delays, had been at laſt admitted to a conference with the King himſelf, and beſought him to declare his pleaſure as well in regard to the election and marriage of the Infanta, as the ſupplies of men and money for the eſtabliſhment of the

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1594. Prince that ſhould be elected, and alſo as to the conditions he would grant the Duke of *Mayenne*, without referring him to his Majeſty's Miniſters in *Spain* in any of theſe articles; yet he could draw no other anſwer from him, but that he would write to the Pope and the Archduke *Erneſt*, to ſee what they would agree to do, and that it was neceſſary to wait for an anſwer from them both. This coldneſs and irreſolution plainly ſhewed, that the King was either ſo weak, or ſo tired of the war, that he was not much inclined to proſecute it any further: but on the other hand, as Don *Bernardino Mendozza*, who had long reſided in *France*, and was well acquainted with the affairs of that kingdom, had wrote before this to the Sieur *De Rambouillet*, that if the houſe of *Bourbon* would ſend ſomebody to negotiate at the court of *Spain*, in their name, it was very probable that his Catholick Majeſty would agree to a peace: the King, reſolving not to neglect ſuch an opportunity, had ordered the Sieur *De la Varenne*, a Gentleman of great abilities, good addreſs, and in whom he put much confidence, to join in *Montpezat's* retinue, and to go with him to the Court of *Spain*, under a pretence of travelling to ſee the world, according to the cuſtom of the *French*; and whilſt he was there, to confer privately with *Mendozza* and others of the Council of ſtate: which he did frequently, and at his return informed his Majeſty, that the *Spaniards* would certainly agree to a peace, if means could be found to bring it about conſiſtently with their reputation. And though this was imputed to the artifice of that Council, that they might employ the ſame engines againſt the Duke of *Mayenne*, that he made uſe of againſt them, yet, when he was informed of it, either purpoſely, or by accident, it confirmed him in the ſuſpicion he had conceived from the doubtful anſwers which his Ambaſſador had received from the King's own mouth.

But whilſt the Pope referred a final reſolution to the Court of *Spain*, and in *Spain* it was ſaid to depend upon advice from *Rome* and *Flanders*, the temper of the *French*, naturally impatient of delay, worked ſo powerfully in the King's favour, that things were in great commotion every where, and the Union of the Confederates began to diſſolve of itſelf in all parts. The people of *Paris* murmured and made heavy complaints of ſcarcity; and the ſweets of plenty, which they had taſted during the time of the truce, made their preſent ſufferings ſeem more grievous and intolerable: the dearth increaſed every day, and the interruption of commerce and manufactures had reduced the common people to extreme miſery for want of proviſions: ſo that now religion was out of danger, of which pretence the Chiefs of the League had principally availed themſelves, to keep them firm in their attachment to the Union; and ſince it evidently appeared that the King's converſion was ſincere and unfeigned,

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every one was desirous of peace, to put an end to his own misfortunes, 1594. and the hardships he had undergone for so many years. They saw that in such places as submitted to the King, the Catholick religion was maintained, the revenues of the clergy restored, the garrisons withdrawn from those towns that belonged to the church, the exercise of the *Hugonot* religion excluded, the corporations supported in their privileges, the Catholicks continued in their offices and employments, the governments confirmed to the same commanders, and that there appeared no signs of innovation or danger of any kind whatsoever. It was every where reported how well affected, and even how zealous, the King was for the establishment of the Catholick religion; that his Council was composed of Prelates, and other persons brought up in the same faith: his clemency and benevolence, his magnanimity and contempt of revenge, were every where extolled, and the plenty and repose enjoyed by his party, not a little envied by those of the League in the extremity of their sufferings. The niggardliness and disgustful behaviour of the *Spaniards* had filled every one with discontent: the discords that reigned amongst the heads of the faction, made all sensible men despair of seeing any happy conclusion of their troubles and misfortunes by adhering to the Union. The people, therefore, began to form meetings and assemblies in every part of the city, at which the *Politicks* were very industrious in endeavouring to make converts to their party, by such arguments and considerations as were adapted to persons of every rank and quality: nor did the Count *De Belin*, whose duty it was, as Governor, to discourage those proceedings, seem to give himself any trouble about the matter, either because he was dissatisfied with the conduct of the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Spaniards*, or thought it impossible any longer to keep the city from revolting: on the contrary, he resolved to make his peace with the King, in hopes of being confirmed in his government.

But as the Duke himself was there at that time, he presently began to see how the Governor was inclined, and at the instigation and importunities of the Legate and the *Spanish* Ambassadors, resolved to remove him from his government, which was strenuously opposed, when it came to be known, by the Parliament; but to no purpose: for the Duke of *Mayenne*, after he had reprimanded the Counsellors of the Parliament in very harsh terms, insisted upon having the Count the *Brisac* accepted as their Governor, to satisfy him for the loss of his government of *Poictiers*, which had been violently wrested out of his hands not long before by the Duke of *Elbœuf*. But in this he was very much disappointed: for *Brisac*, though he had been an old follower and dependant upon his family, and had spent all his fortune in the Duke's service, was so exasperated when he was deprived of the only government he had set his heart

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1594. upon, and ſometime enjoyed, that he privately reſolved with himſelf to take the firſt opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing his fortune: eſpecially as he did not think the government of *Paris* a ſufficient recompence, when he conſidered the expence that attended a poſt of that dignity, which would not by any means better his preſent circumſtances. Nor was he certain that he ſhould long continue in it: for it was already, in a manner, agreed, that the Government of the Iſle of *France* ſhould be conferred on the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*; and though the Count was aſſured that the city of *Paris* ſhould be excepted out of that grant, yet he thought it was more than probable that the Marquis would obtain the government of the city alſo, by the intereſt of his mother.

The Duke, however, obliged him to accept of it; and as he put great confidence in him, reſolved to leave *Paris* wholly to his care, and to go to *Soiſſons*, and from thence to the army; rightly judging, that lying idle in that manner was of prejudice to his reputation, and furniſhed the people both with excuſes and opportunities to revolt: yet many things ſeemed to make it neceſſary for him to ſtay were he was, and before his departure he began to entertain ſome ſuſpicions of the new Governor's fidelity, and the correſpondence which the *Prevot des Merchands* held with many *Politicks* that were well affected to the King's party. The Legate and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors exhorted him likewiſe not to go; but he paid little regard to what they ſaid, imagining they were deſirous he ſhould continue in the city, only that they might confer the command of the army, and the management of the war upon the Duke of *Guiſe*: indeed he was ſomething moved by the perſuaſions of his mother, Madam *De Nemours*, who told him, that every thing now wholly depended upon the preſervation of *Paris*, and that ſhe had diſcovered ſome ſecret practices betwixt the *Politicks* of the city and the new Governor. But even this was not ſufficient to divert him from his reſolution of going: for he thought it diminiſhed his reputation, and prejudiced the courſe of affairs too much, to ſtand with his hands in his boſom, and ſuffer himſelf to be diſtreſſed to the laſt degree without ſeeking any remedy. He conſidered alſo, that if the King, who was now maſter of *Pontoiſe* and *Meaux*, and conſequently of the rivers, and had *Dreux*, *Orleans*, and *Chartres* in his power, ſhould think of beſieging *Paris*, he ſhould be blocked up in that city, and not be able to do any thing to relieve it: and as he had intelligence that the King had hired ſix thouſand *Swiſs*, which were ready to enter the kingdom, and knew that the Queen of *England* was going to ſend him freſh ſupplies of men and ammunition, he thought it neceſſary to draw the forces of the confederates together, to make an oppoſition in the ſpring, if the King ſhould take the field with a powerful army: which could not be done except he exerted himſelf, as he did

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not look upon the Duke of *Guise* or the Duke of *Aumale* to be persons of sufficient authority and experience either to raise or command the army, in which charge, the present disposition of the people, now much more suspected by him than ever, would not suffer him to trust any other person. For these reasons, and because he could not be persuaded that the Count *De Brisac* would desert him, and fall off from that fidelity which he himself, his father, and his grandfather, had ever shewn to him and his family, upon all occasions, he at last departed, and took his lady and children with him, leaving his mother, his sister, the Cardinal Legate, and the *Spanish* Ambassadors at *Paris*.

1594.

But he was no sooner gone, when the Governor, finding himself freed from that restraint, and making little account of all the rest that were in the city, thought that opportunity of raising his fortune again was not to be lost: upon which account, after he had drawn *John Viller*, the *Prevôt des Marchands*, and the two principal *Eschevins*, *William du Ver*, and *Martin Langlois* Sieur *De Beaurepaire*, over to his party, he began to tamper with the first President and the Counsellors of the Parliament. These were all displeased with the Duke of *Mayenne*, because, on many occasions, and in particular, when he lately changed the Governor, he had used them, as they said, in a very cavalier and ungrateful manner, and openly ridiculed and abused them: and much more were they disgusted at the *Spaniards* for proposing the Infanta to be their Queen, to whose election they had publickly shewn the utmost dislike and aversion. This disgust was much increased by the ill usage which the Presidents and the Counsellors of the Parliaments (who were distrusted and looked upon as disaffected to them) received from his Catholick Majesty's Ambassadors, and from the *Italians*, *Walloons*, and *Spaniards* of the garrison that were dependent upon them, who not only had the insolence to threaten and treat them with opprobrious language to their faces, often reminding them * of President *Brisson*, but to abuse their servants and caterers in the markets, and even to take away by force whatsoever they had bought: of which they had often complained to the Duke of *Mayenne* without obtaining any redress, unless exhortations to patience might be so called. But their patience was now worn out, and they became not only exceedingly alarmed, but downright furious, when they at last perceived they were upon the eve of being made absolute slaves to a nation which they mortally hated, and how much better it would be to secure their liberty under the shelter of the stronger party, and put an end to all their troubles and afflictions: so that it was no difficult matter

* Who was strangled in prison, and afterwards ignominiously hanged upon a gallows, by order of *the council of sixteen*, at the instigation of the *Spanish* Ministers in the year 1591. See Book XII.

1594. to prevail upon them to concur with the rest, and consent to surrender the city to the King.

When things were thus ripe in the city, and the Governor thought he could sufficiently influence the people, he began to negociate with the King, by means of his near relation and intimate friend, the Count *De Rochepot*; and after they had proceeded so far as to treat of the conditions, the Count *De Schomberg* and Monsieur *De Bellieure* were employed in the affair, who in a few days agreed upon what was necessary to be done, both to satisfy the Count *De Brisac*, and to take possession of the city without tumult or bloodshed. In the last place the Count himself also had a conference in the country with Monsieur *De St. Luc*, who had married one of his sisters, under a pretence of treating about her fortune, which had occasioned a long suit betwixt them: and there it was jointly concluded, That the publick exercise of no other religion but the *Roman* Catholick should be allowed in the city of *Paris*, the Fauxbourgs thereof, and ten miles round it, according to the tenour of the edicts published by former Kings. That the King should grant a general pardon to all such, of what rank or condition soever, as had favoured and assisted the League either by word or deed, excited the people to sedition, spoken evil of his person, written or printed any thing against him, thrown down and trampled upon his royal arms, or the arms of his predecessors, or were concerned in any manner in fomenting their defection, excepting those that had traiterously conspired against his person, or were accessary to the murder of the late King. That the goods and persons of the citizens should be exempted from violence and plunder, all their privileges, prerogatives, and immunities confirmed and preserved, in the same manner they used to be in the times of former Kings. That all places, offices, and benefices, which the Duke of *Mayenne* had filled up when they became vacant by death, as well within the Parliament as without, should be confirmed to the same persons, but upon condition, that they should take new patents from the King for that purpose. That all the present magistrates of the city should be continued in their respective offices, provided they would submit to, and obey the King. That every citizen, who was unwilling to stay in the city, might have free liberty to depart, and carry away his goods without further licence. That the Cardinal Legate, Cardinal *Pellevè*, and all the Prelates, might freely either stay or go, in what manner, and when they thought proper, with all their servants, goods, and furniture. That the Princesses and Ladies, who were in the city, might stay or go, in the same manner, with full liberty and security. That the *Spanish* Ambassadors might also have passports and safe-conducts from the King to go whither they pleased, with their attendants, goods, and families. That the soldiers of the garrison, whether

ther *French* or foreigners, of what nation ſoever, might march out of the 1594. city under arms and in military order, with their drums beating, colours flying, and matches lighted, to go whither they thought convenient. That two hundred thouſand crowns ſhould be paid to the Count *De Briſac* in conſideration of his loſſes and expences, and that he ſhould have an annual penſion of twenty thouſand franks, the rank of Marſhal of *France*, conferred upon him by the Duke of *Mayenne*, ſhould be confirmed, and the perpetual government of *Corbiel* and *Mante* granted to him; which things, and many other of leſs moment, being agreed upon, both ſides applied themſelves to the execution of them.

The King was then at *Chartres*, where he had cauſed himſelf to be crowned and anointed, or *conſecrated*, as they call it: and notwithſtanding ſome difficulties had been raiſed about it, yet they were happily removed by the authority of the Council. For though he was deſirous to add this uſual ceremony to his converſion, in order to take away all doubts and ſcruples in tender conſciences, ſome objected, that the conſecration, by ancient cuſtom, could not be performed in any place but the city of *Rheims*, nor by the hands of any one but the Archbiſhop of that church. But when they had diligently ſearched the hiſtories of former times, they found that many of their Kings had been conſecrated in other places: and ſince that city was not in the King's power, it was unreaſonable that he ſhould continue uncrowned, when that ceremony was thought ſo neceſſary for his perfect eſtabliſhment. After this difficulty was got over, another occurred, namely, how the King could be anointed without the oil of the *Sancta Ampulla*, which was kept in that city, and, as it is ſaid, was brought down by an angel from heaven, on purpoſe to conſecrate King *Cloüis* and the other Kings of *France* his ſucceſſors. But neither was there any abſolute neceſſity for this, nor any other proof of it but bare tradition: ſo that it was determined, that ſince neither the city nor the oil was in the King's power, the oil ſhould be made uſe of that is kept at the city of *Tours* in the convent of the Friars of *St. Martin*, which likewiſe, as many authors have affirmed, was brought down from heaven to anoint that Saint, when he fell from the top of a ladder to the ground and broke all his bones. Monſieur *De Souvray*, therefore, Governor of *Tours*, cauſed that phial to be brought out in proceſſion by the monks that had it in keeping, and having placed it on the top of a magnificent chariot, made for that purpoſe, with lighted tapers round it, under a rich canopy of ſtate, and guarded by four troops of horſe, he rode before it himſelf all the way till they came to *Chartres*. With this oil they anointed the King at his conſecration; and after that was over, he cauſed it to be carried back again to its proper place, with the ſame veneration and ceremony.

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1594. It was disputed likewise amongst the Prelates, to which of them it belonged to perform the act of consecration: for the Archbishop of *Bourges* pretended that office belonged to him, as Primate: and on the other hand, *Nicholas de Thou*, Bishop of *Chartres*, alledged, that as the ceremony was to be celebrated in his church, he could not be deprived of it. But the Council decided the matter in favour of the Bishop of the diocese, and accordingly the King was consecrated, on the 27th of *February*, with very great state and solemnity, and a numerous attendance both of Ecclesiasticks and military commanders, the twelve Peers of *France* being present at the ceremony, six of them ecclesiastical, and six secular, which were the Bishops of *Chartres*, *Nantes*, *Mans*, *Maillesais*, *Orleans*, and *Angiers*, representing those of *Rheims*, *Langres*, *Laon*, *Beauvais*, *Noyon*, and *Châlons*: and for the secular Peers there assisted, the Prince of *Conti* for the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Count *De Soissons* for the Duke of *Guyenne*, the Duke of *Montpensier* for the Duke of *Normandy*, the Duke of *Luxembourg* for the Count of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Retz* for the Count *De Tholouse*, and the Duke of *Ventadour* for the Count *De Champagne*. The Archbishop of *Bourges* executed the office of Grand Almoner, the Marshal *De Matignon* of High Constable, the Duke of *Longueville* that of High Chamberlain, the Count *De St. Paul* that of Grand Master, and the High Chancellor *Chiverny* sat on one side of the cloth of state, holding the seals in his right hand.

His Majesty, according to the custom of the Kings of *France* on the day of this solemnity, received the Sacrament in both kinds, took the oath which all the Kings of *France* are obliged to take, to maintain the Catholick faith and the authority of the holy church: and at his coming out of the church, touched those that had the King's evil, to the number of three hundred. From the church he went to the banquet prepared for him, where the twelve Peers that had assisted at the ceremony, sat down, according to custom, together with the Princess *Catharine*, the King's sister, all the other Ladies of quality that were at court, and the Ambassadors of the Queen of *England* and the Republick of *Venice*. After dinner the King went to *Vespers*, where he received the order of the Holy Ghost, and renewed his oath for the conservation of the faith, and the persecution of heresy; which ceremonies not only filled the hearts of his own party with very great joy, but inclined others more readily to acknowledge and obey him.

In the mean time, the negociations at *Paris*, for the surrender of that city, were managed with great dexterity and secrecy by the Governor, the *Prevôt des Marchands*, and President *Le Maître*, but opposed with more vehemence than ever by the preachers, who were continually exclaiming from their pulpits, that the King's conversion was only counterfeit

terfeit and dissimulation, and that no body could acknowledge him with 1594.
a good conscience. They were also somewhat retarded by the intrigues and boldness of *the sixteen*, who, since the death of President *Brisson*, had had little credit, and less power: but now they were spirited up by the Legate and the *Spaniards*, as well as by the Duchesses of *Nemours* and *Montpensier*, who artfully suited their sails to the wind that then blew, they began to rise again and had frequent meetings, where they endeavoured to stir up commotions, and openly proceeded against those that were suspected to be of the King's party. But the Governor, making use of his own authority as well as the Duke of *Mayenne's* name, took much pains to dissipate and suppress them, under a pretence that he would not allow of any such assemblies or gathering together in arms, at a time when there was so much reason for suspicion: and therefore, when he had so agreed with the Parliament, they caused a publick proclamation to be made, in which every one was forbidden, on pain of death and confiscation of goods, to go to any meeting that consisted of above five persons, except in the city-hall and in the presence of the magistrates. Upon the strength of this decree, the Governor began to use forcible and severe measures, and in a few days had so effectually suppressed the opposition of *the sixteen*, that he thought himself then able to dispose of the city as he intended; and determined to receive the King into it on the 22d of *March*. For which purpose, after he had caused a report to be spread that the Duke of *Mayenne* was sending more men and ammunition from *Soissons* to reinforce the city; under a pretence that it was necessary to send a convoy to meet them, he ordered *Giacopo Argenti* to march the day before with a *French* regiment, that he durst not trust in the city, towards *Beauvais*, by which road, he said, those supplies were coming. *Martin l'Anglois* had already, by a promise of a large sum of money, drawn over *St. Quintin* to his party, who commanded the *Walloons* that were in the town: but the Duke of *Feria*, either suspecting or being informed of it, caused him to be put under an arrest on the 21st, and removed that whole corps and the other of *Spaniards*, into the quarters near his own house, in *St. Anthony's-street*, which was at the greatest distance from the place where the Governor intended to bring in the King: so that, as it happened very luckily, the strength of the forces was quartered in the remotest part of the city. The *Neapolitan* division, under the command of *Alessandro de Monti*, was sent into that part of the city that lies beyond the river, under a pretence of being in readiness to receive a great quantity of provisions which was to be brought in from that side the next day. The *Germans* alone were suffered to stay in the quarters of *St. Honorè* and *St. Dennis*, either because the Governor thought it would be a more easy matter to corrupt them, or, if that could not be done,

1594. done, to defeat them; or did not care to add to the ſuſpicion that already began to increaſe exceedingly, by utterly ſtripping thoſe quarters of all their ſtrength and defence.

When the evening was come, the Governor, having aſſembled the *Prevôt des Marchands*, and ſuch of the magiſtrates and leading men amongſt the people, at his own houſe, as he hoped would concur with him, freely declared his intention to them, together with the articles of agreement made with the King, and the neceſſity they were reduced to of conſenting to a peace, in order to put an end to miſeries and dangers that had no other remedy: and finding them unanimouſly diſpoſed to follow his advice, he exhorted them to do it freely and courageouſly, and to uſe their endeavours, that this revolution might be brought about, and the King admitted into the city, without tumult or commotion. To this every one preſent readily conſented, and about nine of the clock at night they diſpatched tickets, ſigned by the *Prevôt des Marchands*, to the greater part of the officers of the ſeveral wards, who had been lately choſen and modelled for that purpoſe, acquainting them, that as an accommodation was already made, and peace would be declared the next morning, it behoved them all to take care there was no uproar or diſturbance, and joyfully to embrace a peace ſo neceſſary and ſo long deſired, eſpecially, as the goods and perſons of the citizens were ſufficiently ſecured by it.

After this order was given (which was done with as much ſecrecy as poſſible, and cheerfully executed by every one) the Governor proceeded to *Porte Neuve* about midnight, whither he ſent for the *Germans*, and having drawn them up under arms, preſently ordered the earth to be removed with which that gate had been blocked up long before. The *Prevôt des Marchands* did the ſame at the *Porte de St. Dennis*, and leaving *Martin l'Anglois* there to guard it, went himſelf to join the Governor at *Porte Neuve*. The night had been exceeding tempeſtuous, with much thunder and lightning, and very dark and rainy, which was the occaſion that the King, who had marched with his army from *Senlis* to *St. Dennis* the night before, was two hours after the time appointed before he appeared. In the mean while, the whole city being in motion, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors were ſo alarmed at the noiſe, that the Duke of *Feria* immediately drew up the infantry which lay neareſt him under arms: and *Diego d'Ivarra*, mounting a horſe, rode haſtily to *Porte Neuve*, and told them, with his uſual haughtineſs, "He deſired to know what buſineſs they could have there:" to which the Count *De Briſac* anſwered, in the ſame manner, "That he was not obliged to give him any account of his buſineſs, but would tell him, as a favour, that the ſupplies of men and ammunition, which they expected from the Duke of *Mayenne*, were to

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be received there that night, as they had taken a bye-road on that ſide to avoid falling into the King's hands, and therefore he might make himſelf eaſy about that matter, and go to his bed." Upon which *D'Ivarra*, either believing this to be true, or knowing that he could not make any oppoſition if it was not, retired to the quarter where the *Spaniards* lay.

1594.

It was already four in the morning, when Monſieur *De St. Luc* arrived, with the firſt troops of the army, at the gate of the *Tuilleries*, where he fired three rockets into the air, as the ſignal agreed upon: upon which the Count *De Briſac* advanced to meet and ſpeak with him, and at his return to the place where the *Prevôt des Marchands* waited for him, they preſently cauſed the gate to be ſet wide open. Monſieur *De St. Luc* entered firſt on foot, with a piſtol in his hand, and poſted Captain *Favas*, with an hundred armed men, drawn up in two ranks, to guard that gate, whilſt he himſelf and the Sieur *De Vic*, with four hundred of the garriſon of *St. Dennis*, advanced to take poſſeſſion of *St. Thomas's-ſtreet*: he was followed by Monſieur *De Humieres*, the Count *De Belin* (who had already gone over to the King, out of the diſguſt he had conceived at being turned out of his government) and Captain *Raulet*, all on foot with ſword in hand, who proceeded with eight hundred men to ſecure *Pont St. Michael*. The next that entered was Monſieur *D'O*, Governor of the iſle of *France*, and deſigned to be Governor of *Paris*, who with the Baron *De Salignac* and four hundred men went to make themſelves maſters of *Porte St. Honoré*. The Marſhal *De Matignon*, who commanded the *Swiſs*, ſeeing the *German* foot under arms at his entrance, called out to them aloud to lay them down: but upon their refuſal, he ordered thoſe that followed him to charge them with their pikes, and after they had killed about twenty of them, and puſhed as many more into the river, the reſt were diſarmed and led to St. *Thomas's* church, from whence he extended himſelf with his *Swiſs* as far as the *Croix du Tiroir*, in the midſt of *St. Honoré's-ſtreet*. After him the Sieur *De Bellegarde* entered, and the Count *De St. Paul* with two more battalions, who made a ſtand over-againſt the *Louvre*, and then ſpread themſelves as far as *St. Germain's* church. Then came in the King on foot alſo, completely armed, at the head of four hundred Gentlemen, flanked on each ſide by the archers of his guard: and meeting the Count *De Briſac* at the entrance of the bridge, he took off the white ſaſh that he wore himſelf, and not only put it over the Count's ſhoulder, but embraced him tenderly: and at the ſame time the Governor crying out aloud, *God ſave the King*, it was firſt repeated by the *Prevôt des Marchands*, who ſtood behind him, and then re-echoed from one ward to another quite through the city, whilſt even thoſe that were not privy to the affair, joyſully reiterated the ſame. But the King paſſing forward through his own men, who lined the ſtreets on both ſides,

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1594. commanded that no violence ſhould be offered to any one on pain of death, and with the ſame attendance went directly to the church of *Nôtre Dame*, where he was received by the Clergy with no leſs demonſtrations of joy than he had been in other places. The laſt that entered was the Marſhal *De Retz*, and advancing in excellent order to the fartheſt parts of the city to ſecure thoſe quarters, was met by *Diego d'Ivarra*, who was coming towards the noiſe with two companies of *Spaniards*: but upon ſeeing the King's forces pouring in ſo faſt, and in ſuch numbers, they thought fit to retire to the place where the reſt of their countrymen and friends were lodged, and the Marſhal took poſſeſſion of *St. Martin's-ſtreet*, that of *St. Dennis* having been already ſecured by Monſieur *De Vitry* and the Sieur *De la Noüe*, who entered at that gate. When the King came out of the church again, the people, who were now thoroughly appriſed of all that had happened, repeated their ſhouts of *God ſave the King*, much more loudly, and with greater rejoicings than before, beginning to vie with each other who ſhould be the firſt in putting white ribbons and croſſes of the ſame colour in their hats, and moſt early in opening their ſhops, which they did without the leaſt fear or reſerve: ſo that in two hours the city was as quiet again, as if there had been no ſuch change.

Before the King went to the *Louvre*, he ſent Monſieur *Du Perron* (who was lately returned from *Rome*) to acquaint the Cardinal Legate, " That he was at perfect liberty either to go or ſtay, but deſired him to contrive by ſome means, that they might have a conference; and added, that perhaps he might meet with more ſatisfaction and reſpect from him than he had done from the League." But the Cardinal declined any conference with him, as the Pope had refuſed to admit his Ambaſſadors, and ſaid, " Since he was left at his liberty, he would not only go out of the city, but entirely leave the kingdom." And though the King endeavoured to diſſuade him from that reſolution, it was all to no purpoſe, both becauſe he was deſirous to avoid entering into any treaty with a Prince who was not acknowledged by the Pope, and thought he could not ſtay any longer conſiſtently with his old principles and inclination, which he took no pains to diſſemble, and perhaps looked upon it as meritorious, to ſhew ſuch a degree of firmneſs and conſtancy, at a time when the affairs of the League were reduced to ſo deſperate a condition. He was treated, nevertheleſs, with great regard, during the ſix days that he afterwards continued in the city, and was attended when he ſet out by the ſame *Du Perron* as far as *Montargis*, from whence he purſued his journey to get out of the kingdom.

At the ſame time that the King entered *Paris*, Cardinal *Pellevè* was drawing his laſt breath; but when he heard of what had happened, he ſaid, with ſome emotion, " He hoped the arms of the *Spaniards* and other

good Catholicks, would yet be able to drive that *Hugonot* out of the city," 1594. and had ſcarely ſpoke the words, before he departed this life.

The Count *De Briſac* was likewiſe ſent by the King, with orders to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, in his Majeſty's name, to ſet *St. Quintin* at liberty, which they complied with; and after they had recalled *Aleſſandro de Monti* to join the *Spaniſh* forces, they determined to leave *Paris* that very day. For this purpoſe, being attended by the Baron *De Salignac* and Monſieur *St. Luc*, they drew up their forces in the afternoon, and marched in the midſt of them towards *St. Martin's* gate, at the entrance of which, the King waited on horſeback to ſee them depart. When they came there, they bowed exceeding low to his Majeſty, and were courteouſly ſaluted by him again: after which they left the city without any further ceremony, and were eſcorted by the King's forces to *Bourget*, from whence they took the rout of *Soiſſons*, and continued their march toward the frontiers.

With the ſame complaiſance, the King ſent the High Chancellor and Monſieur *De Bellieure* to wait upon the Ducheſſes, and to deſire they would excuſe him, if he had not time that day to viſit them in perſon. But when they had ſettled their affairs, they left the city, having been treated with much reſpect whilſt they ſtaid there, and honourably attended out of it; the King's goodneſs and courteſy prompting him to perform more than he had promiſed.

The Biſhop of *Senlis*, one *Orleans* an Advocate, *Boucher* a Curate, *Nicholas Verade* a Jeſuit, *Chriſtopher Aubrey* Curate of *St. Andrew's*, *Pelletier* Curate of *St. James's*, *James Culli* Curate of *St. Germain's*, *John Hamilton* Curate of *St. Coſme*, Father *Guerin* a *Franciſcan*, and many others of the Preachers and *Eſchevins* of the city went away, ſome with the Legate, and ſome with the *Spaniſh* Miniſters: all the reſt of the people, and even ſeveral of thoſe that had been the King's moſt bitter enemies, ventured to ſtay behind: to whom, according to the promiſe he had given, he would not ſuffer any violence to be offered.

The *Baſtile* was ſtill in the enemy's hands, under the command of the Sieur *Du Bourg*, who, for the firſt and ſecond days, ſeemed ſo far from being inclined to ſurrender it, that, on the contrary, he endeavoured to annoy the town with his artillery, and fired ſeveral ſhot through it: but after a battery was raiſed againſt him, and he found he wanted proviſions and ammunition, he gave it up to the King on the fifth day, and followed the reſt of his party.

Thus without tumult, without oppoſition or bloodſhed, the city of *Paris* entirely ſubmitted to the King; who having cauſed a general pardon to be proclaimed, ſent his army to quarter out of the town, recalled the Parliament, opened the paſſages for proviſions, to the great comfort and

1594. refreshment of all ranks and conditions of men, so that in a few days the city was restored to its former splendor, as much frequented, and as full of people as ever.

The example of *Paris* was followed by Monsieur *De Villers*, Governor of *Roüen*, who, after he had treated with the King, by means of *Maximilian de Bethune* Sieur *De Rhosnè*, agreed about the same time to acknowledge his Majesty, and to give up *Harfleur*, *Havre de Grace*, and the other places of *Upper Normandy*, by which a free navigation was opened again upon the *Seine*. This treaty had been attended with some difficulty: for *Villers* insisted upon being confirmed in the office of High Admiral, which had been conferred upon him by the League; and the Baron *De Biron*, who not long before had obtained that dignity of the King, was very unwilling to part with it. But at last, as it seemed necessary to allure others to obedience by a confirmation of the offices and governments of which they were in possession, the Baron was obliged to resign it, and had the rank of Marshal given him in lieu of it, which his father had long enjoyed before him. And though the King likewise made him a present of twenty thousand Crowns, with a promise of several other governments, yet he was exceedingly disgusted, as he pretended to have been the chief instrument in all the victories which the King had obtained, and thought it very unjust to deprive him of his honours and revenues, to give them to his enemies; often saying, with his usual liberty of speech, "That he should be glad to exchange the title of Marshal for a hackney worth fifty crowns." All these remonstrances, however, could not make the King alter his resolution; at which he conceived such a degree of resentment, as afterwards produced very great mischiefs and troubles. But when *Villers* was established in the office of High Admiral, and had obtained a confirmation of his government, service, and pay for the *Provençal* soldiers that followed him, and the government of *Havre de Grace* in reversion, for his brother the Chevalier *D'Oyse*, he declared himself for the King in the end of *March*, and delivered all those places into his hands, which had such terms granted them, as were satisfactory and sufficient for the security of religion and their own particular interests.

Thus the whole province of *Normandy* was reduced into the King's power, except *Honfleur*, which stands in the lower part, and still adhered to the party of the League. That town is situated in an angle, which like a peninsula juts out into the sea over against *Havre de Grace*, lying on the other side of the *Seine* where it falls into the sea: so that betwixt the two fortresses there is nothing but the current of the river, which is so increased by the tide, that it is above two *French* leagues over in that place. The Commendatory *Grillon* was the Governor of this town, who, being a *Provençal*, had a strong garrison of his countrymen to defend it: and one

of

1594.

of the ſons of the Sieur *De Fountaine Martel*, a principal man in the country of *Caux*, Captain *La Tour*, a valiant and expert ſoldier, Captain *Gleſſ*, nephew to the Governor of *Caen*, one *Truville*, who from a Prieſt was become an eminent Commander, and many other Officers and Gentlemen that followed the ſame party, being there with him, they had made it their principal retreat, and from thence over-ran and plundered the whole country, making priſoners of all that they met without diſtinction of perſons, impoſing taxes upon the rich, and taking all veſſels that paſſed the mouth of the river, with their barks, of which they had a great number well manned and armed; and by theſe means had filled the place not only with ſoldiers, and all manner of warlike proviſions, but alſo with immenſe riches. The Duke of *Montpenſier*, therefore, being deſirous to remove this nuſance, which was in his government, and to ſecure the neighbouring country from ſuch ravages, reſolved to lay ſiege to it in the beginning of *April:* for which purpoſe he ſummoned all the *Nobleſſe* of the province together, and with two thouſand *Engliſh* foot, that were lately landed to go into *Bretagne*, eight hundred *Germans*, who had ſerved a great while in thoſe parts, four *French* regiments, drawn out of the neighbouring garriſons, which conſiſted of three thouſand three hundred harquebuſiers on horſeback, and eight hundred Gentlemen, he marched from *Liſieux* on the 10th of *April*, and appeared in ſight of the town on the 11th in the morning.

The town, on that ſide that looks toward the land, is ſurrounded with a moat forty yards broad, through which the ſea ebbs and flows under a bridge of wood that is thrown over it, upon ſtone piers, which the Duke expected to have made himſelf maſter of immediately at his arrival: and with this deſign, whilſt the reſt of the army came up more ſlowly, Colonel *La Lizerne* advanced with his regiment towards the bridge, ſupported by Monſieur *De Fervaques* with two hundred and fifty horſe. But thoſe in the town fore-ſeeing the danger, had planted two ſmall pieces of cannon upon the bridge, which were loaded with ſlugs and pieces of old iron, and had committed the defence of it to *Truville* the prieſt, with a command of an hundred men: ſo that when the King's infantry arrived, there enſued a very hot ſkirmiſh, to which Captain *La Tour* advancing from the town with another hundred of their beſt men, *La Lizerne's* foot began to give way, when the Sieur *De Fervaques* (perhaps with more courage than diſcretion) puſhed forwards as hard as he could go to repulſe the enemy, who had now poſſeſſed themſelves of an open place before the entrance of the bridge. But *Truville* and *La Tour*, when they ſaw him ſo near that he was within reach of their cannon, made ſo ſeaſonable a uſe of them, that they killed above twenty of his men at one diſcharge, and wounded twenty more, amongſt whom, *Henry Davila*, who wrote this hiſtory,

had

1594. had his horſe killed under him, and was in very great danger of being ſlain himſelf. But *Fervaques* wheeling off, the *Engliſh* came up to the ſkirmiſh, which (being ſupported and renewed, ſometimes by the *French* foot, ſometimes by the harquebuſiers on horſeback, and ſometimes by *Fervaques*, who frequently returned with his horſe) continued all that day; at the end of which, the King's forces were not able to drive thoſe of the town from the bridge.

The ſame night Monſieur *De Surenne*, one of the Marſhals of the field, cauſed a fort to be raiſed over againſt the bridge; which, though very much annoyed by the artillery of the town, was yet made defenſible the next day, and when he had planted four pieces of cannon in it, they made ſo hot a fire upon the enemy, that *Truville* the Prieſt was killed with a culverine ball, and the reſt obliged to quit the bridge: but they were ſo reſolute, that they would not leave it to retire into the town, till they had ſeen all the wood-work either burnt or thrown into the water. The three following days were employed in planting the artillery, which, to the number of fourteen, battered that part of the wall that extends from the gate to the ſea-ſhore on the weſt ſide: of which the beſieged made ſo little account, for the three firſt days, that Captain *La Tour* appeared often upon the wall during the time of the hotteſt fire, nor could the cannoniers, who thought he did it in deriſion of them, either hit him or fright him away, though they uſed their utmoſt endeavours: and yet, in five days, they had made ſo large a breach with their artillery, that on the 22d the foot advanced to make an aſſault.

The moat had not been ſufficiently reconnoitred (an omiſſion generally more fatal in aſſaults than at any other time) and the Commanders thought the bottom of it had been of ſuch ſand as the tide throws up, and ſound enough to bear the weight of their men: ſo that the *Engliſh* and *French*, taking the opportunity of the ebb of the tide, entered the moat in two different places, when the water was at the loweſt; but though they found firm ſand at the firſt, and therefore proceeded, yet when they came to the middle, they ſunk ſo deep into the mud, that many of them ſtuck faſt, and could not poſſibly get out again, but, like wild beaſts entangled in a net, were pelted to death by the enemy's ſmall arms from the walls, with many taunts and inſulting ſpeeches. Captain *Gaſconet* was ſlain there, with eighty of the *French*; and of the *Engliſh* above an hundred and fifty, with their Lieutenant Colonel.

The Duke was ſo chagrined at this unhappy accident, that he reſolved to be preſent himſelf at all future attempts, and with great art and induſtry cauſed ſeveral bridges to be built of a moderate length, which reached from the edge of the moat as far as the mud, each having a ſmall gabion in the front of it filled with earth, under the ſhelter of which they endea-

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voured to fill up the deep part of the moat, by throwing large faſcines, 1594.
ſtones, and other rubbiſh into it, though it was done with great danger, and the loſs of many of their beſt men, by the continual ſhowers of muſket balls, heavy ſtones, fire-works, and other contrivances, with which the beſieged never ceaſed to annoy them. But when they had finiſhed this piece of work, which took up four days, they found the enemy had thrown up a large trench within, with which they had repaired and covered all that part of the wall that had been beat down: ſo that, upon viewing the place, it was judged very difficult, if not impoſſible to enter it. The Duke, therefore, employed all his men that night in repairing the bridge that had been broken down, and cauſed it to be ſo pieced up again with new beams and planks that it might be paſſed, though with ſome difficulty, and but few in front, which was effected, contrary to every one's expectation: for the night was ſhort, and they had no other light to work by, except what they received from the fire-works, which the beſieged threw amongſt them in great plenty, to diſcover what they were doing. The ſame night five pieces of cannon were pointed that way from the next battery, and began to fire with ſuch fury at the break of day, that they beat down the tower of the gate, and a great part of the gate itſelf, before the enemy had time to throw up any works there. Scarce was the breach wide enough for two or three men to enter a-breaſt, when the Sieur *De Pompiere* and the Baron *D'Aly* ran furiouſly to the aſſault, with two companies of their beſt men: but meeting with an obſtinate reſiſtance, there enſued a ſhort but furious action, in which, as both the Commanders that made the aſſault were grievouſly wounded, the townſmen had the advantage, and in half an hour obliged the two companies of foot to draw off from the walls; to prevent the repairing of which, the artillery began to play again without intermiſſion: ſo that toward the evening Colonel *La Lizerne* and Colonel *Colombiere*, two brothers, renewed the aſſault in the ſame place, which was reſolutely ſuſtained by the beſieged. But as the ſtouteſt of the *Provençals* were ſlain, Captain *Gleſſè* wounded, *Fountaine Martel* lamed, their fire-works totally expended, and four of their beſt cannon ſpoiled, Commendatory *Grillon* began to think of ſurrendring, eſpecially as he received intelligence by ſea, at that very juncture, that Admiral *Villers*, and the cities of *Roüen*, *Montvillers*, *Harfleur*, and *Havre de Grace* had declared for the King: and ſeeing he could not now expect any relief from them, he reſolved to ſecure the vaſt treaſures they had amaſſed in that place; for which purpoſe it was neceſſary to make a compoſition, and not to ſtay till he was reduced to extremities. After he had ſent, therefore, to deſire a parley with the Sieurs *De Fervaques* and *Surenne*, he agreed to ſurrender, upon condition, That they ſhould have liberty to march out with their effects and perſons untouched,

upon

1594. upon advancing twelve thousand crowns for the payment of the King's forces, and to go into the towns on the other side of the river, which yet adhered to the League. Thus, after this town was delivered up to the Sieur *D'Alerct*, Governor of *Tuques*, and a dependant on the Duke of *Montpensier*, the whole province of *Normandy* was reduced into the King's power: for *La Fountaine Martel*, Governor of *Neufchastel*, in the country of *Caux*, likewise submitted about the same time.

But the people and Governors, already harrassed out with the calamities of war, and allured by the King's clemency, the generous terms, and ample satisfaction that he granted to every one that came over to his party, were exceedingly inclined in all places to acknowledge him; and the court was full of agents, that were making overtures, either for their friends and dependants, or for cities and towns that were disposed to submit. *Abbeville* and *Montreüil* in *Picardy*, followed the example of those that had already surrendred. *Troyes*, a large and populous city in the province of *Champagne*; *Sens*, a city and archiepiscopal see in the confines of *Brie* and *Burgundy*; *Agen*, *Villeneuve*, and *Marmande*, and at last the city of *Poictiers*, was brought over to the King by *Scevole de St. Marthe*, Treasurer of *France*, a man of great learning and eloquence, and of much knowledge and experience in civil affairs.

Charles of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Elbeuf*, agreed also, by means of the same *St. Marthe*, to come over to the King's party, upon a promise that he should have the government of that town, and a pension of thirty thousand franks; but desired the agreement might be kept secret some time, in hopes that the Duke of *Mayenne* himself would come in at last, and because he was unwilling to separate himself from him if it could be possibly avoided.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* had very different thoughts: for as he could not yet give up his old pretensions, or thought he was obliged, in point of honour, he resolved to try his fortune, and not to come to any terms of accommodation, except the Pope first approved of and consented to them. With this determination, after he left *Paris*, he went directly to *Soissons*, where he began, with the utmost diligence, to re-assemble his forces and put them in order again, and had sent to desire the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Dukes of *Guise* and *Aumale* would come and confer with him, at any place they thought convenient, that they might concert some measures to support their common interests; still hoping, that if they kept united with him, they might gather so many forces together again as would enable them to re-establish their affairs, or at least to obtain advantageous and honourable terms, in case the Pope should approve of the King's conversion, especially if they were assisted with supplies from *Spain*.

In

1594.

In consequence of this invitation, the Duke of *Lorrain* came to *Bar le Duc*, on the confines of his territories, where he was met by the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Aumale*: but the Duke of *Guise* could not be at the meeting, as the province of *Champagne* was all in an uproar, not only upon the expulsion of his brother, the Prince of *Joinville*, from his government of *Troyes*, which city had declared for the King, but because the Count *De St. Paul*, who was a dependant on his family, and had formerly been preferred by it, was suspected of meditating new designs: upon which account, and that he might not seem to abandon the places that still adhered to him, he was obliged to stay in that province, and to send *Pelicart*, his father's old Secretary, to the conference. The opinions of those that met there were very different: for the Duke of *Lorrain*, tired out with the war, and of seeing his territories ravaged and laid waste, by the passing and repassing of foreign armies, was wholly inclined to peace. But the Duke of *Aumale*, on the contrary, who was a man of a fiery and obstinate disposition, was more eager than ever to prosecute the war, and had determined rather to put himself, and the government which he held, under the dominion of the *Spaniards*, than submit to obey the King. The Duke of *Guise* kept his designs more secret; and as he was not there himself, his Secretary, under a pretence of informing him of what had passed, and of expecting his orders thereupon, avoided any explicit declaration at that time. The Duke of *Mayenne*, upon whom every thing in a great measure depended, and who thought he could influence all the rest, was firmly resolved not to make any composition without the Pope's consent: and as he imagined that might easily be obtained, upon proper application, he was in doubt which way to proceed, and whether it would be more adviseable to try the hazard of war, or agree to peace upon secure conditions. But when he found the Duke of *Lorrain* inclined to peace, and thought the Duke of *Guise* seemed also to lean that way, he took a middle course, and whilst he consented that the Duke of *Lorrain* should carry on a treaty of agreement in the names of them all, he prevailed upon them jointly to determine that their forces should unite, and that supplies should be earnestly sollicited from *Flanders*: by which they might not only gain sufficient time to see what effects the Pope's decision would have, but be enabled to extort more advantageous terms of agreement, by the reputation of their arms. The Duke of *Lorrain*, therefore, immediately dispatched Monsieur *De Bassompierre* into *France*, to treat of an agreement with the Count of *Schomberg* and *Villeroy*; and at the same time gave orders, that two hundred lances and three hundred harquebusiers on horseback should march to *Laon*, to join the forces of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who, after he had been treating, in this interval, by means of Monsieur *De Rhosnè*, with the

1594. Arch-duke *Ernest*, lately made Governor of the *Low Countries*, went to *La Fere*, from whence he sent the Vice-Seneschal, *De Montlimar*, and his Secretary, *Des Portes*, to him.

The *Spanish* Ministers were no less embarrassed, and yet their opinions were very different from what he expected: for Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, and Count *Peter Ernest* his father, a man of long experience and much reputation, President *Ricardotto*, and the greater part of the *Flemish* Counsellors, were of opinion, that they ought at last to give up the vain and ruinous hopes of making themselves masters of *France*, and to agree with the King upon good terms: after which, they might employ their whole strength to support their own interests in the *Low Countries*, where the United Provinces, taking the opportunity when their army was gone, and their Commanders at a distance, had made such an amazing progress in a few years, that his Catholick Majesty might very well be said to have lost his own dominions by attempting to take away those of others. On the contrary, the *Condè de Fuentes* and the rest of the *Spanish* Counsellors, who had been misinformed of the affairs of *France* by the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d'Ivarra*, still persisted in their designs of endeavouring to get the Infanta elected, or at least to make themselves masters of some strong places, and to get good footing in *Picardy* and *Burgundy*, provinces that border upon *Flanders*, which, in the end, would be ceded to the Crown of *Spain*; or, if the King of *France* had a mind to compound for them, he would be obliged to give a large sum of money in exchange, to indemnify his Catholick Majesty for the vast expences he had been at for so many years. Whilst the Counsellors were in this state of suspence and irresolution, the news of the loss of *Paris* arrived, which determined the Arch-duke to follow the latter opinion: for since it could not be hoped that the League would be able to subsist any longer, now they had lost the city of *Paris*, their first foundation and principal support: and, on the other hand, as he thought the King of *Spain* could not easily obtain, nor indeed ought, for the sake of his reputation, to sue for peace, he judged it the most adviseable way, in the first place, to disengage themselves from the incumbrance of the League, in which they were obliged to be at endless expences, to support many who at last proved either perfidious, or at least of no manner of service to them: and in the next place, to make war in his Catholick Majesty's own name, to employ all their forces in one place, and to spend their money in their own interests and concerns; and since it would be ridiculous to talk any longer of the Infanta's election, to take the advantage of the present opportunity, to get such places in *Picardy* and *Burgundy* into their hands, as might serve for a barrier to *Flanders*, and in some measure make amends for their past expences.

With

1594.

With this resolution, he presently entered into a treaty with Monsieur *De Rhosne*, who agreed to serve the King of *Spain*, for an annual pension of eighteen thousand crowns; and without much difficulty, prevailed also upon the Vice-Seneschal *De Montelimar*, in consideration of thirty thousand crowns, and the office of Governor for himself, to receive a *Spanish* garrison into *La Fere*, the most important fortress in *Picardy*. He negociated, at the same time, with the Duke of *Aumale*, who was more ready than any other to follow their banners, and came over to them with the towns under his command, besides an hundred cuirassiers, and two hundred light horse, for which he was to have a pension of forty thousand crowns settled upon him. He likewise tampered with the other Governors in both provinces; and, to give life to those practices, he ordered Count *Mansfelt* to draw his army together without delay, and advance to begin a vigorous war upon the confines of *Picardy*.

Of all this the Arch-duke gave a particular account to the Court of *Spain*, representing it as the most proper and advantagious resolution that could be taken in the present situation of affairs: but at the same time offered to his Catholick Majesty's consideration, that it was absolutely necessary to send fresh supplies both of men and money to support it: that they had hitherto been lavishing their treasure in vain to gratify the instability of the *French*, who, as long as they had been able to suck their milk, had grown fat at the expence of others, and now they saw the breast dry, fell off and revolted from them, according to their usual practice: that their inveterate hatred to the *Spanish* nation, added to their natural levity, would never suffer them to persist long in any thing that they thought either for the honour or advantage of the Crown of *Spain*. That the proposal of electing the Infanta, though born of a daughter of *France*, and the offspring of a King, who had drained his own kingdoms to succour them in their necessities, seemed as strange and monstrous to them, as if a *Scythian* or an *Indian* had been proposed to rule over them: that when they had offered that she should marry a *Frenchman*, to make the thing more palatable, and to shew the more evidently that there was no design of subjecting them to the *Spanish* dominion, the discords and ambition that reigned amongst them, had not suffered them to agree to it, but, on the contrary, had induced them to think of making peace with their common enemy, rather than to give way to one another. That a little seeming backwardness to glut their insatiable greediness any longer with *Spanish* gold, had in a moment not only disgusted, but made them absolutely rise in arms: that their natural impatience had induced so many cities and so many leading men amongst them, to submit, without any reserve, to the faith and discretion of their enemy, that the main foundation of the League was already destroyed: the cities of *Paris*, *Orleans*,

1594. *Roüen*, *Bourges* and *Lyons*, were revolted: the Admiral *Villars*, the Count *De Brisac*, the Marshal *De la Chastre*, and the Sieur *De Vitry*, Chiefs of the Union, and who had principally sustained the weight of the late war, were gone over to the King's party; and the Duke of *Elbœuf*, though he was of the house of *Lorrain*, and notwithstanding his bitter and inveterate enmity to the house of *Bourbon*, was either treating, or had already made an agreement: that therefore his Majesty ought no longer to refer the Infanta's rights to the arbitrements of the *French*, but to support them by force of arms, and to prosecute the undertaking in his own name, and upon his own bottom. That the *Spanish* forces were at present powerful and formidable in *Bretagne*, a separate member of the *French* dominions, which the *Salic* law did not extend to, and if they were opportunely reinforced by sea, they would be able to maintain themselves in the possession of that province. That in *Picardy* they had gained many places, by the assistance of the Duke of *Aumale*, *Montelimar*, and *Rhosne*: that proper means ought to be used to draw the Duke of *Mayenne* also over to their interests, not as head of the League, but as Commander for the King of *Spain*, as many places in the Duchy of *Burgundy* might be secured by his influence: that the same course ought to be taken with the Duke of *Guise* and the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*, for the acquisition of the towns in *Dauphinè* and *Champagne*; that the Sieur *De Montpezat* should be treated with in *Spain*, for some places, to give them good foothold in *Provence*. That Count *Charles* had already advanced with his army to the confines of *Picardy*, in which province they might make a very great progress before the King could draw an army together strong enough to oppose them: but that it was necessary to proceed with expedition, to raise money as soon as possible, to make levies in *Italy* and *Germany*, to augment the army, to labour now in good earnest to do themselves service, and no longer to support the interests of others. That by making themselves masters of several places upon the confines, work would be cut out for the King of *France*, which would oblige him to spend many years in regaining his own, and keep him so thoroughly employed at home, that he would not have time to think of meddling in the affairs of the *Low Countries*, or of recovering the kingdom of *Navarre*. And, in the last place, if it should be necessary or convenient for the Crown of *Spain* to conclude a peace, his Catholick Majesty would be able to make himself satisfaction in some measure for his losses and expences, by having those pledges in his hands: so that, as the honour and advantage, which would immediately result from such a manner of proceeding, was evident and easy to be attained, the execution ought likewise to be sudden, and the supplies quick and vigorous.

These representations were very conformable to the temper and designs of

of the Council of *Spain*, and induced them to take a reſolution to proſecute the undertaking in the manner he had recommended. For which purpoſe, though the Sieur *De Montpezat* took great pains to obtain a favourable anſwer to the Duke of *Mayenne's* demands, yet he was told, in a more peremptory manner than before, "That inſtructions were ſent to the Arch-duke *Erneſt* in *Flanders*, and as all matters were to be adjuſted there, the Duke of *Mayenne* was ſo near him, that he might be preſent at thoſe deliberations if he ſo pleaſed." The King of *Spain* himſelf was ſo fond of this plan, that he turned his attention wholly upon it, and promoted the execution with uncommon diſpatch, contrary to his natural temper and uſual method of proceeding; for he gave immediate orders in *Flanders*, *Italy*, and to his own Council, to proceed with vigour and expedition in making all neceſſary preparations.

But this deſign, which, from many circumſtances, was more than ſuſpected by the Duke of *Mayenne*, gave him ſtill greater diſquietude, when he ſaw himſelf reduced to the choice of two evils, and abſolutely neceſſitated either to come to an accommodation with the King, without waiting for the Pope's determination, or to throw himſelf, his liberty, and the places that depended upon him, into the hands of the *Spaniards*, contrary to the firm reſolution he had made from the beginning. On one hand, he was grieved that the Duke of *Elbœuf* had made his peace with the King: on the other, that the Duke of *Aumale* had come to a compoſition with the *Spaniards*: and in this perplexity, ſometimes, he inclined to follow the Duke of *Lorrain's* counſel, and conclude the treaty that *Baſſompierre* was carrying on; ſometimes, to confer with the Archduke, who had invited him to come to *Mons*, that they might conſult together about their common intereſts. But before he determined to make any agreement with the King, he thought it would be the beſt way to ſtay for freſh information from the Cardinal *De Joyeuſe* and the Baron *De Senegay*: and before he conferred with the Arch-duke, he was deſirous to hear once more from *Montpezat*, that he might certainly know what was reſolved upon in *Spain*. Amidſt theſe doubts, he was well pleaſed that Madam *De Guiſe* ſhould apply to her ſiſter the Ducheſs of *Nevers*, to uſe her good offices to bring about an accommodation betwixt her ſon and the King, and he was glad to hear that the Queen Dowager was gone into *Bretagne*, to treat of an agreement with her brother the Duke of *Mercœur*: nor was it diſagreeable to him, that his mother, Madam *De Nemours*, and his ſiſter, Madam *De Montpenſier*, after they had left *Paris*, where they met with frequent opportunities of converſing with the King about the preſent affairs, were now come to him to propoſe conditions of peace: yet in all theſe negociations he not only interpoſed delays, but ſecret obſtacles and impediments to protract things, that

1594. that ſo, whilſt the courſe of the war was in a manner ſuſpended, and the towns that ſtill remained of his party, grew cooler in their inclinations to revolt, he might gain the benefit of time, which he conſtantly uſed to avail himſelf of upon all occaſions, and now thought the only remedy that was likely to produce ſalutary effects. But what had the greateſt weight in determining him not to make an abſolute agreement with the King, was the obduracy of the Pope, who, though he had conſented that Cardinal *Gondi* ſhould come to *Rome*, after the Duke of *Nevers* had left that city, for fear of utterly breaking off the treaty about the King's abſolution, did it with an expreſs command, that he ſhould not once mention the affairs of *France*; ſo that the Pope kept his deſigns entirely ſecret, and appeared ſtill determined not to comply with what the King ſo earneſtly requeſted. On the other hand, what made him the moſt averſe to any agreement with the *Spaniards*, was the continued ill uſage he met with from the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d'Ivarra*; who, after their departure from *Paris*, had a conference with him at *Laon*, where they imputed all their miſcarriages and diſappointments to his ill conduct, and not only treated him with the utmoſt diſreſpect, but proceeded to open menaces: which the Duke, not being able to bear, retorted the charge of ill conduct upon them, and affirmed, that the want of ſucceſs in their undertakings was owing to their own imprudence and folly; after which he returned their threats, and treated them with the higheſt contempt both in his words and actions.

But his doubts were at an end, and he was under a neceſſity of coming to ſome reſolution, when he heard that Count *Mansfelt* had actually entered *Picardy* with an army of ten thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and a proportionable train of artillery: and though the Duke of *Aumale* adviſed him to march into that province and lay ſiege to *Corbie*, yet he reſolved to make an attempt upon *La Capelle*, a town upon the frontiers of the duchy of *Tirache*, eſteemed tolerably ſtrong, but at that time, as they were informed, in great want of ammunition, though there were vaſt quantities of other proviſions of all ſorts laid up in it: upon which accounts, they hoped the taking of it would not only prove very eaſy, but of great ſervice for the future ſuſtenance of the army.

La Capelle, ſituated upon a ſpacious plain, is of a quadrangular form, of no large extent, and flanked in the angles with four baſtions. It had a deep moat round it full of water, which is fed by a rivulet that runs through the plain, and dammed up by a bank raiſed upon the edge of the moat. It was likewiſe ſurrounded by a covert way, and a counterſcarp in the modern manner; ſo that, conſidering the ſtrength of the fortifications, if there had been plenty of ammunition in the town, and ſufficient reſolution in thoſe within it, it might have held out a long time

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against the *Spanish* army. But the approach was sudden and entirely unexpected: for it was generally imagined at first, they would either not have entered *France* at all without being joined by the Duke of *Mayenne*, or, if they did, that they would sit down before *Corbie:* and when they arrived, those that were to defend it, had either so little courage, or so little conduct, that *Agostino Messia's* division of *Spaniards*, and the *Italians*, commanded by the Marquis of *Trevico*, immediately made themselves masters of the counterscarp without any opposition: and yet, as they had not lodged themselves in the space that was enclosed within the dam, they were warmly engaged for two days, and lost a great number of men before they succeeded in that: for the besieged had built their chief hopes upon the maintenance of that ground, and endeavoured to drive the enemy from it by showers of granadoes, and an incessant fire from their small arms and artillery. But on the third day, Colonel *La Berlotte* made so sudden an approach with his *Walloons* in another place, that he advanced to the very moat, and after he had demolished the banks and flood-gates that dammed up the water, he employed the pioneers to make such a descent for it, that it was presently emptied and laid quite dry. The two next days were taken up in finishing the trenches and raising a platform, which was no difficult matter, as the soil was light and soft, and in planting fourteen pieces of cannon upon it, ten of which being pointed against the curtain, and two against the bastions at each flank of it, presently beat down those fortifications. After the artillery had fired upon the town twelve hours, without cessation, and the breach had been reconnoitred, *La Berlotte* advanced, with his *Walloons*, to the assault. But the besieged, in the mean time, had pulled down an old tower, and thrown the ruins of it into the moat, which dammed up the water again in such a manner, that at last it forced its way, and burst down upon the assailants with such impetuosity, that it drowned above seventy of them, and made it very difficult for the rest to escape, especially as they were fired upon in their retreat by two pieces of cannon loaded with grape-shot, which the besieged had pointed upon the breach. The next day they drew off the water again by another sluice with less difficulty, though they lost seven Captains and above an hundred private men in that undertaking. But when the moat was thus laid dry, which was the defence that the besieged most confided in, and the greatest part of the wall was demolished, the Sieur *De Mailleray*, Governor of the town, who was not sufficiently provided to sustain a general assault, agreed to surrender, upon condition that he himself and the garrison might be allowed to march out of the place, without annoyance or molestation of their persons or effects, and accordingly delivered up the town into the hands of Count *Charles*.

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1594. In the mean time, the King laboured, with the utmoſt diligence, to put the affairs of *Paris* in good order again; where, to give general ſatisfaction, it was neceſſary to increaſe the number of the Parliament and of the other magiſtrates, as he was unwilling to break his word, or to ſhew himſelf ungrateful to thoſe Preſidents and Counſellors, who, though appointed by the Duke of *Mayenne*, had yet effectually endeavoured not only to prevent the election of the Infanta, but to reduce the city to his devotion: and, on the other hand, he could not think of excluding thoſe members that had conſtituted his Parliament at *Tours*, and followed his fortune in his greateſt dangers and troubles. It was agreed, therefore, that *Le Maître*, who had been the firſt Preſident, ſhould give place to Preſident *Harlay* and his other ſeniors, and take the ſeventh place: *John l'Huillier*, *Prevôt des Marchands*, was created Preſident of the * *Chambre des Comptes*, *Martin l'Anglois*, Sieur *De Beaurepaire*, and *William du Ver*, Sieur *De Naxet*, were made Maſters of the Requeſts of the Palace Royal. After the Parliament was thus reformed and eſtabliſhed, the High Chancellor and the Officers of the Crown aſſiſting there, it was ſolemnly decreed, that obedience ſhould be rendered to *Henry* the fourth, as lawful ſucceſſor to the kingdom, declaring all ſuch to be rebels as ſhould refuſe to acknowledge and obey him: and by another decree, they deprived the Duke of *Mayenne* of the title and office of Lieutenant-General to the Crown. A decree to the ſame purpoſe, was alſo made by the College of Divines of the *Sorbonne*, who, to the number of ſeventy, declared the abſolution that had been given to the King to be good and valid, and that no body could refuſe to pay him the obedience that had ever been rendred to the other moſt Chriſtian Kings, without being guilty of mortal ſin. After which, they all went together to the *Louvre*, and did homage to him with great ſolemnity, *James d'Amboiſe*, Rector of the univerſity, ſpeaking for them all: which ceremony was the more acceptable to the King, as they were a body that had always moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his title and ſucceſſion to the Crown.

The affairs of *Paris* were hardly ſettled, when he received intelligence, that Count *Charles* had laid ſiege to *La Capelle*: upon which, he immediately diſpatched the Marſhals *De Biron* and *Matignon* to draw his army together, and went himſelf, with Monſieur *De Givry*, two hundred Gentlemen, and four hundred light horſe, towards *Picardy* the ſame day that he received that news. But when he came to *Chauny*, he was informed that the place had ſurrendered; to make amends for which loſs, he reſolved to go upon ſome other enterpriſe.

If the advice of the ſiege and taking of *La Capelle*, was very diſagree-

* The Court of Accounts or Exchequer: there is one of them in every Parliament.

able

able to the King, it was no less unwelcome to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who plainly saw, that since the *Spaniards* had made no application to him, they were determined, for the future, to carry on the war upon their own bottom, at which he was not a little mortified, because it not only put an end to what hopes he had left of obtaining the Crown, but deprived him of that strength and reputation, by dint of which he expected to have gained very advantagious terms, if ever he should be obliged to come to an agreement with the King: and as he thought all this proceeded from the malice and misrepresentations of the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d'Ivarra*, he resolved to lay aside all other considerations, and to have an interview with the Archduke, to see if he could accommodate matters with the *Spaniards* again.

1594.

The Archduke was also very desirous of such a meeting, not with the same view that the Duke of *Mayenne* had, but to try if he could prevail upon him to put himself under the protection of his Catholick Majesty, as the Duke of *Aumale* had done, and to deliver up those towns and fortresses into his hands which yet adhered to him. For this purpose, he sent several messages and letters in the most complaisant and affectionate terms, to invite him to come to *Brussels*, which the Duke thinking absolutely necessary in his present circumstances, left his second son, the Count *De Sommerive*, at *Laon*, with part of the forces commanded by Colonel *Du Bourg* (late Governor of the *Bastile)* and went with the remainder as far as *Guise*, at which place he dismissed them, and pursued his journey with only sixty horse, to meet the Archduke, who received him with demonstrations of the highest respect, though he shewed himself very averse to the demands which he made, from the very beginning. This the Duke imputed to the ill offices of the same *Spanish* Ministers, that had given him so much trouble, and so constantly thwarted his designs in *France:* and therefore, at a private conference with *Baptista Tassis* and President *Riccardotto*, he began to recapitulate the particulars of what had passed, and to shew at large, that the ill success of their affairs was wholly owing to the imprudence and perverse behaviour of those Ministers. At these imputations, and several others, of which they were called upon to exculpate themselves, they were so enraged when they were told of them again, that they advised the Archduke to detain the Duke of *Mayenne* prisoner, and to commit the management of affairs in *France* to the Duke of *Guise*, accusing the former of perfidy, low cunning and dissimulation, and as one who had no regard to any thing else but the gratification of his own ambition and private interest, and was a much greater enemy to his Catholick Majesty than to the King of *Navarre*. But the Archduke not only thought such a manner of proceeding base and unworthy of him, and such as was likely to gain him the hatred of every

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1594. one, but that the Duke of *Mayenne* seemed to have reason on his side in many respects, and that those Ministers had behaved very indiscreetly in abusing him in so outrageous a manner: nor did it appear at all strange, since they had put such a slight upon him, and seemed inclined to make any other person King of *France* rather than him, that he should repay them in their own coin, and chuse to concur in any other resolution sooner than to gratify the *Spaniards*. And as he was a Prince of great goodness and a lover of justice, he thought it an unreasonable thing, that the head of the League, and one that had done so much to support the common cause, should be deprived of the principal honour and reward. He likewise thought those Ministers judged very weakly, when they talked of taking away the management of affairs from a person of so great reputation, so much wisdom and experience, to put it into the hands of the Duke of *Guise*, a young man, of great courage indeed, but in no wise equal to so important a charge, on account of his youth and want of experience. He further considered, that the Duchess of *Guise* was solliciting, with great earnestness, to make peace for her son with the King, which the Duke of *Mayenne* often took an opportunity of mentioning, when he thought it might be of any service to his interests, though it was well known before at the Arch-duke's court. For these reasons, after many conferences betwixt the two Princes, the negociation began to take another turn: for the Arch-duke knew that the Duke of *Mayenne* was not yet reduced so low, that he would easily submit to the *Spanish* yoke: and yet perceived, that the present exigency of his circumstances made him abate much of his former pretensions. So that they both determined at last to avail themselves of such opportunities as should afterwards offer; that in the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* should march with his forces to join Count *Mansfelt*, and that they should carry on the war in concert, to oppose the progress of the King's arms, leaving all terms and conditions, and the plan of their future proceedings, to be settled at another time.

The King being joined by the Duke of *Nevers*, who was lately returned out of *Italy*, and by the Duke of *Boüillon*, had already marched from *Chauny* with twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, with a resolution to lay siege to *Laon*, whither the Duke of *Mayenne's* son, the Count *De Sommerive* (who was very young) had retired for safety, with the greater part of his father's effects. But that he might come upon it the more unexpectedly, and not give those that were in it time to make sufficient preparations for a defence, he marched further off from it with his army, and taking the rout of *St. Quintin* and *Cressy*, advanced pretty near to *La Capelle*, seeming as if he intended to attack the *Spanish* camp. But whilst he fronted the enemy at no great distance, and sometimes amused

amuſed them with ſkirmiſhes, he ordered the Marſhal *De Biron* to file off with the rear, and go back to inveſt *Laon*, whither he likewiſe ſent the Sieur *De St. Luc* for the ſame purpoſe a few hours after, and then the Baron *De Salignac*; and the next morning he himſelf and the Duke of *Nevers* marched away and came laſt of all before the town.

1594.

There were ſeveral commanders of great reputation in the place, under Colonel *Du Bourg* and the Count *De Sommerive*, with ſix hundred *French* foot, two hundred *Germans*, three hundred *Neapolitans*, ſixty cuiraſſiers, and two hundred light horſe, beſides the townſmen, who cheerfully joined the garriſon for the defence of it. They were provided with great plenty of ammunition and fireworks, and the commanders, who had expected a ſiege ſome time, had made ſuch preparations for it, and fortified it on all ſides in ſuch a manner, that the undertaking ſeemed likely to be attended with great difficulty, and the ſucceſs of it very uncertain: eſpecially as the *Spaniſh* camp lay ſo near, that it might eaſily diſturb and annoy the King's army, and it was taken for granted, that the Duke of *Mayenne* would exert his utmoſt ſtrength to relieve and diſengage his ſon.

The King, therefore, reſolved, in the firſt place, to make himſelf maſter of the ſeveral paſſes by which any ſuccours might be ſent to relieve the town: for which purpoſe, he ſent Monſieur *De la Chaſtre*, with the troops under his command, to lie upon the road that leads from *Rheims* and other places in *Champagne*, apprehending that the Duke of *Guiſe*, with what forces he had in that country, and perhaps reinforced by the Duke of *Lorrain*, would attempt it from that quarter: on the other ſide, the Duke of *Nevers* poſted himſelf upon the highway that leads from *Soiſſons* directly to the town: the Duke of *Longueville*, with the troops which he had in the province, took poſſeſſion of the road to *Noyon* and *La Fere*; and all of them were ordered, not only to ſcour the country round with great care, but to hold themſelves in readineſs to oppoſe any one that ſhould advance, either with proviſions or other ſupplies, for the relief of the beſieged. The principal paſs by which the *Spaniards* might advance directly to the town, ſtill remained open, and of this the King poſſeſſed himſelf. And as there was a hill upon the road, which had a wood on the right hand, and a large village on the left, he took up his quarters in the village, and ordered the Count *De Soiſſons* and the Sieur *De Vic* to encamp on the other ſide, at the entrance of the wood. On the top of the hill where the high road was, Monſieur *D'Humieres* lay with three hundred cuiraſſiers, and the Baron *De Givry* with five hundred light horſe: beſides all which precautions, that the enemy might not come upon him unexpectedly, he ſent the Sieur *De Clermont* of *Amboiſe*, with five troops of harquebuſiers on horſeback, to lie at *Creſſy*, and had

1594. ftrengthened the garrifon of *St. Lambert*, a caftle that ftands upon the fame road, through which the enemy muft pafs, if they took the direct way to the town.

When the paffes were thus fecured, five redoubts were begun, in order to make their approaches to the fofs. The care of the firft was committed to the Marfhal *De Biron*, of the fecond, to Monfieur *De St. Luc*, of the third, to the Baron *De Salignac*, of the fourth, to Monfieur *De Montmartin*, and of the laft, to the Count *De Grammont*; in every one of which the infantry, and many of the country people, were employed and wrought with extreme diligence, though the befieged ufed their utmoft endeavours to annoy and impede them in their works at every poft, both with the fire of their artillery, and by making vigorous fallies, with fuch fuccefs, that during the two firft days, before the King's forces had time to cover themfelves, they had above four hundred men flain, amongft whom was the Sieur *De Forcade*, one of the Marfhal *De Biron's* Lieutenants; amongft the wounded was the Baron *De T[illegible]*, who loft a leg, and the Marquis *De Cœuvres*, who died a few days after of his wounds.

In the mean time, the *Spanifh* army had received orders from the Arch-duke to ufe their utmoft efforts to relieve *Laon*, in fuch a manner as the Duke of *Mayenne* fhould think proper to [illegible]: for which purpofe, after they had left *Creffy* and *Lamb[illegible]* on the left hand, they marched away to the right, and arrived in the [illegible] within a league of the King's quarters. The Duke and Count *Charles* intended, as foon as their army had entrenched and fortified their camp, to make themfelves mafters of the wood that lay in their front, under the cover of which they hoped to advance fo near the town, that they might be able to relieve it, without expofing themfelves to any very great hazard. The Sieur *De Montlcuet* had already fortified himfelf in the wood with four companies of foot; and when two Captains, one an *Italian*, and the other a *Spaniard*, advanced with fifty men, on the 15th, to reconnoitre the nature and fituation of that place and of the high road, he prefently drove them back again without much difficulty, as they were but few, and did not come with a defign to take poft there at that time. The next morning, however, he was attacked with very different fuccefs: for *La Berlotte*, entering fuddenly into the wood with two thoufand foot, after a fhort refiftance, drove out *Montlcuet* in his return, who was alfo taken prifoner, as he was making his retreat in the rear of his men: and the King's regiment of guards having advanced to oppofe the enemy, three Captains and a great many of the beft men in it were flain in the firft encounter: fo that after they had been handled in this manner, they would certainly have quitted the place, if Monfieur *De Vic* had not

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opportunely come up to their aſſiſtance with the regiments of *St. Ange* and *Navarre*. But the two diviſions, commanded by *Agoſtino Meſſia* and the Marquis *De Trevico* likewiſe advancing, there enſued a very hot action at the entrance of the wood: to ſuſtain which, the Count *De Soiſſons* and the Baron *De Givry* advanced one after another, on the King's ſide; and on the other, the Duke of *Mayenne* preſented himſelf, with his own troop and the light horſe of *Lorrain* at the entrance of the wood, to ſupport the infantry of his party there. But the King's infantry was not ſo good as that of the enemy, and his horſe were ſo entangled in a narrow place, full of trees and ſhrubs, that they could do but little ſervice; and as they had already ſuffered very much in the action, they began to give way, eſpecially when they ſaw the Duke of *Mayenne*, with ſixty horſe, had fallen upon a command of muſketiers that were advancing to their aſſiſtance along an open lawn, and had cut them all to pieces: for then they thought themſelves in the utmoſt danger not only of being forced out of the wood, but of being entirely defeated and deſtroyed by the enemy. Things were in this perilous ſituation when the Marſhal *De Biron* arrived at the field of battle, and ſeeing the infantry puſhed ſo hard, that they could not long maintain that poſt, he immediately diſmounted with his uſual courage, and having cauſed the Count *De Torigny's* and the Sieur *De la Curée's* troops to do the ſame, he placed himſelf in the front of the battle, where he bravely ſuſtained and repreſſed the fury of the *Spaniards*. At the ſame time the King came up, and notwithſtanding the embarraſſment of ſo many trees and hedges, he ordered the Baron *De Givry* to advance with all his horſe, to attack the *Lorrain* cavalry, by which he was gallantly received (as the Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf was with that corps) and the conteſt was hot and bloody: for, Count *Mansfelt* came into the wood, the Sieur *D'Humieres* deſcended from the top of the hill, and ſupplies haſtening from all parts to aſſiſt each ſide, the action became in a manner general; and though indeed, all their forces were not actually engaged, yet the greater part of them was either ſo, or prevented from it by the roughneſs of the place. The battle continued, with different ſucceſs and various turns of fortune, till the evening, at which time the King, having cauſed all his infantry to lodge themſelves upon the ſame high road near the wood, and in the front of the enemy, to oppoſe their paſſage, ſent back his horſe to their former quarters. But the Duke of *Mayenne* and Count *Mansfelt*, conſidering that moſt of their foot had advanced to maintain the poſſeſſion of the wood, by which their quarters were left ſo weak, that they would be in great danger if they were attacked by the King in the rear, eſpecially if he ſhould reſolve to do it in the night-time,

they

1594. they quitted the wood by little and little, and drew off their men to the camp, leaving the wood open to the incursions of both armies.

Whilst the King's forces were fully employed here in this manner, the Duke of *Mayenne* had ordered *Nicolo Basti* and the Sieur *D'Eclusеaux*, Colonel of a *French* regiment, to move from *Noyon* with a large quantity of provisions and ammunition, and endeavour to throw it into *Laon* for the relief of the place. But the Duke of *Longueville*, who scoured the roads on that side, having received intelligence of it, laid an ambush for them not far from the town; and though it was discovered by the scouts which they sent before them, yet the guards of the convoy, either frighted at so unexpected a rencounter, or imagining that all the King's cavalry was there, resolved to retire. But as they could not do that with any great speed, nor without much confusion, on account of their carriages, the Sieur *D'Eclusеaux*, who retired in the last ranks, was overtaken, his men routed, and he himself made prisoner. After which, the powder was divided amongst the King's soldiers, and the carriages of provisions burnt, but *Nicolo Basti* escaped safe to *Noyon*.

The greatest difficulty that the *Spanish* camp laboured under, was the want of provisions, without which, they could not possibly lie long in that place: and yet, whilst they did stay there, they harrassed the King in such a manner, that he was not able to prosecute the siege. This determined the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had caused great plenty of provisions to be gathered together at *La Fere*, to have them brought to the camp, by the nearest and straitest road, which lay almost directly behind them. For which purpose, six hundred *Spanish* foot, a thousand *Italians*, and an hundred light horse, were detached thither, the commanders thinking that a sufficient convoy, as they concluded the King would not dare to pass by their camp and leave it in his rear, to advance to a place at such a distance, and so dangerous to attack them in. But the event proved very different from what they expected: for the Marshal *De Biron*, attended by the Sieur *De Montigny* with eight hundred *Swiss*, and as many *French* foot of the regiments of *Navarre* and *St. Ange*, two companies of *English*, the Baron *De Givry* with the light horse, and four hundred of the horse commanded by the Count *De Torigny* and the Sieur *De la Curée*, left the camp before *Laon* in the night, and marching with very great silence till they came within a league of *La Fere*, he ordered the horse to conceal themselves in two little woods that lay on each side of the road, whilst he with the foot lay close in the fields, which being full of corn, at that time almost ripe, gave them an opportunity of waiting there unperceived. The *Spanish* camp was not above two leagues from that place, and as people were continually going from thence to *La Fere* and back again, the ambush would soon have been discovered,

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if the Marſhal had not ſhewn more patience upon that occaſion than he uſually did, and prevented his men from ſtirring or making the leaſt noiſe, who, after waiting there many hours, began to be ſo hungry, that he found it a very difficult matter to keep them any longer quiet and in due order. They held out, however, till towards the evening, at which time ſome of the carriages began to appear, having ſet out with an intention to travel all the night: upon ſight of which, it was ſtill more difficult to reſtrain the *Engliſh* from attacking the enemy before it was a proper time: but as ſoon as ever ſome of the carriages had paſſed by them, they roſe up on a ſudden, and fell furiouſly upon the guards on all ſides. The van, conſiſting of *Italians*, made a brave reſiſtance, and the *Spaniards*, who compoſed the main battle, behaved with no leſs reſolution: but the rear, which had not advanced ſo far from *La Fere*, began to retire with great precipitation, yet with ſuch ill fortune, that it fell in with the horſe (which had already ſallied out of the wood) and was cut to pieces in a moment. Their defeat was of very great prejudice to the reſt, who had drawn up cloſe together and gallantly ſuſtained the fury of the King's infantry: for being left expoſed in the rear, they were attacked on that quarter alſo by the harquebuſiers on horſeback, and yet, by making a front every way, and availing themſelves of the ſhelter of their carriages, they ſupported the charge a conſiderable time, with no ſmall damage to thoſe of the King's party (many of whom were wounded, and amongſt the reſt Colonel *St. Ange* and Monſieur *Faveroles*, Lieutenant-Colonel in the regiment of *Navarre*) and ſtill advancing, fought deſperately with their pikes and ſwords, being in ſome meaſure covered and defended by the carriages, till the Marſhal *De Biron*, who was afraid, if the *Spaniſh* camp was alarmed with the report of the firing, he ſhould be attacked in the rear by their whole army, reſolved to make an end of the matter as ſoon as poſſible. For which purpoſe, he cauſed the Gentlemen that were with him to diſmount, and advancing at the head of the *Swiſs*, charged with ſuch violence, that the enemy, who was much inferior in number, was at laſt forced to give way; but in ſuch a manner, that the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, ſtill making an obſtinate reſiſtance, were all ſlain upon the ſpot: the horſe that fled, were purſued by the Baron *De Givry* to the very gates of *La Fere*, and of thoſe that had guarded the carriages, very few were taken priſoners. Above two hundred were killed of the King's ſide, and almoſt as many wounded, the moſt conſiderable of whom, were the Sieur *De la Curée* and Monſieur *De Caniſy*, ſon-in-law to the Marſhal *De Matignon*, who had advanced into the heat of the battle. In this action *Henrico Davila*, who was one of thoſe that diſmounted with the Count *De Torigny*, diſlocated his ancle in ſo dangerous a manner, as he was climbing over one of the carriages,

1594.

1591. carriages, that it was feared he would have been lame ever afterward.
After the engagement was over, the Marshal *De Biron*, considering the enemy was so near, that he was liable to be attacked every moment, resolved to burn the carriages, as he did, to the number of four hundred, and having destroyed some of the horses that drew them, he brought off the rest, and retired with the utmost expedition the same night.

When the *Spanish* army was disappointed of this relief, the commanders saw they could no longer support themselves where they then lay, and therefore determined to decamp before they were reduced to extremities. But they could not agree about the manner of their retreat: for Count *Mansfelt* would have raised the camp by night, for greater security; and the Duke of *Mayenne* thought it better to make their retreat by day-light, to avoid confusion, and for fear of diminishing their reputation. But as Count *Mansfelt* persevered in his opinion, he consented that the vanguard, conducted by the Sieur *De la Motte*, and the main battle under the command of the Count himself, should march away with the heavy artillery before it was light, and he with the rear undertook to make his retreat by day. The valour and soldiership of the Duke of *Mayenne*, which for the most part had been obscured by ill fortune in his military enterprises, appeared very clearly upon this occasion: for though he had four leagues to retire through an open country, and in the sight of the enemy, who was so much superior to him in cavalry, yet he did it with such order and resolution, that he sustained no damage at all in his retreat. In drawing up his forces, he placed eight corps de garde with their front to the enemy, part *Italians* and part *Spaniards*, commanded by *Ceccho di Sangro* and Don *Alonzo Mendozza*; in the rear of these, and at some distance, he posted a flying squadron, with its front the contrary way, in the last ranks of which he was himself with his pike in his hand, together with the Prince of *Avellino*, the Marquis of *Trevico*, *Agostino Messia*, Don *Antonio de Toledo*, Don *Juan de Bracamonte*, and above an hundred reformed officers: at a little distance from the front of this squadron, *La Berlotte* had drawn up his division of *Walloons*, who had six field pieces ready to be turned against the enemy. As soon as it was broad day-light the *Walloons* began to march; and after them, the flying squadron: at which time the King (being immediately informed of their motions by *Parabiere*, and encouraged by the Marshal *De Biron*, who assured him he had left so many broken carriages, and such numbers of dead bodies upon the road, that the enemy would find it extremely difficult to make their retreat) advanced with his cavalry to attack them in the rear. But the eight corps de garde, which were the last that moved, retired in admirable order: for as the musketiers in the wings gave their fire, they fell back into the rear of the pikes, without

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facing about either to the right or left, but ſtill fronting towards the enemy. The harquebuſiers in the center did the ſame; ſo that at laſt the rear ranks came to be the front, and whilſt they were delivering their fire, the reſt of the diviſion retired by degrees, though without turning their backs. The other corps drew off in the ſame manner ſucceſſively, and retired by little and little to the rear of the flying ſquadron: and when the Baron *De Givry*, the Count *De Soiſſons*, and the reſt that were at the head of the King's cavalry, came up to attack them there, they received them ſo gallantly with their pikes, and poured ſuch furious vollies of muſket-ſhot upon them, that they repulſed them effectually; and though the cavalry kept wheeling and firing at a diſtance, they durſt not return to charge them more cloſely. In this manner the retreat was continued, with very great honour to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who being a tall, ſoldierlike man, and compleatly armed, wonderfully animated his men both by his words and example, for he threw the Sieur *De Percy* to the ground with his own hand, who had courageouſly advanced to charge his ſquadron with a troop of light horſe. At laſt, when they were almoſt ſpent with heat and fatigue, they arrived in narrower defiles, where *La Berlotte* had planted his artillery upon the banks of ditches on each hand, in ſuch a manner, that the King's horſe were obliged to make a halt, and ſuffer the whole army to march away ſafe to *La Fere*. Nor were they at all embarraſſed in this retreat by broken carriages or dead bodies, as the Marſhal *De Biron* expected they would have been: for it was conducted in ſo maſterly a manner, and without any confuſion or precipitation, that the pioneers had ſufficient time to clear the way of all incumbrances.

1594.

When the enemy's army had thus left the King maſter of the field, he returned directly to the ſiege, and began to batter the town: and whilſt the artillery plaid warmly upon the walls, he cauſed a mine to be wrought from every redoubt to blow up the rampart on the inſide of them, and to make a breach with more expedition and ſecurity. But the beſieged, being reſolved not to give up the town without making a proper defence, made a ſally on the 1ſt of *July*, and attacked the Marſhal *De Biron's* and the Sieur *De Montmartin's* trenches with ſuch violence, that they got poſſeſſion of the redoubts and made a very great ſlaughter there, leaving eleven Captains and above two hundred of the King's ſoldiers dead upon the ſpot. But the Marſhal *De Biron* coming up in great haſte as ſoon as he heard of the ſkirmiſh, and ſoldiers running armed from all parts to the trenches, the enemy was at laſt driven back again into the town, and forced to have recourſe to another expedient; which was, to raiſe a counter battery, from whence they made ſo hot a fire, that they diſmounted and ſpoiled many of the beſiegers cannon. Every thing, how-

1594. ever, was presently repaired with the utmost diligence, and a great part of the wall already beaten down: but the rampart within appearing very high, it was necessary to stay till the mines and works under ground were finished. Whilst these were carrying on with great application and industry, under the inspection of the Baron *De Givry*, he received a shot in the head from a musket, of which he died in the flower of his age, to the extreme concern of every one, as he was indeed a Gentleman not only of true courage and the strictest honour, but of so engaging a behaviour, so agreeable in conversation, and master of so many excellent accomplishments, besides a considerable knowledge of letters, that he was generally beloved, and extorted praise even from his very enemies.

When the mines, which had been hard wrought at for many days, were at last perfected, they had very different effects: for the water which got into the Sieur *De St. Luc's* made it entirely useless: the Count *De Grammont's* had vent given to it by the besieged: the Sieur *De Montmartin's* threw down the wall, but did no damage at all to the rampart: the Marshal *De Biron's* and the Baron *De Salignac's* had very great effects: and yet when the wall was assaulted by Colonel *Grillon*, and the rampart by the Count *De Torigny*, they were resolutely maintained by the besieged, who at the same time sprung a * fougade, and blew up many of those that had too hastily advanced upon the rampart. The next day the assault was renewed several times, under the conduct of the Duke *De Bouillon* and the Marshal *De Biron:* and though the assailants could not lodge themselves upon the rampart, yet the besieged lost so many men, that it was not possible for them to hold out any longer without relief. Upon which account they began to capitulate, and on the 22d of *July* agreed to surrender, if the Duke of *Mayenne* did not either raise the siege, or throw six hundred foot into the town in the space of twelve days: but in such a manner, that the besieged should by no means assist in bringing in that relief, any further than by setting open their gates when it arrived, nor should receive less than three hundred men at a time. As soon as a copy of these articles was sent to the Duke, his Majesty dispatched the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Admiral *Villers*, and the Sieur *De Balagny* (who had lately made his submission) to take possession of the roads as far as *La Fere*, and to secure all the passes by which any such relief could possibly be sent. But no succours arriving in the time prescribed, the Count *De Sommerive*, Colonel *Du Bourg*, President *Jeannine*, and the whole garrison, marched out with their arms and baggage, and were convoyed to *La Fere* by the King's order, who shewed particular marks of honour and kindness to the Duke of *Mayenne's* young son.

* A mine about eight or ten feet square, covered with stones, pieces of timber, bricks, and other such things as may do most mischief to the assailants when they come upon it.

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The besieged had entertained hopes, that the Duke of *Guise* would attempt to send them some relief from *Champagne*, and indeed the King himself expected it. But the affairs of the province were in such distraction, that it was not in his power to move at that juncture: for at the same time that negociations were carrying on in every town, and with every Governor, in favour of the King, and the people in general seemed inclined to acknowledge him, as plainly appeared from the commotion at *Troyes*, even those of the Duke's own party, were forming still more destructive and pernicious designs against him himself.

1594.

Monsieur *De St. Paul*, a man of mean birth, from a subaltern, had raised himself by degrees to the rank of Colonel, whilst the Duke of *Guise's* father was alive, whom he had served with so much valour and fidelity, that he not only thought him very worthy of his favour and of a still higher command, but had used his interest to obtain an exceeding rich widow in marriage for him, and established him in the possession of a very affluent fortune. After the Duke was killed at *Blois*, as an old dependant on the house of *Lorrain*, he followed the Duke of *Mayenne's* party, and continued to serve with so much assiduity and good success, that he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of *Champagne* under the Duke of *Guise*, at that time a prisoner, and some time after created and declared a Marshal of *France* by the Duke of *Mayenne*. During the siege of *Paris*, he gathered together a vast quantity of provisions in the province of *Brie*, and whilst the King was held at bay by the Duke of *Mayenne*, he luckily found an opportunity of conveying them into the city, where he sold them at such an advantage, that, with his wife's fortune and the gratuities that he received from the *Spaniards* (who at first gave liberally, and with an open hand) he found himself master of an immense sum of money, which procured him many followers and dependants, and increased his interest and reputation to a very high degree. But his change of fortune was attended with such pride and insolence (as it generally happens) that when the Duke of *Guise* was at liberty and came into that province, this man, who had been used to rule and domineer himself, was very loath to submit to his command: and as he could not for shame absolutely refuse to obey him, on account of the many obligations he lay under to his family, and the greatness of his birth, he endeavoured to keep at a distance from him, and whenever the Duke sent him any orders or commissions, he put his own interpretation upon them, and only executed just what he thought proper, excusing himself for the rest with various pretences. The declining state of the League still added to his presumption; and when he saw the Princes of *Lorrain* disagreeing amongst themselves, and but feebly supported, he grew bolder every day, and at last formed a design of making himself

absolute

1594. absolute master of certain places then under his command, as Deputy-Governor of the province.

He began with seizing upon the duchy of *Retel*, which belonged to the Duke of *Nevers*, and, with an insupportable degree of arrogance, assumed to himself the title of Duke of *Retelois*. But this did not content him, for he proceeded in his design of making himself master of *Vitry*, *Rheims*, *Roucroix*, and *St. Disier*: and he was the more determined in this resolution, when he saw the *Spaniards* so intent upon gaining the *French* Lords and Commanders, and so sollicitous to allure them into their service; intending, as soon as he had got possession of those places, to put himself under the protection of the *Spaniard*, and endeavour to establish himself in the dominion he had usurped.

For this purpose, he began, by degrees, to introduce a garrison of his own picking into the city of *Rheims*, with a design to build a citadel to bridle the citizens, and keep them in obedience to him. But as they were not accustomed to be governed by a military power, and at the same time jealous of their liberties, and fearful of being made slaves to the insolence and oppression of soldiers (whose rapine and extortions *St. Paul* connived at and overlooked, in order to keep them well affected and firmly attached to him) they made such heavy and frequent complaints of him to the Duke of *Guise*, that the Duke wrote several letters to him upon that occasion, and finding there was little or no regard paid to them, he at last began to be aware of his artifices and designs: at which he was provoked to such a degree, that he left *Paris* as soon as ever the truce was expired, and went directly into that province, to provide against so imminent a danger. At his arrival there, he sent a peremptory order to Monsieur *De St. Paul*, not to bring any more soldiers into that city, as he had no manner of reason to suspect its fidelity. But he was so far from observing this order, that, on the contrary, he still persisted in bringing fresh reinforcements into the town every day, either out of fear of the Duke of *Guise*, or in order to prosecute his design: and as the citizens began to be more alarmed, and were continually making fresh remonstrances to the Duke, he at last went thither himself, with a numerous attendance, to frustrate so audacious an attempt, and to curb his insolence, which filled him with indignation, and enraged him in such a manner, that he resolved not to bear it any longer. Soon after his arrival at *Rheims*, as he was coming out of a church one morning, he accidentally met Monsieur *De St. Paul*, who had endeavoured to avoid the sight of him, and asking him what was the reason that he still continued to bring more soldiers into the city, contrary to his positive orders, *St. Paul* answered, "That he did it for the common safety, and because he had notice of some secret practices that were carrying on in the town."

But the Duke, being desirous to pick a quarrel with him, replied, in an angry and disdainful manner, that "Those were only pretences and lies of his own making, and that he would teach him to obey:" at which imputations *St. Paul* was touched to the quick, and told him, "That as he was a Marshal of *France*, he acknowledged no superior in matters of war:" and at the same time, either out of vanity or defiance, clapt his hand upon the hilt of his sword: upon which the Duke drew his, and run him through the body in such a manner, that he instantly dropped down dead. Such was the end of his ill founded greatness: but the soldiery regretted the loss of him; for as he had been very indulgent to those under his command, and given them an opportunity of enriching themselves by plundering the citizens, they loved and honoured his name. And though the citizens rejoiced at his death, they were far from being satisfied afterwards: for when the Duke of *Guise* saw the affairs of the League declining so fast, he resolved not only to keep the soldiers there, but to prosecute the design of building a citadel.

The condition that *Rheims* was in, had such an effect upon all the other cities and many Governors in the province, that they were in a great commotion, and seemed inclined to submit and put themselves under the King's protection, to shelter them from further dangers. So that the Duke of *Guise* found it a very difficult matter to prevent disturbances and insurrections in his own government, much less was he able to assist others in their exigencies. Nor was his residence there, and the great pains that he took to keep them all firm in their attachment to him, by any means sufficient: for the Sieur *De Pessay*, Governor of *Chasteau-Thierry*, made a composition with the King at the same time that *Laon* was surrendered, and having obtained such terms as were granted to the rest, with a promise of being continued in that government, he immediately went over to his party.

Much about the same time the city of *Amiens* likewise submitted, at the secret instigation of the King's friends there, who had insinuated to the citizens, that as the Duke of *Aumale* had made an agreement with the *Spaniards*, it was very probable he would put the city under the dominion of foreigners: upon which suggestions they rose in arms, and endeavoured to drive the Duke out of that city where he then resided, but had no garrison in it; for the citizens, insisting upon their privileges, had refused to admit any. After this tumult had lasted four days, in which they came to no certain resolution, the Duke of *Mayenne* himself arrived, who being admitted with only one company of his guards, composed their differences, as he thought, and reconciled the chief citizens to the Duke of *Aumale*. But after he was gone back again to the army, the people took up arms afresh, and publickly cried out, *For the King,*

for

1594. *for the King*: and after they had brought Monsieur *D'Humieres* into the city, they drove the Duke of *Aumale* out of it, who having now lost all hopes of being able to re-establish himself there, thought it the best way to leave them entirely, lest they should seize upon his person.

The Sieur *De Balagny* was already gone over to the King's party with the city of *Cambray*, which had been in the hands of the *French* ever since the time of the Duke of *Alançon*, after whose death the Queen his mother had taken possession of it, as inheritrix of what her son had acquired, and put it under the government of *Balagny*, who, after she was dead, and the kingdom of *France* involved in civil discords, chose to take part with the League, that he might not be molested by the *Spaniards*, and from being Governor only, by little and little made himself absolute master of that noble and flourishing city, and of that most fertile territory which lies round it. But now he saw the affairs of the League declining, and was desirous to keep possession of that state, he began to treat with the King, and offered, provided he would declare him Prince of *Cambray*, and protect him against the *Spanish* forces, after such a declaration, not only to submit to obey him, and acknowledge the sovereignty of the Crown of *France*, but also to receive the King's garrisons into the city and castle, obliging himself to serve him, in time of war, with two thousand foot and five hundred horse: and on the other hand, that the King would advance seventy thousand crowns yearly to pay his own garrison. It was no difficult matter to obtain these conditions from the King, who was very desirous to retain the sovereignty of that principality in the Crown, and thought the city was a very good barrier on the frontiers that bordered upon the enemy: and though these motives were plain and obvious, yet many did not scruple to say, that the King agreed to give that principality to *Balagny*, which was already in the power of the *French*, only to gratify Madam *Gabrielle d'Estrée*, of whom he was passionately enamoured, and who was nearly related to *Balagny*. Howsoever that might be, the King having ordered the patent to be expedited and confirmed in the Parliament before he left *Paris*, sent the Marshal *De Retz*, about this time, to cause him to be declared and acknowledged Prince of *Cambray* by the citizens, confirming the title to his wife, his sons, and his posterity, and after the taking of *Laon*, he entered, personally, into *Cambray* with his army, where he received homage from the citizens, and having fixed a garrison and settled affairs in the city, he went to *Amiens*, and being received with very great pomp there, he granted the same terms to the inhabitants that he had generously granted to other cities. In this expedition the King created two Marshals of *France*, the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Sieur *De Balagny*, with an intention

tion to employ them both in the war, which he had already determined to declare against the *Spaniards*. 1594.

In the mean time the news of the King's success, which was sent to *Rome* from many different parts, seemed to affect the Pope very much, though in reality he was not at all displeased at it: for as he already had secretly given the King hopes that he would grant him his benediction, and signified his intention to him, not only by the Sieur *De la Clielle*, but also, in terms that admitted of a double interpretation, to *Paolo Paruta*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, who was a man of great penetration, and presently comprehended the Pope's meaning: he was glad to hear things were taking such a turn, that he might not anticipate, but be anticipated, by the desires of the people, and be enabled to accomplish his ultimate design in such a manner as should seem to be the effect of necessity, and could not furnish the *Spaniards* with the least pretence to accuse him of having been too forward and inconsiderate in his proceedings, or of want of inclination to promote their interests and grandeur. For this purpose, he had permitted Cardinal *Gondi* to come to *Rome* in the beginning of the year, and though he did it with an express injunction, that the Cardinal should not presume to make the least mention of the affairs of *France*, yet he gave him leave, in their private conferences, to explain the nature of the King's rights and pretensions to him at large, to represent the disorderly and necessitous state of the Clergy, to point out the dangers which the Catholick religion would be exposed to if his Holiness should not comply with the King's request, and, in short, to inform him of every minute particular, that he might make a proper use of them to further his design. For the same reason, he was not offended at the decree made by the *Parisian* Divines in favour of the King (though he knew of it) but, on the contrary, was well pleased, that those very men, who had been so earnest to have him excommunicated, were now so active in paving the way for his reconciliation: and though he seemed to be much incensed, and made use of threatning expressions in publick, yet he behaved in a very different manner in private, and rejoiced when he heard that his perseverance was interpreted obduracy, telling the *Spanish* Cardinals and Ambassadors, who were continually at his ear, that his reputation suffered very much, and that he exposed himself to general censure, because he was unwilling to thwart or contradict them in any thing. In the mean time he also satisfied his own conscience, by assuring himself of the King's sincerity and the reality of his conversion, and took an opportunity of letting him know, by means of *Sannesio* and *D'Ossat*, that many conditions were requisite before he could grant his benediction, and particularly, that as he had no legitimate male heir, the young Prince of *Condé*, who was next in succession to the Crown, ought

1594. ought to be taken out of the hands of the *Hugonots* and educated in the Catholick religion, that ſo, whatever ſhould happen, they might not relapſe into their former dangers and troubles. This was alſo intimated in converſation both to Cardinal *Gondi* and the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, who not only informed the King of it, but adviſed him to remove that ſcruple, leſt it ſhould hinder the progreſs of their negociation. He therefore began to conſider by what means he might get him out of the *Hugonots* hands, who, after the King's converſion, had in a great meaſure transferred their affections to that Prince, in hopes of raiſing up to themſelves another chief and ſupport of their faction.

But Cardinal *Gondi* thinking himſelf now fully informed of all things that were neceſſary to be done, to remove the Pope's doubts and facilitate the King's reconciliation, reſolved to return into *France*, and endeavour to have them put in execution, by repreſenting them to the King himſelf in perſon: for which purpoſe, when he arrived at the camp before *Laon*, he paſſed two whole days in cloſe conference with his Majeſty; from whom he went to *Paris*, and boldly commanded the Clergy there to make uſe of thoſe prayers again that had always been offered up for the moſt Chriſtian Kings, and expreſsly to acknowledge *Henry* the fourth for their true and lawful Sovereign. And as there were ſome of the Regulars that preſumed to oppoſe it, he gave them a ſevere reprimand, and ordered them to depart out of his preſence: and though an account of it was ſent directly to *Rome*, and there exaggerated, as uſual, the Pope did not ſeem to be much moved, and only ſaid, "*Gondi* was not a good Cardinal, and that he would take a proper opportunity of chaſtiſing him for his miſconduct: adding, that in the ſtate which the affairs of *France* were at that time, there was no occaſion to throw freſh fuel to a flame that already raged with ſo much fury; and that the Catholick union ſeemed in ſuch a languiſhing condition, that it would be no eaſy matter to ſupport it for the future." But when the news arrived of the reduction of *Laon* and the retreat of the *Spaniſh* army, his Holineſs pretended to be extremely offended: and as he affected to think it was the fault of the *Spaniards* themſelves, he told the Duke of *Seſſa*, "That his Catholick Majeſty ſeemed to expect that the Holy See ſhould carry on the war with ſpiritual weapons alone, whilſt he himſelf was ſo backward in uſing temporal arms: that he ought to remember, that excommunications, though deſtructive to the ſouls of the hardened and impenitent, have not always the ſame effect upon their ſecular intereſts: that whoſoever was deſirous of ſecuring ſucceſs in ſuch undertakings, muſt unite the two ſwords, and act with both hands at the ſame time: that he perceived, or, at leaſt, thought he perceived, that the King of *Spain* was ſick of the expences of the war, and if he was really ſo, he would oblige him much

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in letting him know it, that he might provide in good time, and the best manner he could, against the danger with which the Catholick religion was threatned, since the *French* union was in a great measure already dissolved, and the *Spanish* army was either not able, or not willing, to support it." The *Spaniards* were stung to the quick by this reproach, and as they suspected the Pope's design, they determined not to furnish him with the handle which they thought he was seeking, but wrote not only into *Spain* in very free terms, to represent the necessity his Catholick Majesty lay under, either of giving the matter up entirely, or of exerting himself in a more effectual manner, but also to *Brussels*, to acquaint the Archduke, how necessary it was for him to send speedy succours to the assistance of the League, which was visibly declining every day for want of them.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, therefore, went back to that court after the loss of *Laon*, to concert measures with the Archduke for the support of their common interests, in which both parties now gave up something of their pretensions to the exigency of the times, and began to treat with more unanimity and greater satisfaction to each other. For the Duke, knowing himself in a weak condition, had abated much of his first demands; and the Archduke, being sensible it was no time to exasperate him, for fear it should drive him to despair, and finding that he would not bear to hear of submitting to the dominion of his Catholick Majesty, as Monsieur *De Rhosnè* and the Duke of *Aumale* had done, resolved to amuse him with an offer of very advantageous terms, and by seeming to treat with him upon an equal bottom, still maintaining the Infanta's pretensions, as he knew he could order things as he pleased when she was once elected; and in the mean while to conduct himself in the prosecution of his secret design in such a manner, as time and opportunity should direct. So that after a long treaty betwixt President *Jeannine* and President *Riccardotto*, and after the Princes themselves had often conferred together, they at last came to an agreement that seemed just and honourable to both parties.

The substance of this agreement was, That the King of *Spain* should continue to treat the Duke of *Mayenne* as Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France*, and that he should be so acknowledged in all places and armies where he should happen to be. That the ten thousand crowns a month should continue to be paid, which had been assigned to him by his Catholick Majesty from the beginning. That he, on the other hand, should carry on the war in such parts of the kingdom as he should think most proper, and particularly in the province of *Burgundy*, for the support of which, a certain number, both of horse and foot, should be granted him. That what places soever he should take, should

1594. be held by him, in the name of the King that ſhould hereafter be elected by the joint conſent of the *French* confederates, of the Apoſtolick See, and of the King of *Spain*. That the ſaid King ſhould be obliged to reinforce his armies, in order to make war in *Dauphinè*, *Picardy*, and *Bretagne*: that the territories which ſhould be conquered there, ſhould alſo be held by *French* Governors in the name of the future King: and that the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Guiſe*, and the other Lords and Chiefs of the Union, ſhould be exhorted to continue the war.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, thinking he had warded off his ruin, at leaſt for the preſent, by theſe conditions, ambiguous as they were, left *Bruſſels* in company with a Gentleman ſent by the Archduke, and went directly to *Nancy*, to confer with the Duke of *Lorrain*. His intention was, to try if he could keep him united with the League, and to perſuade him to continue the war. But he had already not only concluded a truce with the King of *France*, by means of Monſieur *De Baſſompierre*, but, as he was deſirous to diſburden himſelf of their pay, had alſo permitted his ſoldiers to bear arms in his ſervice: in conſequence of which, the Baron *D'Oſſonville* and the Sieur *De Tremblecourt* had put on white ſaſhes, and were gone, with three thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, to ſerve his Majeſty, having engaged to make an incurſion into the county of *Burgundy*, which till then had been neutral, and not moleſted by either ſide. The Duke of *Mayenne*, therefore, finding things in this ſituation, and not having been able to divert the Duke of *Lorrain* from his inclination to peace, reſolved to go into the duchy of *Burgundy* (which, it muſt be obſerved, is divided from the county, one belonging to the Crown of *France*, and the other, by ancient diviſion, to that of *Spain*) and to endeavour to eſtabliſh himſelf firmly there, as he already had poſſeſſion of moſt of the towns, in quality of Governor of the province: for he had always reſolved, whatever ſhould be the event of things, if poſſible, to retain either the abſolute ſovereignty, or at leaſt the government of that duchy. But after the treaty of peace was broken off, which had been carried on by means of *Villeroy* and Preſident *Jeannine*, the King plainly perceived his deſign, and determined to oppoſe his attempts upon the duchy of *Burgundy*: with which view, and to recover thoſe places, he appointed the Marſhal *De Biron*, who was the moſt active and reſolute Commander in his ſervice, to be Governor of that province, and ordered him to be in readineſs as ſoon as poſſible, to march thither with a proper force for that purpoſe.

In the mean time, *Tremblecourt* and *D'Oſſonville* were gone into the *Franche Comptè*, or county of *Burgundy*, and after many ſudden incurſions into the country, took *Vezu* and *Jaunville*, and threw the whole province into very great terror and confuſion; for the people thought themſelves

themſelves ſufficiently ſecure, on account of their neutrality, and had no forces in the province able to make head againſt this invaſion. So that they were obliged to ſend in great haſte to demand ſuccours both from *Savoy* and *Flanders*: from whence ſome few forces were ſent to garriſon the principal places; but as the winter was beginning, the *Spaniards* could do nothing further for them at that time: nor were they very anxious about it, becauſe, when they conſidered how few forces the King of *France* had in thoſe parts, they were very certain he could make no great progreſs there, eſpecially at that ſeaſon of the year.

1594.

But what ſerved to diſconcert the affairs of the League ſtill more than all the reſt, was, the defection of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who (either chagrined at the oppoſition which the Duke of *Mayenne* had made to his exaltation, or enraged that the *Spaniards* had tantalized him with a glimpſe of royalty, and then had not only withdrawn their countenance, but excluded him from all other emoluments; and ſeeing the authority and grandeur that his father formerly enjoyed, now wholly transferred to the Duke of *Mayenne*, by which, he himſelf, on account of his youth, and becauſe he had ſo few dependants, was obliged to give up his pretenſions to the firſt place, and to be content with one of a much inferior quality) reſolved, about this time, to make his peace with the King, and by means of his mother and the Marſhal *De la Chaſtre*, agreed, in the name of himſelf, his brother the Prince of *Jainville*, and Monſeigneur *Loüis*, another of his brothers, who was deſtined to an eccleſiaſtical life, to deliver *Rheims*, *Vitry*, *Roucroix*, *St. Diſier*, *Guiſe*, *Montcornet*, and other places in *Champagne*, and the adjacent parts, into the King's hands, provided he might have the government of *Provence*, four hundred thouſand crowns to pay the debts contracted by his father, and ſome ſpiritual preferments for the third brother, lately enjoyed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who died a little before, after a long illneſs, which the phyſicians took for an hectick fever, though ſome ſuſpected he was poiſoned. It was a long time before this treaty of agreement could be concluded; for the Duke of *Guiſe* inſiſted upon retaining the government of *Champagne*, and the King was not willing to deprive the Duke of *Nevers* of it. There were great diſputes likewiſe about the government of *Provence*: for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who had ſeized upon it after his brother's death, and had eſtabliſhed himſelf in the command by many ſucceſsful enterpriſes againſt the Duke of *Savoy* and the League, was not willing to reſign it. Nor were theſe the only impediments: for the High Chancellor and many of the Council, adviſed the King not to put that province into the Duke of *Guiſe's* hands, to which he pretended a right, as heir to the houſe of *Anjou*. But the King, on one hand, was deſirous to have that government given up by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who had

1594. thrust himself into it, at a time when every thing was in the greatest distraction, without any commission from him: and, on the other, he knew it was highly necessary to provide a remedy for the present evils, without being so unseasonably sollicitous for the future: the ingenuity, the candour, and moderation, of which the Duke of *Guise* had given so many proofs in his late transactions with the *Spaniards*, determined the King to confide in him. The agreement therefore was at last concluded; by which the King's party received a great addition of strength and reputation, whilst that of the League was not only much weakened, and reduced to a very languishing condition, but almost utterly dissolved.

Now the principal events, and such as seemed to be more immediately connected with the main designs of the several parties engaged in the war, have been related, it is time to give a brief account of what happened in the remoter parts of the kingdom. The party of the League was firmly established in *Bretagne*, and more powerful there than in any other place: for, besides the forces of the province, which were better united than the rest and followed the Duke of *Mercœur*, who had acquired a very high degree of reputation by the success of his arms, there were also five thousand *Spanish* foot, under the command of Don *Juan del Aquila*, who were in possession of *Blavet* and the places about it, and ready to assist wherever there should be occasion in that province. But they agreed together here no better than in other parts: for the Duke of *Mercœur* was offended that the *Spaniards* should act upon a separate bottom, and with private views of their own, and could not bear to hear of the Infanta's pretensions to that province, as contrary to the right which his wife *Margaret*, Countess of *Penthievre*, likewise claimed to it. Nor was he less mortified when he saw they made it a constant rule not to concern themselves about any thing out of that province: so that, when the course of victory prompted him to some important enterprise in the neighbouring provinces, he found his wings clipt, by their refusing to stir out of the limits of *Bretagne*. They, on the other hand, were discontented that he confined them within the circuit of *Blavet*, and would not suffer them to take any further foothold in the province: and more particularly, that, when they had gone from that fortress, which is situated on the extremity of a peninsula, and begun to raise a fort in the isthmus of another peninsula, to shut up the passage on the land-side, and to prevent the entrance of ships into the harbour of *Brest*, a place much frequented by the northern nations, they perceived the Duke did not approve of it, and used many artifices to obstruct the progress of that fortification.

The Marshal *D'Aumont*, for his part, who was Governor in the King's name there, had more courage than strength: for the necessities of the adjacent provinces would not allow him to assemble more than one thousand

English

English foot, two thousand *French*, and four or five hundred horse of the volunteer Noblesse of the country. But after the King's conversion began to work upon the affections of the people in that province, and to give him more weight, he advanced to receive *Laval* into his protection, a town that had voluntarily submitted to him, and then laid siege to and took *Morlaix*, though the Duke of *Mercœur* endeavoured to relieve it. From thence, with a reinforcement of some fresh *English* foot which had been in *Normandy*, under the command of Colonel *Norris*, he resolved to attack the new fort which the *Spaniards* were building, before it was completed, or they could have time to establish themselves in the possession of that fertile and populous sea-coast. For this purpose, he drew his army together, which consisted of two thousand *English* foot, commanded by Colonel *Norris*, three thousand *French*, under the conduct of the Baron *De Molac*, three hundred harquebusiers on horseback, and four hundred Gentlemen, and being abundantly furnished with artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries by Monsieur *De Sourdiac*, Governor of *Brest*, who spared no expence to rid himself of the near neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*, he came with his army before it on the eleventh of *October*.

1594.

It is situated upon a natural rock, and every way surrounded by the sea, except where the peninsula joins to the main land; and on that side they had raised two ramparts in the form of a tenaille, betwixt which was the gate with its draw-bridge, fosse, and counterscarp, all designed in a masterly manner, though not yet made quite defensible. Don *Tomaso Prassedez* was Governor of this fort, who was an old experienced commander, and had four hundred *Spanish* foot with him, and plenty of provisions of every sort necessary for the defence of it. But the besiegers were presently aware how difficult a task they had undertaken: for as soon as they began to break ground, and to make their approaches towards the edge of the counterscarp, they found there were no more than two feet of earth before they came to the solid rock: so that it was necessary to have recourse to gabions, in filling, bringing up, and planting of which, they were employed nine days, and lost a vast number of men: for as the besieged had plenty of small pieces of cannon, which they made use of with great skill, and sallied out of the embrasures, sometimes of one rampart, sometimes of the other, they harrassed the enemy day and night without cessation. At last, however, the resolution of the besiegers surmounted all difficulties; for having planted twelve pieces of cannon, they began to play upon the ramparts, and though their balls at first stuck in the earth, and did little execution, yet the continual fire which they kept from their batteries, after a while demolished the fascines that bound the ramparts together, in such a manner, that they tumbled down by degrees, till they filled the fosse, and afforded the besiegers a convenience of advancing to the assault.

The

1594. The Baron *De Molac*, therefore, with the *French* under his command, attacked the rampart on the right hand, and Colonel *Norris*, with his *English*, the other on the left. But the *Spaniards* received the assault, which was bold and vigorous, with so much courage, that after a very hot dispute, which lasted three hours, the assailants were repulsed and obliged to retire with so much precipitation, that they left above an hundred of their men dead upon the spot, besides three *French* and four *English* captains; a loss that was much increased by their cannoniers, who, during the retreat, fired upon the besieged on the ramparts with so little caution and judgment, that they blew up their own powder and destroyed many of their soldiers. This misfortune gave the *Spaniards* an opportunity of repairing their works; for whilst the *French* waited till fresh supplies of powder and other necessaries arrived from *Brest*, before they could make any further use of their artillery, they raised their ramparts again with the same earth, and fortified them with two strong palisadoes (or *fraises* as the *French* call them) which surrounded them on every side. As soon however as the batteries were furnished again, they renewed their fire, on the fourth of *November*, with greater fury than before; so that the palisadoes presently giving way to it, they began to clear the passage once more to advance to the assault. But whilst they were going up to it, there happened so sudden a storm of thunder, lightning, and heavy rain, that they were forced to defer it till the next day; during which interval the besieged cut an intrenchment on the outside of the ramparts, and covered themselves in such a manner, that they bravely sustained the assault which was made the next morning, with little damage to themselves and very great to the enemy; who were hardly returned from the assault, and gone to take a little rest, when the *Spaniards* sallying out, to the number of seventy, suddenly made themselves masters of the *French* batteries, killed a Colonel and above two hundred other soldiers, whom they found asleep and defenceless, and nailed up three pieces of cannon; but upon the coming up of the Baron *De Molac*, they were driven back into the fosse with the loss of no more than eleven of their men.

After this the siege proceeded very heavily: for the Marshal *D'Aumont*, being far advanced in years, and overpowered with toil and fatigue, was visited with a dangerous sickness; and yet the garrison of the fort were so harrassed and worn down with continual duty, that they began to be exceedingly importunate for relief. But the Duke of *Mercœur* paid little regard to their sollicitations: on the contrary, he rather wished that the fort might be taken, as he knew the *Spaniards* wanted to possess themselves of all that coast, which, abounding in islands, secure harbours, large populous towns, and lying very commodiously for the reception of supplies from a *Spanish* fleet, would furnish them with an opportunity of keeping up a long

long and dangerous war all over the province of *Bretagne*. For this reason, 1594. though he had been obliged to let them take up their quarters at *Blavet*, he was extremely offended that they should attempt to extend themselves any further, and therefore endeavoured to excuse himself from sending them any relief, by continually raising fresh difficulties and impediments. Don *Juan del Aquila*, who had no cavalry with him, durst not move to relieve *Croisil*, as they called that fort: and yet, as he saw his countrymen in such distress, and thought it a shame to let them perish without any attempt to assist them, he advanced, with four thousand foot and two pieces of cannon, towards *Quimpercorantin*, to try whether the apprehension of losing that place would not induce the *French* to raise the siege. But as he happened to meet the Sieur *De Montbaraut*, who had posted himself upon that road, with two hundred cuirassiers and fifty carbineers, and retired by little and little till he got into the town, it was so secured by that reinforcement, that the fear of losing the place did not lay them under any necessity of rising from before *Croisil*: besides, he had neither artillery nor other provisions sufficient for such an undertaking. Upon which considerations, he turned off another way, and passing by the town, marched forwards till he came to the road that led directly from *Quimpercorantin* to the *French* camp, with a resolution to post himself in places of such advantage, that the cavalry should not be able to annoy him, and to try if his approach would not in some measure conduce to prevent the taking of the fort. But as *Montbaraut* pursued them in the rear with his cavalry, and the Sieur *Du Tremblay* was advancing from the camp with an hundred and fifty more horse, Don *Juan* was forced to march very slowly, and with great circumspection, lest he should be attacked in open places by the cavalry, especially as the Chevalier *De Pollonville* and the Sieur *De Basternay* had joined them, with the rest of the horse that belonged to the camp; he thought it the best way therefore to take a large circuit, and endeavour to get into the peninsula by by land, whither he might have transported himself and his forces in less than an hour, if he had been provided with the convenience of shipping.

In the mean time Marshal *D'Aumont*, being recovered of his sickness, sent for Monsieur *Sourdiac* to the camp, and endeavoured to distress the besieged with his utmost power, and having battered the place from day break till the sun began to decline, on the eighteenth of *November* he ordered the Baron *De Molac* to make an assault; who being repulsed, Colonel *Du Bordet* made a fresh one, and he being likewise driven off, with greater slaughter than *Molac*, the *English* immediately stormed the rampart on one side, whilst a body of the bravest of the Noblesse renewed the attack on the other: and though *Martin Forbisher*, one of the *English* Colonels, and Colonel *Trescane*, a *French* commander, were killed in the first fury of the assault, yet the besieged, overpowered rather by fatigue than the valour of the

1594. the enemy, were at laſt all cut to pieces after a reſiſtance of two hours, without ſtirring a foot from the defence of the rampart, upon which they fought deſperately to the laſt man, and with ſo much loſs to the aſſailants (of whom above ſix hundred of the beſt and braveſt ſoldiers in the camp were ſlain) that if Don *Juan d'Aquila*, who was come very near, had advanced directly thither, it is probable the Marſhal *D'Aumont* would have been utterly defeated, and the fort loſt and recovered on the ſame day. But the fear of the cavalry having obliged him to ſtay encamped in an advantageous place, and yet ſo near, that he could hear the vollies of ſmall arms whilſt the action laſted, when he was informed, at the ſame time, of the heroic behaviour and total deſtruction of his countrymen, he reſolved to retire the next morning, and, not being purſued by any one, marched back again to his former quarters at *Blavet*, without making any further attempt.

After this event the forces of the King's party increaſed in that province: for the Sieurs *De St. Luc* and *Montmartin*, leaving the ſiege of *Laon*, were come to its ſuccour with five regiments of *Swiſs*, three regiments of *French*, and three troops of harquebuſiers on horſeback, who having taken many weak towns, either by force or compoſition, in the courſe of their march, reduced the Duke of *Mercœur* to a neceſſity of uniting with the *Spaniards*, to hinder theſe new forces from joining the Marſhal *D'Aumont*, and attempting ſome enterprize of greater moment: ſo that, after the diſguſt was blown over that had ſubſiſted betwixt them on account of fort *Croiſil* (which was utterly demoliſhed by Monſieur *Sourdiac* amidſt a prodigious concourſe of the people of that country) the Duke of *Mercœur* reſolved to unite all the forces in one body, and endeavour to make head againſt the King's, as he had done with very great ſucceſs till that time.

At the beginning of this year, a little fire broke out in *Provence*, the ſparks of which might have kindled a dangerous combuſtion in thoſe parts, if timely care had not been taken to extinguiſh it. The *Provençals* and *Gaſcons* are ancient and natural enemies: which conſideration, however, did not prevent King *Henry* the third from conferring the government of *Provence* upon the Duke of *Eſpernon*, though he was a *Gaſcon* by birth. This incenſed the Nobleſſe and people of that province, to ſuch a degree, that it became neceſſary to reduce them to their wonted obedience, by force of arms: which not only contributed to increaſe the followers and adherents of the League very much, but would have produced other evil conſequences, if his brother, Monſieur *De Valette*, who was left to govern there as his Lieutenant, had not appeaſed their reſentment with great addreſs, and the mildneſs of his adminiſtration, and taught them to prefer merit and virtue to difference of birth. But after his death the Duke of *Eſpernon* himſelf, being come thither with a larger number of forces than

1594

than ever his brother had, began to proſecute the war, and to exerciſe his authority with greater rigour, exacting a punctual obedience from thoſe of the King's party, and perſecuting the adherents of the League: amongſt whom the Count *De Carſès*, with the City and Parliament of *Aix*, which he had beſieged, finding they were not able to reſiſt ſo powerful an enemy, agreed to ſubmit to Monſieur *Les Diguieres*, or Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo*, in the King's name, but upon expreſs condition, that the Duke ſhould have no power nor authority in that town, which was promiſed. The Duke, nevertheleſs, being ſtill more exaſperated at the diſlike which they ſhewed to his perſon, gathered freſh forces together, and began to build a fort, to command the city and keep it in ſubjection: at which the citizens were outrageouſly offended, and the ſame ſpirit of diſaffection reigning through the whole province, they ſent deputies to court to beſeech the King to take the government from the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and give it to ſome other perſon. The King, who, on account of the uncertain ſituation of his affairs, had diſſembled till that time, and even then was unwilling to alienate the Duke's affections from him; and, on the other hand, ſaw how diſcontented that province was, and what troubles were likely to enſue, thought it the beſt way to refer the matter to Marſhal *D'Anville*, Governor of *Languedoc*, whom he had lately created High Conſtable of the kingdom. For as the *Provençals* were well affected to his perſon, and the Duke of *Eſpernon* had married his niece, he thought *D'Anville*, with his uſual prudence and addreſs, would find out ſome middle courſe, by which the people might be ſatisfied, and the Duke at the ſame time removed in an honourable manner from that government. But when he ſaw the Duke reſolved to maintain himſelf in his authority, and the Conſtable tardy in providing a remedy, he ordered *Les Diguieres* to march, as he was wont, from *Dauphinè* into *Provence*, with as much expedition as poſſible, to oppoſe the Duke of *Eſpernon*, whoſe deſigns did not ſeem ſufficiently clear to him. *Les Diguieres*, always ready upon ſuch occaſions, and deſirous to give the *Provençals* ſatisfaction, having aſſembled ſeven thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe, immediately marched to the banks of the river *Durance*, with an intention to paſs it, and to enter *Provence* in a hoſtile manner, againſt the Duke. But when he arrived there, he met Monſieur *De la Fin*, a prudent man, and well verſed in the affairs of the court, who came from the Duke to perſuade him not to advance any further, ſince the Duke, he ſaid, was ready to obey the Conſtable's orders, according to the King's intention and command, without having recourſe to arms: which being credited by *Les Diguieres*, he reſolved to continue in the ſame quarters, as he was unwilling to proceed to extremities, in a matter which poſſibly might be accommodated in a few days, though it was afterwards protracted by his being ſeized with a fever,

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1594. which obliged him to ſtay much longer in that place. But though *La Fin* paſſed often betwixt them, and alſo went to know the Conſtable's pleaſure, yet no means could be found to reconcile ſuch jarring intereſts: for the Duke pretended, that he had acquired that government by his arms, and ought to be continued in it, for having defended it in the moſt dangerous times againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, and the League, at his own expence, with his own forces, and with the blood of his own brother, and therefore declared he would maintain it at all events. On the other hand, *Les Diguieres* inſiſted, that he would be highly in the wrong to reduce the whole province to deſpair, and force it to throw itſelf into the arms of the Duke of *Savoy*, or the *Spaniard*, and that the Duke of *Eſpernon* had already ſo many governments, that he might be very well contented without uſurping this, to the manifeſt diſturbance of the King's affairs. And as the difference of their religions ſharpened them both, *Les Diguieres* being a *Hugonot*, and the Duke a ſincere *Catholick*, they were very ſevere upon each other: beſides, one of them having been a favourite, and the other an enemy, of *Henry* the third, whoſe party he had conſtantly oppoſed, during the courſe of his reign, there was a private enmity betwixt them, extremely prejudicial to the publick affairs, which they then had in hand. So that, the progreſs of the treaty betwixt them being interrupted, *Les Diguieres* paſſed the river with his whole army, in the beginning of *May*, and the ſame day there was a ſharp ſkirmiſh, which laſted many hours, betwixt ſome of the troops of each army: and though the loſs was pretty equal on both ſides, yet *Les Diguieres* remained in poſſeſſion of the field, whilſt the Duke made his retreat without ſuſtaining any loſs, and carried away many of the enemy priſoners along with him.

But the Duke, at laſt, perceiving that the forces of *Dauphiné* were joined with thoſe of *Provence* againſt him, and (as he was a man of great prudence) not ſeeing any convenient opportunity of forming a third party, nor any ſupport ready, to which he could have recourſe at preſent, eſpecially as he had lately received the news of the revolt of *Paris*, and ſeveral other cities, thought it would be very unwiſe to ſhake off his obedience to the King, at a time when others were returning to it ſo faſt. He reſolved therefore to revive the treaty of agreement which had never been totally broken off, and ſubmitted himſelf to the arbitrement of the Conſtable, who adjudged, that he ſhould put the fort of *Aix* into the hands of Monſieur *De la Fin*, and withdraw his garriſons from *Toulon*, *St. Paul*, *Treques*, and *Mirebeau*, till ſuch time as the King ſhould determine what courſe ſhould be afterwards taken: in conſequence of which deciſion, the Duke delivered the fort up to *La Fin*, on the tenth of *May*, and the ſame day, *Les Diguieres* made his entrance into *Aix*, where he was received with great ſolemnity by the citizens. But during this ſuſpenſion of arms, whilſt they

they were waiting for orders from Court, *Les Diguieres*, pretending that the Duke's ſoldiers had taken ſome of his, and pillaged the country, and that conſequently the truce was broke, ſuddenly entered the fort, without ſtaying for the King's commands, and delivered it up to the citizens, who, running together in great numbers, ſo effectually demoliſhed it, by common conſent, that at the end of two days there were no traces of it to be ſeen: and having left the other places in the hands of the Count *De Carſes*, he returned with the reſt of the army into *Dauphiné*. Soon after this, an accommodation enſued with the Duke of *Guiſe*, to whom the King gave the government of that province, at which the Duke of *Eſpernon* was not a little piqued: yet he thought it the beſt way to diſſemble the matter, and reſerved himſelf to take the advantage of time and opportunity, being deſirous to have it believed, that what had lately happened, proceeded merely from private enmity betwixt him and *Les Diguieres*, though he was not wanting to himſelf, nor omitted to make uſe of any poſſible means to keep the poſſeſſion of that government.

1594.

But whilſt Monſieur *Les Diguieres* was preparing, at the beginning of *September*, to go out of *Dauphiné* into *Piedmont*, he received advice that the Duke of *Savoy* had laid cloſe ſiege to *Briqueras*, which obliged him to do that by neceſſity, which he had before determined to do by choice. The Duke had got together four thouſand *Germans*, commanded by the Count of *Lodrone*, five thouſand *Italian* foot, under the conduct of Colonel *Barnabo Barbo*, a *Milaneſe*, and fifteen hundred horſe led by Don *Alphonſo Idiaques*, with which troops he reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to drive the *French* back again over the *Alpes*: and as *Briqueras* was the principal place that they were in poſſeſſion of there, he laid ſiege to it, and having battered it with many pieces of cannon, he cauſed it to be aſſaulted by Don *Philip* of *Savoy*, and a ſcalado to be given at the ſame time, in another part, by Don *Sancho Salina*: ſo that the beſieged, being attacked in every quarter, were forced to quit the town, and retire into the citadel, which was likewiſe cloſely inveſted without loſs of time. In this interval *Les Diguieres* had paſſed the mountains, with a deſign to relieve *Briqueras*: but the Duke had ſufficiently provided againſt that, by blocking up all the paſſes, and placing ſtrong guards in thoſe narrow and rugged defiles (which were alſo naturally very ſteep and full of precipices) in ſuch a manner, that after the *French* had made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to paſs them, they were forced to retire: and the beſieged being afterwards diſtreſſed on all ſides, without any further hope of relief, reſolved to ſurrender. Accordingly, on the ſecond of *October*, they delivered up the citadel into the Duke's hands, who being now freed from that impediment, in a few days recovered fort *San Benedetto*, which had been taken by *Les Diguieres* in his retreat: but the ſnows falling ſoon after, put

1594. an end to all further action in those parts, for the remainder of that year.

Not long before, the Duke of *Nemours* had made his escape out of the castle of *Pierre-Ancise*, with much more art than he had shewn caution in avoiding the danger of imprisonment: for as one of his servants had a very long and thick head of hair, which sometimes hung down, and almost covered his face, he secretly procured a peruke to be made like it, and managed the matter so well, that, one morning, after he had put the servant into his bed, and covered him up, he went out of the chamber, with a close-stool-pan in his hand, as if he was going to empty it, and got out of the castle gate as fast as he could, to a house that was near at hand, in which he concealed himself till he had an opportunity of escaping into the fields, where he was met by some few friends, who waited there for him, and safely conducted to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*: at his arrival in which province, he was joined by the Marquis [illegible] his brother, and continued to make war there, in favour of the League, chiefly endeavouring to harrass the territories, and distress the inhabitants of *Lyons*, to whom (exclusive of the publick quarrel) he had a particular hatred [illegible] his own and his brother's weakness, and their want of money and adherents, prevented them from making any considerable progress.

This year was closed with an attempt so desperate and atrocious, that it is hardly credible, and which had like to have overset all that had been so happily atchieved, in so long a course of time, and with so much labour and difficulty: For on the twenty seventh of *December*, the day that the King returned to *Paris* from the camp in *Picardy*, after he had dismounted from his horse, and gone into one of the apartments of the *Louvre*, where the Knights that had been elected to receive the order of the *Holy Ghost*, on New-year's-day, were assembled to make their obeisance to him, as usual upon that occasion, a young merchant, born in *Paris*, whose name was *Jean Chastel*, having got into the same apartment, amongst the attendants of the Sieurs *De Ragny* and *Montigny*, struck the King with a knife in the face, whilst he was stooping to embrace one of those Knights, though he had aimed it at his throat: but as the stroke was diverted in a providential manner, it hit him upon the lip, and meeting with the resistance of his teeth, made but a slight and inconsiderable wound. At the commotion which this occasioned amongst the by-standers, the young man dextrously let his knife drop to the ground, and mixed with the crowd, in hopes of escaping undiscovered out of the room: but as he was known by many there, he was instantly seized, and whilst they were going to fall upon him, in the first transports of so just an indignation, the King commanded them not to hurt the traitor, but to deliver him into the custody of the *Grand Prevôt de l'Hôtel*, that he might be carried to prison.

prison. After which he was brought before the Parliament, where, being examined with the usual forms, he freely confessed, and afterwards ratified his confession, when he was under torture, that he was educated in the schools of the *Jesuits*, and had often heard it maintained in their disputations, that it was not only lawful, but also meritorious, to kill *Henry* of *Bourbon*, a relapsed heretick and persecutor of the holy Church, who had unjustly arrogated to himself the title of King of *France*: that afterwards, having been guilty of the most enormous and shameful vices, and attempted to lie, even with one of his own sisters, he had fallen into such despair of God's mercy and forgiveness, that he was prompted to commit that fact, out of a persuasion that it was of inestimable merit, and in order to deliver him from the horror and punishment of his sins: that he had communicated his design to his father, who had earnestly dissuaded him from it; but that being more effectually moved by an inward impulse, he had at last determined upon it: that having conferred about it, in private confession, with the curate of *St. Andrew*, in the city of *Paris*, he was confirmed by him in his resolution, though in a dark and ambiguous manner; so that after long contrivance, and much consideration, he had fixed upon that time and place to put it in execution.

1594.

When he had made this confession, they immediately sent to apprehend his father, mother, sister, and all the writings that were in the house, amongst which there was nothing material discovered, except a confession, written with his own hand, wherein he had set down his sins, in order to confess them to a priest, which chiefly consisted of the most dissolute and debauched practices. But the hatred which the Parliament bore to the *Jesuits* (the first authors and continual fomenters of the League) added to the conjectures drawn from the deposition of the criminal, who constantly affirmed that he had imbibed those principles from them, induced the magistrates not only to order their College to be suddenly beset, and some of them to be committed to prison, but the papers that every one had in his chambers, to be carefully searched, amongst which there were many writings, found in the study of father *Jean Guignard*, a native of *Chartres*, that inculcated the same doctrine, extolled the murder of the late King, advised the killing of the present, and contained many other things of that kind, with odious names and qualities ascribed to those Princes, and several others. They likewise proved, that many things of the same nature had been spoken, in the heat of the war, by father *Alexander Hay*, a *Scotchman*, and father *Jean Gueret*, professor of philosophy, and the ordinary confessor of this chastel: so that, after many debates in the Parliament, the Counsellors at last agreed in this sentence, "That *Jean Chastel*, being brought bare-headed and bare-footed before the gate of the cathedral church, should abjure the doctrine which

1594. he had till then believed, and confeſs the enormity of the parricide that he had attempted to commit; and then be put into a cart, and have his fleſh torn off with pincers, in the four principal parts of the city; after which he ſhould be carried to the place of execution, and there have his right hand cut off, holding the ſame knife with which he had wounded the King; and laſtly, that he ſhould be dragged to pieces by four horſes: that the *Jeſuits*, both profeſſed and not profeſſed, ſhould be baniſhed out of the whole kingdom, as enemies to the Crown and publick tranquillity, their goods and revenues diſtributed to pious uſes, and all *Frenchmen* prohibited to ſtudy or converſe in their ſchools: that father *Jean Guignard* ſhould be condemned to the gallows, the fathers *Gueret* and *Hay* perpetually baniſhed from all places under the dominion of the crown, that *Pierre Chaſtel*, the delinquent's father, ſhould be baniſhed for ever from *Paris*, and the nine enſuing years out of the whole kingdom: that his houſe, ſtanding right over againſt the great gate of the Palace of the Parliament, ſhould be razed to the very foundation, and a pyramid erected in the place, upon which the preſent decrees, both againſt *Chaſtel* and the ſociety of *Jeſuits*, ſhould be engraved." The mother and ſiſters of the criminal were ſet at liberty.

To the decrees of the Parliament, the Divines of the city, being aſſembled at Cardinal *Gondi's* houſe, added another, by which they declared, that the doctrine that taught to kill Princes, was impious, heretical, and diabolical, and gave a ſtrict charge to men of all religious orders, to acknowledge King *Henry* the fourth as their lawful Sovereign, and to inſert thoſe prayers in their maſſes and canonical offices, which had always been offered up for the moſt Chriſtian Kings of *France*. At the concluſion of the decree, they intreated the Cardinal, as Biſhop of that city, to beſeech the King, in the name of them all, that he would be pleaſed to ſend a new embaſſy to the Pope, to prevent the imminent danger of ſchiſm, by a reconciliation to his Majeſty. This was brought about by the Cardinal himſelf, who imagined he pretty well comprehended his Holineſs's inclination, and was deſirous to furniſh the King with a fair handle and opportunity of making a freſh effort to obtain his benediction.

1595. In this ſituation of affairs began the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety five, in which the firſt event that happened worth notice, after the king had recovered of his wound, was, the promulgation of the edict, in favour of the *Hugonots*. Upon the King's converſion, they were not only much mortified when they ſaw all their hopes diſappointed of having a Prince of their own religion, and of procuring, by his authority, that it ſhould be the eſtabliſhed religion of the kingdom, and that the Catholick faith ſhould merely be tolerated: but had alſo begun to ſet new deſigns on foot, and to think of uniting themſelves more cloſely together, under ſome other chief.

For

1595.

For this purpose, they had turned their eyes upon the Duke of *Boüillon*; but soon perceived that he was too wise and provident a man to detach himself from the King's party, at a time when his affairs had taken so favourable a turn, only to pursue uncertain and ill grounded expectations; and that he therefore declined coming to any particular resolution, that he might be at liberty to act as time and future opportunities should seem to direct him. They saw, likewise, that Marshal *D'Anville*, who formerly would gladly have embraced such an offer, was then but little disposed to head them: for as he was now not only far advanced in years, and had no children (having unfortunately lost them all) but was lately married to a young wife, in hopes of issue, and firmly established in the government of *Languedoc*, it was not probable that he would engage in new schemes, at his time of life, and leave all that he had acquired with so long patience, with so much difficulty and danger, to the caprice of fortune. They were therefore reduced to the necessity of fixing their hopes upon the Prince of *Condé*, who was yet but a child, and, living with his mother at *St. John d'Angeli*, was educated in the rites of their religion: but the tenderness of his age, and the many accidents that might happen to him before he arrived at man's estate, held the whole faction in suspense and perplexity In this state of doubt and irresolution, they had frequent meetings and consultations, sometimes at *Rochelle*, sometimes at *Saumur*, sometimes at *St. Foy*, and sometimes at *Montauban*, where they made no scruple of speaking of the King in the most insolent and injurious terms, calling him an ungrateful man, and one that seemed not to have the least recollection of any thing they had done for him; threatning, at the same time, not only to desert him, but even to deprive him of that crown which they boasted (though without reason) that they had acquired for him. Such menaces filled the King with suspicion and disquietude; for as he knew their temper, their artifices, and resolution, by long experience, he was afraid they would not only alienate themselves from him, but raise another war against him, before he could entirely suppress the forces of the League. And though he had prevailed upon one *Morlas*, a *Hugonot* minister, born in the territories of *Bearn*, and *Rottan*, another of them, who was a *Piedmontese* (both of them men of great subtilty, authority, and eloquence) to talk separately to those of their religion, concerning his conversion, and to exhort the party not to be dispirited, but to have patience a little longer, hinting as if the King had communicated some secret design to them : yet he was apprehensive these artifices would not be sufficient to restrain their violence, and prevent them from exciting some new and dangerous insurrection.

These doubts, which had retarded his conversion much longer than the necessity of his affairs required, had also made him submit to many things

1595. things that were very contrary to his genius and inclination: for he had declared the Marſhal *D'Anville* High Conſtable of the kingdom, only to attach him more cloſely to his intereſts, and to deprive the *Hugonots* of all hopes of his aſſiſtance, though he was under much greater obligations to ſeveral other perſons. Thus likewiſe he had preferred the Viſcount *De Turenne* to the Duke of *Nevers*, in giving him the heireſs of *Bouillon* to wife, by which he acquired that dukedom, and now was employed by his Majeſty in the war upon the confines of the *Low Countries*, to divert his attention, and to engage him in long and tedious enterpriſes, at a diſtance from the provinces poſſeſſed by the *Hugonots*. And, laſtly, being deſirous to get the young Prince of *Condé* out of their hands, and in ſome meaſure to mitigate the reſentment which they had in general conceived at his converſion, he reſolved to have the edict proclaimed and ratified in the Parliament, which *Henry* the third had made in favour of them in the year 1577, as the beſt calculated of all others for that purpoſe.

But it was a matter of no ſmall difficulty to get it received in the Parliament, where the debates ran high, and the opinions were very different concerning it: for the more cautiouſly the King endeavoured to proceed in the affair, for fear of diſobliging the Pope, and giving him an unfavourable opinion of his inclinations; the more violently it was oppoſed by many of the Counſellors; and, as the King did not care that either the Chancellor, or any other perſon, ſhould go to requeſt it in his name, the firſt Preſident, *Harlay*, and Preſident *De Thou*, who were privy to his intentions, found it very hard to perſuade the reſt (who thought they acted according to their duty) to conſent to the promulgation of it. At laſt, however, the Counſellors, whom the King had confirmed in his intereſt by particular favours, after the reduction of the city, and eſpecially *Lazare Coquille*, formerly a moſt ſtrenuous advocate and agent for the League, being now deſirous to ſhew themſelves ſomething more favourable to the *Hugonots* than they had been, leſt they ſhould ſeem to perſevere in their old practices and deſigns, took ſuch pains, that the decree was received and proclaimed. Yet even this did not much ſatisfy the *Hugonots*, with whom the King ſtill proceeded in a mild and gracious manner, both on account of his paſt obligations and preſent neceſſities, endeavouring to extinguiſh their ſuſpicions, and attach them to him by kindneſs and good uſage: knowing alſo the poverty and diſtreſſed circumſtances that many of their Chiefs were in, by his long acquaintance with them, and well aſſured, that when the principal incendiaries were once taken off, the miſerable commonalty would be abundantly contented with enjoying peace and ſecurity, he contrived that Deputies ſhould be ſent to him from many different places, to treat of the affairs of that party,

party, moſt of whom he afterwards gained over to his intereſt by penſions, gratuities, and promiſes; ſo that in a while he had inſenſibly deprived the faction of their main ſtrength and vigour by mild and gentle methods: and it is thought, by thoſe that are well acquainted with the temper of that nation, that if the King's urgent neceſſities, his natural love of frugality, and the rigid ſeverity of Monſieur *De Rhoſnè*, who then managed the finances, had given this potion liberty to dilate itſelf with leſs reſtraint, ſo ſweet a poiſon would have deſtroyed that faction in a few years, which ſo deſperate and bloody a war had not been able to reduce in ſo long a courſe of time.

1595.

The ſecond event of importance that happened this year, was the King's reſolution to declare open war againſt the Crown of *Spain*. For though the Duke of *Boüillon*, in concert with Count *Philip* of *Naſſau*, had taken ſome weak towns in the county of *Hainault* and in the duchy of *Luxembourg*, at the beginning of the preceding year; that was rather an incurſion than a regular war, as they were quickly obliged to retire, partly for want of money, and partly by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and ſuſtained no inconſiderable loſs from Count *Charles's* army in their retreat: but now the King determined to proclaim war in a publick manner, and to employ all his forces againſt his Catholick Majeſty. This reſolution ſeemed ſtrange and unſeaſonable to many, when they conſidered that the King of *France* was ſo embroiled and inſecure at home, that he had little occaſion to enter into foreign quarrels: they ſaw the kingdom ſo exhauſted of men and money, ſo harraſſed and torn to pieces by civil diſſentions, that they could not conceive by what means he would be able to ſupport the weight of a *Spaniſh* war: they well remembered how his Catholick Majeſty, without any prejudice to his other affairs, had, not long ſince, invaded the King of *France*, and almoſt conquered him, in the very heart of his own kingdom, and ſurrounded by all his forces: it appeared ridiculous, that whilſt his ſtrength was yet divided, and diſcord ſtill raged through his dominions, he ſhould be hardy enough to think of attacking the King of *Spain*, who was firmly ſettled and eſtabliſhed in ſo potent a monarchy: for which reaſons, they thought it would have been more adviſeable for his Majeſty to have endeavoured to make up a peace upon tolerable conditions, than to add freſh fuel to the war, and provoke him ſtill more by the vanity of a publick declaration.

But the motives that induced the King to act in this manner were very weighty: he foreſaw, that the opening of a foreign war would help to cloſe the wounds of inteſtine diſſentions; as ſkilful ſurgeons commonly apply ſeaſonable cauteries to divert the noxious humours that corrupt and diſtemper the body: he knew there was nothing that could more effectually move the *French* to a reconciliation and reunion, than the appear-

1595. ance of a war with the *Spaniards*, the natural enemies of their nation: he was desirous, that the war should no longer bear the name of a civil war for the sake of religion, but of a foreign one for interests of state; and that the embers of the League, which yet remained alive, might be stifled in the flames of this dispute betwixt Crown and Crown: he was sensible, that even if he did not declare war, he should still have the arms of his Catholick Majesty to deal with; and since they could not by any means be diverted, he thought it better to have them openly and publickly turned upon him, than in a covert and insidious manner: he imagined the Princes in alliance with the Crown of *France* would lend him their countenance and assistance with less reserve, in a war betwixt *Spaniards* and *Frenchmen*, for matter of dominion, than in a contest amongst the *French* themselves on religious motives, whether real or fictitious: he considered, that nothing could be more agreeable or satisfactory to the *Hugonots*, than a war against the *Spaniards*, and that whilst they were heartily engaged in it, their attention would be diverted, and they would not have leisure to form any new designs. Besides all these reasons, as he had entred into a league offensive and defensive with the United Provinces of the *Low Countries*, by which they were reciprocally obliged to join in the war, and hoped to engage not only the Queen of *England*, but some of the *German* Princes also, in the same confederacy, it was necessary to employ his forces in some enterprise that might redound to their common advantage and convenience in *Flanders* and the county of *Burgundy*: and being desirous likewise to do it for his own reputation, and to interest the other confederates, he thought such a declaration very proper, both to rouze the spirit of his own subjects, and to reduce his allies to a necessity of furnishing him with succours. But above all, as he found himself obliged to renew the treaty of reconciliation with the Holy See, and knew he should have all the King of *Spain's* forces upon him, he wished to have him looked upon by every body as his declared enemy, that so neither he nor his Ministers might be consulted in that negociation, since they could have no pretence to interfere in it when they were excluded by an open war betwixt the two Crowns. And if the minds even of the great are sometimes actuated by passion as well as by interests of state, the inveterate persecution that he had undergone from his Catholick Majesty, added to the remembrance of the imminent danger he had so lately been in of losing his life, by the instigation of persons whom he looked upon as his dependants, very probably in a great measure induced him to take that resolution: for the execution of which, he caused a declaration to be published, on the 20th of *January*, and the same to be proclaimed by Heralds in the towns upon the confines; in which, after reciting at large all the injuries done by the King of

of *Spain* to himself and his predecessor, and imputing the attempt also that had lately been made upon his person to the suggestions of his partisans, he denounced open war against him both by sea and land, prohibited all commerce betwixt the two nations, and gave his subjects full liberty to spoil, invade, and possess themselves of any dominions depending upon the Crown of *Spain*.

1595.

About two months after this proclamation was published, his Catholick Majesty returned an answer to it in another; wherein he first enumerated the favours and supplies that he had granted to the Kings of *France*, his confederates and allies, and then declared and protested, that it was not his intention to break the peace which subsisted betwixt himself, the most Christian Crown, and the good Catholicks of that kingdom, but to persevere in assisting and protecting them from the oppression of the Prince of *Bearn*, and the *Hugonots* his confederates, commanding all his subjects not to molest or annoy such of the *French* nation as followed the Catholick party, and giving orders, on the other hand, to his Governors and Commanders, to defend his own dominions, and to act offensively against the Prince of *Bearn* and his adherents.

It seemed long indeed before this declaration appeared; but the measures taken to support it were quick and vigorous: for Count *Charles* was recruiting his army in *Flanders*, with a design to enter the confines of *Picardy* in the spring; *Hernando de Velasco*, Constable of *Castile*, and Governor of the *Milanese*, was raising a powerful army in *Italy* to march into *Burgundy*: and new forces were levying in *Spain* with all expedition, that they might be able to send fresh supplies to Don *Juan del Aquila* in *Bretagne* as soon as the season would permit. The like preparations were making in *France*, *Holland*, and *England*; so that the course of this year seemed likely to be attended with much havock and bloodshed on all sides.

In the mean time the King was recovered of his wound, and had created the Knights of the Holy Ghost; during the ceremonies of which solemnity, he renewed his oath to live and die a Catholick, and to defend that religion: after which, he received *Vincenzo Gradenigo* and *Giovanni Delfino*, Ambassadors from the *Venetian* Senate (to congratulate him upon his accession to the Crown) with great pomp and demonstrations of honour, as also *Pietro Duodo*, that was sent by the same State to supply the place of *Giovanni Mocenigo*, who had resided with his Majesty and the King his predecessor for the space of seven years together, and had conducted the most arduous affairs in the past revolutions with singular prudence and applause.

The first military undertaking of this year was the reduction of *Beaune*, one of the chief towns in the duchy of *Burgundy*, where some of the prin-

1595. cipal citizens had begun to mutiny towards the end of the laſt year, with a deſign to ſubmit to the King: upon which the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was particularly attentive to the affairs of that province (as his own government) went, as ſoon as poſſible after his return from *Lorrain*, to that city, where he found every thing in ſuch confuſion, that he cauſed fourteen of the citizens, who ſeemed more inclined to revolt than the reſt, to be impriſoned in the caſtle, and having compoſed that diſturbance, he tried by all means to ſooth the reſt of the citizens, without uſing any further rigour or ſeverity. He likewiſe inſinuated to them, that he ſhould very ſoon conclude a peace, with the Pope's approbation, and therefore it would be much more for their honour and advantage to be included in the general agreement, than to make a particular compoſition, and deſert him, who had always governed them with a gentle hand, to leave themſelves to the caprice of a new Governor. With theſe arguments he thought he had quieted them, and leaving a good garriſon both in the caſtle and the town, went, with the utmoſt expedition, to *Dijon*, where he was no leſs apprehenſive of an inſurrection than in other places: but being informed that there had been freſh tumults at *Beaune* after his departure, he reſolved to return thither to provide againſt them for the future, and began to contrive how to fortify the caſtle in a better manner, and to reduce the town alſo a fortreſs; and as this could not be executed according to the plan of *Carlo Bonaventura*, an *Italian* engineer, without pulling down ſeveral of the principal monaſteries, and a great many private houſes, to the very ground, it was oppoſed by the citizens, who repreſented to the Duke, that there was no occaſion to come to ſo precipitate a reſolution at that time. This, however, only ſerved to heighten his ſuſpicion of their inclinations, and determined him to go on with the fortification. For this purpoſe, he brought in a greater number of ſoldiers, who were diſtributed into all parts of the town to bridle the people, and to keep them in obedience to him: and having given proper orders for the expediting of theſe things, he left them again, to ſuperintend the reſt of the province and ſecure other places, imagining he had ſufficiently guarded againſt that danger. But the citizens, exaſperated at the demolition of their houſes, and the impriſonment of the leading men amongſt them, determined to uſe their utmoſt efforts to deliver up the city into the hands of the Marſhal *De Biron*, who had come into thoſe parts in the month of *January* with two thouſand *Swiſs*, four thouſand *French* foot, and twelve hundred horſe. With this deſign, after they had ſecretly invited and agreed with him, that he ſhould preſent himſelf at the gates of the city upon the 5th of *February*, they took arms as ſoon as it was light that day, and ran about the ſtreets with white ſaſhes on, ſhouting, *Long live the King*; which being repeated by the greater part of the

common

common people, *James Riccard*, one of the conspirators, ran to that gate 1595. which alone used to be kept open, and let down the portcullices on the inside, to shut out the soldiers, who kept a very careless and negligent guard at the raveline: after which, many others also running thither in arms, made themselves masters of the gate, and drove away the soldiers upon guard there, who presently quitted the raveline, and fled into the fields to save themselves, where they were dispersed and miserably knocked on the head by the country people, who were no less irritated than the citizens. At the same time *William Alezan* and *Michael Riccard*, two others that were concerned in the conspiracy, immediately ran to the house of Monsieur *Mont-moyan*, Governor of the town, and made him prisoner, after they had killed *Guillermin*, a Colonel of foot, and some other officers that were with him. *Carlo Bonaventura*, the designer of the fortifications, who had wounded *Alezan* and many others in his own defence, being pelted with stones by the people in the first transports of their fury, was carried half dead to the common jail, by the interposition of some few friends. After they had thus secured the gate and the Governor, they proceeded in the next place to attack the soldiers, who, though quartered in different places, had fortified themselves at the beginning of the tumult, in which, the city being almost turned upside down, the very women and children took up arms, and fought desperately in different parts of the town with various success. At last arrived the Marshal *De Biron*, though much later than the citizens expected; and having entered the town with his whole army, the soldiers were no longer able to make any resistance, but offered to surrender, on condition that their goods and persons should be spared: which being granted, the Marshal, with very great and unusual severity, restrained his soldiers from plundering the town, and totally composed the commotion the same night. The next day he invested the castle, and battered it with twelve pieces of cannon in such a manner, that it was at last obliged to capitulate, after a siege of forty days, during which three thousand shot had been fired upon it.

The Baron *De Senesay*, with the city of *Ossone*, followed the example of *Beaune*: for as he had been Ambassador to the Pope, and found there was no hope of receiving such supplies, either from *Rome* or *Spain*, as were necessary to support the League any longer, and had often so told the Duke of *Mayenne*, and earnestly exhorted him (though in vain) to make his peace, he at last determined to provide for himself, and submitted to the Marshal *De Biron*, on condition that he should be continued in the government of that place.

The citizens of *Autun* resolved to do the same: but as there was a strong garrison in the town, and the inclinations of the commonalty

1595. could not be ſounded without evident danger of a diſcovery, the chief of thoſe that were concerned in the deſign thought it moſt adviſeable to ſend for the Marſhal, and not to ſay any thing at all of the matter till he was at the gates, one of which they themſelves had the charge of and determined to open to him. For this purpoſe he marched ſilently into the ſuburbs, on the twenty-eighth of *May* in the night, where he was met by the Mayor of the town, who had undertaken to let him in, and accordingly cauſed the gate to be opened without any noiſe, through which a Captain entered firſt of all, with twenty five cuiraſſiers and fifty firelocks, and preſently made himſelf maſter of that poſt: and having ſent word that the paſs was ſecure, the Sieur *De Sipierre* and the Marquis *De Mirebeau* entered next, and were followed by the whole army, which, being drawn up on the parade, betwixt the walls and the houſes of the town, was divided into four bodies, and filed off different ways, to take poſſeſſion of the four principal ſtreets. One of theſe happening to fall in with a large party of the guards, as they were upon the patrole, according to cuſtom in time of war, a furious ſkirmiſh enſued in the dark, at the noiſe of which, the whole garriſon, and all the townſmen that were not privy to the conſpiracy, being awakened and running to arms, continued fighting in darkneſs and uncertainty till day light, when they plainly perceived the whole army was in poſſeſſion of the city: upon which, they threw down their arms, and ran to hide themſelves in their houſes. But the Marſhal immediately cauſed a pardon to be publickly proclaimed, and having ſtripped the garriſon only, and ſent them out of the gates, received the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the reſt, in the King's name, and ſuffered no further damage to be done to the town.

Whilſt the affairs of *Burgundy* were thus circumſtanced, the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, having paſſed the mountains with eight thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, had marched through *Savoy* and was come into *Franche-Compté*, where, after he had joined the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was gone to meet him with four hundred horſe and a thouſand *French* foot, they recovered *Joinville* (a place that had been quitted by the King's party) and reſolved to lay ſiege to *Vezu* without delay; in which town the Sieur *De Tremblecourt* then was, with four hundred foot and ſixty horſe. The Duke of *Mayenne* therefore, who had the chief command, as the more experienced ſoldier of the two, having cauſed a battery to be raiſed, made ſo large a breach in a few hours, that the Sieur *De Tremblecourt*, finding it in vain to make any defence, reſolved to retire into the caſtle, and to wait there for relief from the Marſhal *De Biron*. But he could not receive the ſuccour that was neceſſary in due time: for the Marſhal being called away at the ſame time by the citizens of *Dijon*, determined to attend to that as the more important concern: ſo that *Tremblecourt*, not being

being in a condition to reſiſt a whole army in ſo weak a place, was forced to ſurrender the caſtle. 1595.

But as the citizens of *Dijon* had declared their inclinations with too much precipitation, they were in great danger of being ſuppreſſed: for the Viſcount *De Tavanes*, who governed that Province as the Duke of *Mayenne's* Lieutenant, being informed of their deſigns, drew all the neighbouring garriſons together with the utmoſt expedition: and whilſt the principal citizens were in doubt whether they ſhould inſtantly ſend for the Marſhal, for fear the town ſhould be ſacked, *Tavanes* came before it with a conſiderable force, but ſeeing that entrance was denied him by the people, who were already in arms, he turned aſide towards the caſtle, into which he was freely admitted by the Governor, and having refreſhed and put his ſoldiers in good order there, he ordered an hundred of his beſt horſemen to diſmount, whom he placed in the front, and after he had encouraged his men to behave themſelves gallantly, marched down in good order by the common way that led directly to the entrance of the main ſquare; but finding the townſmen under arms there, a ſharp engagement began betwixt them, which continued with great obſtinacy on both ſides, from morning till the day was far advanced: when ſome of the heads of the people, ſeeing themſelves hard preſſed, determined to ſend for the Marſhal *De Biron*, who had hovered about thoſe quarters many days in expectation of that opportunity. But as the whole army could not poſſibly advance with ſo much haſte as the ſuddenneſs of the exigency required, he left orders for the cavalry to follow him as faſt as they could, and entered *Dijon* towards the evening with only ſixty Gentlemen. At his arrival, the citizens, who were not able to make any further reſiſtance, and had already retreated into a corner of the town, began to recover their ſpirits, and the army coming up by degrees, one diviſion after another, *Tavanes*, not willing to loſe the caſtle by too obſtinately perſiſting in his endeavours to make himſelf maſter of the town, reſolved to retire thither, and leave the poſſeſſion of the town to the King's forces: for which purpoſe, having cauſed his rear guard to face about, he drew off by little and little, ſtill fighting till he got ſafe into the fortreſs, juſt at the cloſe of day light, but afterwards left it to the care of the former Governor, and ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of *Talan*, at a little diſtance from the town. In the mean time the Marſhal was in great perplexity, becauſe his army was not large enough to divide itſelf to lay ſiege to both caſtles: and as he apprehended the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Conſtable of *Caſtile* would march directly to *Dijon*, as ſoon as they had done their buſineſs at *Vezu*, he ſent one courier after another to preſs the King to advance as faſt as he could into *Burgundy*, whither the courſe of the war ſeemed now to be chiefly directed.

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1595. The King had ſtayed at *Paris* longer than he at firſt intended: for Preſident *Jeannine* being come to him there, they were in great hopes of bringing the treaty of agreement, which had lately been renewed, to a ſpeedy concluſion, though, as it happened, it was afterwards prolonged a conſiderable time: for not only the King was unwilling to comply with the terms, now his affairs were likely to ſucceed ſo well in *Burgundy*: but the Duke of *Mayenne* likewiſe varied his determinations, according as his proſpect of ſucceſs ſeemed better or worſe, and, without proceeding any further, would have had a truce eſtabliſhed, to wait (as he ſaid) for the Pope's reſolution, but in reality (as the King thought) for the reſolution of his Catholick Majeſty: at laſt, however, as ſo many towns had revolted to one ſide, and the Conſtable was come to the aſſiſtance of the other, the treaty was diſſolved without coming to any determination, and the King, having left *Paris* under the government of the Prince of *Conti*, with the Count of *Schomberg* to aſſiſt him with his advice, was come to *Troyes* on the thirtieth of *May*, to aſſemble his army there, and to march from thence whitherſoever occaſion ſhould require. At that place he received the letters that had been ſent by the Marſhal *De Biron*, in which he ſo earneſtly ſollicited him to march with all ſpeed to *Dijon*, that he immediately took the troops that were with him, and having left orders for the reſt to follow as faſt as they could, made the beſt of his way towards *Burgundy*, attended by the Count *D'Auvergne*, the Duke *De la Tremouille*, the Marquis *De Piſani*, the Count *De Torigny*, the Chevalier *D'Oiſe*, the Marquiſſes *De Trênel* and *Mirepoix*, and the Sieurs *De Chiverny*, *Liancourt*, *Vitry*, *Montigny*, *D'Inteville*, and *De la Curée*.

Upon his arrival at *Dijon*, which was on the fourth of *June*, he gave immediate orders to have trenches thrown up round both the caſtles, leaving the ſuperintendance of the ſiege of that adjoining to the city, to the Count *De Torigny*, and of the caſtle of *Talan*, to *John* Baron *de St. Blancard*, brother to Marſhal *Biron*. But finding it would take up many days to inveſt the two caſtles on every ſide, as all the infantry was not yet come up (which could not march ſo faſt as he had done) the King reſolved to advance towards the *Spaniſh* camp: for having received intelligence that the Conſtable had thrown two bridges over the river *Scane*, at a place called *Gray*, in order to paſs his whole army at once to raiſe the ſiege of the caſtles, he hoped to keep him at bay till ſuch time as he was joined by all his forces, and the trenches were finiſhed. The Duke of *Mayenne* had likewiſe perſuaded the Conſtable, partly by dint of reaſon, partly by his authority, and partly by entreaty, to advance to recover the city of *Dijon*, repreſenting to him, how much inferior the Marſhal *De Biron's* forces were to his, and that the caſtles, upon the preſervation of which the ſucceſs of their arms wholly depended, would furniſh them with means of driving

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the enemy out of that province with very great eafe. And though the Conftable (a nobleman of illuftrious birth and great riches, but fmall experience in war) was very unwilling to do it, yet his confidence in the Duke of *Mayenne's* valour and experience, and the not knowing that the King was fo near at hand, at laft induced him to confent, and having paffed the river with his whole army the day before, he had quartered it in the villages on the weft fide of the river, about eight leagues from *Dijon*. Things being in this fituation, and neither the Conftable nor the Duke of *Mayenne* at all fufpecting that the King was fo nigh them, he left the city without further delay, on the feventh of *June* in the morning, with twelve hundred Gentlemen and cuiraffiers, and fix hundred harquebufiers on horfeback, and ordered them all to march towards *Luz*, whilft he himfelf pofted forwards to breakfaft with the Baron of that town, as he had appointed, in order to get fome intelligence of the enemies motions. *Luz* ftands upon the confines of *Burgundy* and *Franche Compté*, four leagues from *Gray* and as far from *Dijon*; fo that he was then at an equal diftance upon the road from that city and the *Spanifh* camp, which was feparated from *Gray* only by the current of the river. As foon as the King was joined by his forces at the place appointed, and found he could not get fuch intelligence as he expected, of what fteps the enemy were taking, he fent out the Baron *D'Offonville*, with fixty light horfe, to reconnoitre them, and to bring him back fuch an account as he might depend upon, whilft he refrefhed his men and horfes, and gave orders that they fhould all join and be ready at *Fontaine Françoife*, a village upon the extremity of the confines, at three o'clock in the afternoon, to act according to the information he fhould receive. It was not yet noon, when he and the Marfhal *De Biron* marched that way with three hundred horfe, that they might be firft at the rendezvous to draw up their forces as they arrived; but when he was within two miles of *Fontaine Françoife*, he faw three horfemen coming upon a full gallop towards him, who informed him, that the Baron *D'Offonville* had been attacked by three hundred of the enemies horfe, and obliged to retire without having been able to difcover any thing, and that he defired fuch affiftance, as might enable him to make a ftand againft a force, that was fo much fuperior to his. The King, not being certain whether the three hundred horfe were the enemies van-guard, or only fome party that was fcouring the country, fent the Marfhal *De Biron*, the Baron *De Luz*, and the Marquis *De Mirebeau*, with fixty horfe, to fuccour *Offonville*, and to bring him a more perfect account of things. The Marfhal therefore advanced upon a round trot to relieve *Offonville* as foon as poffible, and had hardly got out of *Fontaine Françoife*, when he difcovered a troop of fixty light horfe upon the fteep of a hill, directly in the road that led to *St. Seine*,

1595.

1595. a village in the highway to the river *Soane*: upon which he resolved to charge them, without further consideration, and to advance to the top of the hill, from whence he thought he should be able to reconnoitre the whole country. Nor did he meet with much difficulty in this undertaking: for the light horse received the charge without making any resistance, and retired from the top of the hill, where he discovered the whole *Spanish* army at a distance, marching in good order, to take up their quarters at *St. Seine*, which is situated on a plain that is bounded on the right hand by a hill, and covered on the left by a wood: and being desirous to carry back a certain account of the number and quality of the enemy, he resolved to advance, that he might have an opportunity of observing the march and order of their army the more distinctly. But as soon as he had descended into the plain, he saw the three hundred horse, which had routed and pursued *Ossonville*, now resolutely advancing towards him; and finding himself so inferior in strength, thought to retire without making an opposition. For this purpose he ordered the Baron *De Luz* to make a stand in the rear with twenty of his men, and endeavoured to keep the enemy in play some time, if they should come up to molest him: which orders the Baron bravely obeying, the enemy rushed upon him with such violence, that he was thrown with his horse to the ground, four of his men killed, who had behaved very gallantly, and the rest forced to gallop off as fast as they could. So that the Marshal was likewise obliged to face about, and fell furiously upon the enemy to save the Baron, who by this time having disengaged himself from his horse, and with much more difficulty from the enemy, had got over a ditch and was coming towards him with his sword and pistol in his hand. The action was very hot at first, but as the Marshal, who fought without a head-piece, had received a large cut upon his head almost at the beginning, and some of his men were slain and trampled under foot by the fury of the enemy, they were at last in extreme danger of being cut to pieces: yet he was not at all dismayed, though their forces were so unequal, nor did he slacken the ardour with which he began the attack, being supported by the Baron *D'Ossonville*, who had now joined him, and by the Baron *De Luz*, who had luckily got on horseback again, till he saw eight troops of the enemies cavalry, which had detached themselves from the main body of the army, and were advancing towards him very fast from the village and the wood: so that after he had in some measure repressed the fury of those whom he first engaged, he rallied his men and retired upon a gallop towards *Fontaine Françoise*, where he imagined the King was already arrived with all the rest of his forces. But as the hour appointed for the rendezvous was not yet come, the King, though he had only two hundred Gentlemen, and sixty harquebusiers on horseback

horſeback with him, that had come up before the reſt, and notwithſtanding he had no other armour on but his cuiraſs, was yet under a neceſſity of advancing to receive the Marſhal *De Biron*, who was cloſely purſued by a much greater number of the enemy.

The firſt troops of the League were led by *Lewis D'Houdan*, Sieur *De Villers*, and Captain *Giovanni Baptiſta Sanſoni*, a *Milaneſe*; the firſt, one of the Duke of *Mayenne's* Marſhals de camp, the ſecond, Captain Lieutenant of the Conſtable's light horſe: the other *French* troops were commanded by the Sieur *De Teniſſay* and the Baron *De Tianges*, and the *Italian* and *Burgundian* light horſe, by Don *Roderigo Bellino* and the Marquis *De Varambone*. An hundred carbineers marched firſt to begin the attack, and in the rear of the other ſquadrons came the Duke of *Mayenne* with a body of gens d'armes. This formidable charge the King was reduced to a neceſſity of ſuſtaining, and, ſince all his forces were not yet come up, he took poſt on the right hand with the Dukes *De Tremouille* and *D'Elbœuf*, the Baron *De Termes*, and the Sieur *De la Curée*: and upon the left he placed the Marſhal *De Biron*, though weary and wounded, with the Barons *De Luz* and *Oſſonville*, and the Marquis *De Mirebeau*. Monſieur *De Villers* with his ſquadron charged the diviſion conducted by Marſhal *Biron*, and *Sanſoni* fell upon that where the King himſelf commanded: but with different ſucceſs, though they both behaved with equal valour: for Monſieur *De Villers* at laſt broke into the troops, that were headed by *Oſſonville* and *Luz*, and forced the Marſhal to retire as far as *Fontaine Françoiſe*: but on the other hand where the King was, freſh troops of the Nobleſſe and cavalry coming up every minute, and ſeeing the danger he was in, advanced with all poſſible ſpeed to his aſſiſtance, by which *Sanſoni's* horſe were routed, and driven back to the very rearmoſt ſquadron of the enemy, and he himſelf, after he had received five wounds, was ſlain upon the ſpot. Nor could the Sieur *De Villers* proſecute the victory he had gained on his ſide: for, being wounded in the arm by a harquebuſs ball, he likewiſe was obliged to retire. Notwithſtanding all this, the King was ſtill in no leſs danger; for the Baron *De Tianges* and the Sieur *De Teniſſay* advanced to charge him with freſh and numerous ſquadrons, as did alſo the Marquis *De Varambone* and *Roderigo Bellino*, in the quarter where the Marſhal *De Biron* was engaged; ſo that as the King's forces were much inferior to the enemy in number, their men fatigued, and their horſes jaded out, their deſtruction ſeemed inevitable. Yet the King continued to encourage his men, both by the example of his own valour, and by often calling to them, though he was grown quite hoarſe: and the Marſhal *De Biron*, all over bloody and covered with ſweat and duſt, charged ſo deſperately in the foremoſt ranks, whilſt every man exerted his utmoſt power and ſtrength, that they found

1595. ſufficient employment for the enemy, and gave time for the reſt of their own forces to come up; amongſt whom, the firſt that advanced were the Count *D'Auvergne*, Monſieur *De Vitry*, and, after them, the Count *De Chiverny*, the Chevalier *D'Oiſe*, and Monſieur *D'Inteville*. Upon their arrival, the Duke of *Mayenne*, apprehending the whole army was near at hand, ordered his troops to withdraw from the battle; and the King, finding he had no other way to diſengage himſelf but by dint of valour, purſued and kept up a ſharp ſkirmiſh with them, till they came to the wood and plain of *St. Seine*, where he met the *Spaniſh* and *German* infantry, which reſolutely advanced, in two diviſions, to charge him. Upon ſight of them, the King thought proper to ſtop ſhort, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, having rallied all his cavalry into one great body, made a feint of attacking him again. But all the King's troops were now arrived, ſo that there was not much difference in the number of their horſe; and the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, riding up to the front of the army, commanded his men to make a halt, being reſolved not to hazard all his forces, and all *Franche Compté*, upon the event of one battle. Wherefore, as it was now late in the evening, the King began to retire ſlowly towards *Fontaine Françoiſe*: and though the enemy, to ſave their reputation, ſeemed at firſt as if they deſigned to purſue him, yet they alſo retired without attempting any thing further.

The *Spaniards* lay that night at *St. Seine*, the King's forces at *Fontaine Françoiſe*, and he himſelf at *Luz*, having been in greater danger that day than in all the revolutions of the late wars: from which, however he extricated himſelf no leſs by his own valour, than the bravery of thoſe that were with him, amongſt whom, next to *Biron*, the chief merit was given to the Marquis *De Mirebeau*, the Count *De Grammont*, and the Sieur *De la Curée*. In this action, which common fame reported to be much more conſiderable than it really was, there were about forty killed on the *Spaniards* ſide, and above ſixty on the King's: the number of thoſe that were wounded and taken priſoners on both ſides, was much greater. Each party claimed the reputation of the victory: the *Spaniſh* commanders, becauſe there were more ſlain and taken priſoners on the King's ſide, than on theirs: the *French*, becauſe they were left in poſſeſſion of the field and dead bodies, and had driven the enemy back to their very quarters. But the determination of the Conſtable himſelf decided this diſpute in favour of the King; for, having been informed by the priſoners that his Majeſty was with the army, and had been perſonally in the action, he reſolved (though the Duke of *Mayenne* earneſtly perſuaded him to the contrary) not to proceed any further: and having cauſed his army to repaſs the *Soane* early the next morning, he fortified himſelf in a place of advantage, with the town of *Gray* in the rear, and the river in the front of his camp. The next morning the King alſo advanced with all his

cavalry

1595.

cavalry to obſerve the motions of the enemy, and when he came to the top of the hill, from whence he could ſee the plain and village of *St. Seine*, he ſtood there a long while in battalia, being prevented from diſcovering the retreat of the *Spaniards* by the wood and the oppoſite hill: nor did he care to move any farther without his infantry in that rough part of the country, which was ſo little known by his men, and ſo convenient for ambuſcades. But as it was already paſt noon, the Sieurs *De Tremblecourt* and *D'Oſſonville* advanced, with a few horſe, to the very entrance of *St. Seine*, where ſome peaſants, that were at work in the fields, acquainted him with the retreat of the *Spaniſh* army, of which he informed the King as ſoon as poſſible, who immediately advanced upon a full trot with a deſign to attack the enemies rear: but he found their whole army had already ſafely paſſed the river, and taken away the boats over which they had thrown the two bridges: ſo that after he had ſcoured the roads along the banks of the river, he returned the ſame night to his quarters at *Luz*, and the next morning to *Dijon*, to preſs forward the ſiege of the two caſtles.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, on the other hand, not having been able to prevail upon the Conſtable to ſtay on the weſt ſide of the river, entreated him to let him have ſome of his troops, for the defence of his own government and territories in *Burgundy*. But he could not obtain even this: for the Conſtable, who was come only to cover *Franche Compté*, thought he had done ſufficient in recovering *Vezu*, and all the other towns which the *French* had got poſſeſſion of, and was not willing to leave himſelf to the arbitrement of fortune any more, eſpecially as his want of experience in military affairs made him very fearful of every petty encounter; and though he had a powerful army with him, he never thought himſelf ſecure from the ſudden and vigorous attacks of the King. Beſides, the treaty of accommodation, which the Duke of *Mayenne* was every now and then renewing with his Majeſty, made him ſo much ſuſpected by the Conſtable and all the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, that they would not truſt him in any thing of moment. Seeing himſelf, therefore, deſtitute of all ſuccour, and that the Conſtable was obſtinate and not likely to change his reſolution, he at laſt determined to conclude the treaty of agreement, and ſo much the rather, becauſe he was informed by his agents at *Rome*, that the Pope was manifeſtly inclined to grant the King abſolution. For this purpoſe, he ſent the Sieur *De Lignerac* to *Dijon*, where the following conditions were agreed upon; That he ſhould leave the *Spaniſh* camp and retire to *Châlons*, upon the *Soane*, in the ſame province, where, without further hoſtilities, he ſhould wait for the event of the deliberations at *Rome*: and that, on the other hand, the King ſhould not in any wiſe moleſt or annoy him, or any of his followers, nor make any attempt upon

1595. *Châlons*: and that in the mean time, whilst they stayed for further advice from *Italy*, concerning the King's absolution, both sides should use their endeavours to remove all impediments, and to settle the terms upon which the Duke should submit to the King. This truce or suspension of arms being established, the Duke, seeming as if he was resolved to relieve the castles of *Dijon*, left the Constable's camp, with the *French* troops under his command, and went directly to *Châlons*, where the King's Deputies arrived almost at the same time to conclude the agreement: upon which, he dispatched orders to the Viscount *De Tavanes*, and the Governor of the castle of *Dijon*, to surrender both the fortresses without any further delay.

When the King had thus put a finishing hand to this enterprise, he resolved to go into *Franche Compté* to attack the Constable's army, and, for that purpose, marched towards the river *Soane*, with seven thousand foot and two thousand horse. The Constable still lay encamped at *Gray*, thinking that a very proper situation to prevent the enemy from passing the river, and to turn himself which way soever the *French* army should move, which then was quartered at *St. Seine* and had traversed the banks for several days, without being able to find any place where they could conveniently ford it. But as it was now the month of *July*, and the waters of the *Soane* were very low, as usual at that time of the year, the Sieurs *De Tremblecourt* and *D'Ossonville*, who attempted all possible means to pass, at last found a place that was fordable, about three miles below *Gray*, which was guarded only by an hundred *Spanish* firelocks: so that on the eleventh of *July* in the morning they advanced to that pass, with two hundred cuirassiers and five hundred harquebusiers on horseback, and began to try the ford where the river was shallowest. The *Spanish* firelocks, however, made a brave resistance, and endeavoured to hinder the enemies passage to the utmost of their power; but as they had no more ammunition than what they carried in their cartouch-boxes, after they had disputed it about half an hour, they were forced to retire: at which the *French*, taking fresh courage, resolutely passed to the other side, and were followed by the Count *D'Auvergne* and the Marshal *De Biron* with five hundred horse more. The news of the enemies passing was carried to the *Spanish* camp, by the foot that had been engaged with them, who retired thither murmuring at the negligence of their commanders, in leaving them without ammunition. Upon this, *Hercole Gonzaga* immediately advanced with the first squadrons of horse to drive the *French* back, and oblige them to repass the river, imagining there were but few of them: but having soon found the contrary, he could not possibly restrain his men, after the first fire, from giving way to superiority of number, tho' he fought bravely himself and severely rebuked those that turned

turned their backs, performing, in every respect, the duty of a very gallant Commander. The Chevalier *Ludovico Melzi* came up next, with another troop of horse, and having got clear of those that were running away as fast as they could, courageously advanced to oppose the enemy: but the *French* were so much stronger, as they were reinforced every minute with fresh troops of horse, that it was not possible for him to withstand their fury: so that his troop being broke and routed, fell foul upon the last squadron of horse, with which Don *Alphonso Idiaques* was coming to succour him, in such a manner, that the squadrons mixing confusedly with each other, and being jostled and disordered by the violence of those that fled, the other forces that were advancing to charge, likewise ran away without making any attack. But as it was necessary in their flight to pass a large ditch, full of water and mud, in order to get back to the camp, many were obliged to throw themselves precipitately into it, in the midst of that confusion, and several chose rather to fall into the hands of the *French*, than to run the risque of being thrown down, and trampled to death: amongst whom *Idiaques*, having fallen to the ground with his horse upon him, was unfortunately taken prisoner by the Sieur *De Chaillot*, and afterwards obliged to pay a ransom of twenty thousand ducats. The *French*, seeing the Constable's infantry drawn up in good order on the other side of the ditch, stopped short in their pursuit, and waited for the King, who having now passed the river with his whole army, took up his quarters in the nearest villages, about two miles from the enemy's camp.

Two so remarkable disasters, or rather errors, on the side of the *Spaniards*, opened a passage for the King of *France*: for it is certain, that if there had been a larger body of foot, and better provided with ammunition to guard that pass, considering the difficulty of fording, and the height of the banks, they might have repulsed the first troops that attempted it: and after they had got over, if all the cavalry had advanced in good order to attack them, there is no doubt but they must either have totally cut them off, or have driven them back again to the other side of the river: but as they came up in so loose and disorderly a manner, they gave the *French* a fair opportunity of defeating them, and exposed themselves to the danger of being utterly destroyed. Experienced soldiers therefore never suffer such rash excursions out of their entrenchments, without order or consideration, upon every little alarm; and what others applaud as courage and resolution, they justly condemn as rashness and ignorance.

But the King's passage over the river, whether owing to his valour or good fortune, was not of any great service to him: for as the Constable still kept close and excellently fortified in his old quarters, betwixt *Gray* and the stream of the *Soane*, the King not being in a condition to force, or

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1595. even ſo much as to attack them, was obliged to turn off another way, to make incurſions and ravage the country, and ſpent his time there to little purpoſe, excepting that he forced *Beſançon*, a town neither ſtrong nor indeed tenable againſt his army, to ranſom itſelf from being plundered, by a very large ſum of money. In the mean time the King's forces were viſited with many grievous and dangerous diſtempers; of which, as they were in an enemy's country, and conſequently fatigued with continual duty, great numbers of them died, amongſt whom was the Count *De Torigny*, who had the poſt of Marſhal de camp. For this reaſon, and becauſe bad accounts daily arrived from *Picardy*, at the interpoſition of the *Swiſs Cantons*, as common friends and protectors of *Franche Compté* in particular, the wonted neutrality was re-eſtabliſhed there: upon which, the King immediately marched out of it, and took the rout to *Dijon*; and the Conſtable *Velaſco*, leaving one part of his army behind him, returned with the other to his government of *Milan*.

After the King was returned to *Dijon*, he ſtill continued at a loſs how to proceed with the *Hugonots*: at laſt, however, being deſirous to get the Prince of *Condé* out of their hands, for his own ſecurity, and the Pope's ſatisfaction, he cauſed a petition to be preſented to him by the relations of the Princeſs his mother, in her name, wherein, after they had ſet forth, that ſhe had been accuſed of being privy to the death of her huſband, and the nature of the ſentence that had been paſſed upon her, by judges, who had neither power nor authority to take cognizance of the matter, they prayed, that as ſhe had been kept in priſon at *St. John d'Angeli* till that time, the King would be pleaſed to diſannul the former ſentence, and grant that the magiſtrates of the Parliament of *Paris*, who were the natural and proper judges, might hear her cauſe, and examine the proofs, and then proceed to ſentence. To this petition the King returned for anſwer, That if the Princeſs's relations would undertake to bring her before the Parliament of *Paris*, he would diſannul the ſentence that had been paſſed upon her, and refer the caſe to the aforeſaid Parliament, into whoſe hands the Princeſs was to be delivered within the ſpace of four months. This ſerved to prevent ſuſpicion in the *Hugonots*, and to deprive them of all excuſes for detaining the perſons of the Princeſs and her ſon, in their power. The King therefore ſent the Marquis *De Piſani* to *St. John d'Angeli*, who (though the *Hugonots* murmured at it) brought them both away to *Paris*; where the Princeſs, having declared that ſhe would conform to the rites of the Catholick religion, was abſolved by the Parliament, of the crime that had been laid to her charge; after which, the Prince of *Condé* not only continued with the King, but was educated in the Catholick religion.

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The Duke of *Montmorancy* likewiſe came to *Dijon*, and there took poſſeſſion of his poſt of High Conſtable: ſo that the *Hugonots* were now deprived of thoſe ſupports, upon which they had built their chief hopes. By theſe convincing proofs, the Pope was alſo pretty well aſſured of the King's ſincerity, who was already grown extremely averſe to that party, and fully determined to ſecure the Catholick religion in his dominions. He ſhewed the ſame inclination by the ſtrict orders and particular commiſſions that he had given to re-eſtabliſh the uſe of the maſs, in all places where it had been aboliſhed, and took great pains to find means to reſtore the revenues of the Clergy that were in the poſſeſſion of others, which proved a very difficult and troubleſome matter: for the Lords and Gentlemen, to whom they had been granted as a reward for their ſervices, were very loath to give them up, without an equivalent recompence, with which it was not poſſible to gratify ſuch a number of pretenders, conſidering the preſent exigency of the King's circumſtances, and the diſtraction of the times. The King, however, with infinite patience and prudence, endeavoured to compromiſe things in ſuch a manner, that if he could not altogether, he might at leaſt in ſome meaſure, ſatisfy the Clergy, though of neceſſity ſome of the principal of them could not be wholly contented: but the wiſeſt men applauded not only his readineſs, but his addreſs, in finding expedients to reconcile intereſts ſo manifeſtly oppoſite and repugnant.

1595.

These things being reported at the Court of *Rome*, greatly promoted the King's intereſts there, which were ſtill further advanced by other diſagreeable circumſtances that very much perplexed the Pope and his miniſtry: for a ſchiſm was, in a manner, fundamentally eſtabliſhed: the Parliament continued ſtrictly to prohibit every one from ſuing for benefices at *Rome*; and whoſoever procured any by ſuch ſollicitation, was almoſt ſure not to obtain the poſſeſſion of them: the King ſtill ſent ſome of the great council, as *ſpiritual œconomies*, to take care of the Biſhopricks, and other cures of ſouls, that became vacant: the name of the Apoſtolick See ſeemed to be utterly forgotten: and as the King's arms were now ſo ſucceſsful, it was apprehended he would never ſue for abſolution again, eſpecially as the Duke of *Nevers* had publickly ſaid, at his departure from *Rome*, " That they muſt not expect to ſee any more Ambaſſadors there." For theſe reaſons, though the treaty was ſet on foot again, by means of Cardinal *Gondi*, and though *D'Oſſat* continued to negotiate with Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, yet the Pope ſeeing the danger imminent, and recollecting the example of other ſtates, which had withdrawn themſelves from their obedience to the Apoſtolick See, was, in the mean time, exceedingly anxious, and apprehenſive of the miſchiefs that might enſue from ſuch a ſeparation. He likewiſe conſidered the confederacy that the King had

1595. entered into with the States of *Holland*, and the alliance which was ſtill in treaty with *England:* ſo that he was afraid ſo cloſe a League amongſt hereticks, would be of great prejudice to the Catholick religion. But what had the greateſt weight with his Holineſs, was the vigorous war which the *Turk* was then carrying on in *Hungary:* for being obliged to have an eye to the progreſs of the common enemy on that ſide, he was deſirous to compoſe all tumults and diſturbances in *France*, that he might employ his whole ſtrength, for the common benefit of *Chriſtendom*. Upon theſe motives, he reſolved within himſelf to grant the King his benediction, to which he thought he was obliged in conſcience, and began to think of ſoothing his Catholick Majeſty: for which purpoſe, he not only complied with whatever he requeſted, but alſo determined to ſend his nephew *Giovanni Franciſco Aldobrandino* into *Spain*, under a colour of treating about the affairs of *Hungary*, but at the ſame time to negotiate the abſolution of the King of *France*, in which he took the utmoſt pains to gain his Catholick Majeſty's concurrence, by gentle means, by ſhewing him great deference, and pretending that it depended much upon his conſent. In the mean time he ſecretly let the King know, by Monſieur *D'Oſſat*, that things were now ripe, and that if he would ſend freſh miniſters to treat with him, he poſſibly might give him abſolution.

The King, deſirous to reconcile himſelf effectually to the Church, deſigned at firſt to have ſent a ſplendid Embaſſy to the Pope; but being informed that the Pope intended to have the affair carried on with great privacy, and in a very ſubmiſſive manner, he determined to ſend only *James Davy* Sieur *du Perron* to negotiate in concert with *D'Oſſat*, being alſo deſirous, in caſe they ſhould not ſucceed, that the manner of treating might not make the affair too publick and notorious. Theſe two, opportunely availing themſelves of the preſent conjuncture of affairs, conducted the King's deſigns with no leſs modeſty than addreſs, repreſenting not only the happy ſucceſs of his undertakings, which at laſt had gained him the whole kingdom, but his piety and moſt ardent affection for religion, which had inſpired him with infinite patience and conſolation, under ſo many repulſes as he had met with from his Holineſs. But thoſe that were beſt acquainted with the uſual courſe of human affairs, gave themſelves great liberty in talking of thoſe very things which ſo much diſtreſſed the Pope, and made no ſcruple of ſaying publickly at Court, that the King's patience would at laſt turn into downright fury, and that now he had ſubdued his enemies, and was in peaceable poſſeſſion of his dominions, it was to be feared he would take but little pains to reconcile himſelf to the Pope; but, on the contrary, it might well be expected that he would attempt to revenge ſo many injuries and perſecutions as he had ſuſtained, by continuing a dangerous ſchiſm in the Church of God: and upon theſe points they

1595.

they frequently enlarged, and set forth the reasons, which made it not only just, but necessary to receive and give him proper satisfaction. In this dilemma, the Pope being fearful, on one hand, of offending and alienating his Catholick Majesty, and on the other, of losing the obedience of *France*, proceeded with very great caution, and endeavoured to extricate himself out of these difficulties and dangers, by patience and address, and by waiting to take such advantages as time and opportunity, and the course of things might produce. He knew very well that those who took part with the King of *France*, had reason on their side; that enough had now been both said and done, to convince him of the sincerity of his conversion, and that by continuing firm in his resolution, after his submission had been so often rejected, he highly deserved to be pardoned and admitted into the bosom of the Church: but, on the other hand, he was afraid the *Spaniards* would reproach him, and have reason to say, that they had been more constant and more zealous defenders of the majesty of religion, than he himself had been; and indeed he thought it unreasonable in his own mind, to alienate the King of *Spain*, an ancient and never-failing protector of the Church, for the sake of a Prince, who, till then, had ever been an enemy and a persecutor of it: besides, the merits of his Catholick Majesty, and the great things he had done for the service of *Christendom*, and the Catholick religion, had acquired him such respect and authority in the *Roman* Church, that it seemed not decent for the Pope to determine a matter of so great consequence, without his approbation and consent.

But whilst the Pope artfully delayed his determination, the King's party gaining greater strength and reputation every day, at last obliged him to come to a conclusion. Nor was he a little affected with what Monsignor *Serafino* said to him, who was often in conversation with his Holiness, and used sometimes to take the liberty of mixing pleasantry with things of a more serious nature: for being asked by him one day, what the Court said of the affair, he freely answered, " It was now become a common saying, *That* Clement *the Seventh had lost* England, *and that* Clement *the Eighth would lose* France :" which reply made so deep an impression upon the Pope, who already began to give way to the force of reason, and the earnest sollicitations of the *Venetian* and *Florentine* Ambassadors, that he determined to take his resolution from the report of his nephew, who assured him, that people in *Spain* were no longer so violent as they used to be, in the affairs of *France*, that they were thoroughly drained of their money, and tired of the war, and would not make any great clamour against the determination of the Court of *Rome*, whatsoever it might be, though they yet made a shew of perseverance, and seemed desirous that his Holiness would protract his resolution for a few days, more with a view

1595. of making their own terms, than out of any hopes they had that the King of *France* would not at last obtain absolution. The Pope, therefore, took courage, and after he had often so unded the Duke of *Sessa*, Ambassador from *Spain*, upon that point, at last told him, he thought himself obliged to let him know, that he could no longer defer coming to some resolution concerning the affairs of *France*, and for that purpose intended to hear the opinions of the Cardinals about it, that so, when he had consulted them, he might determine upon what should be thought most convenient. The Duke of *Sessa* took it for granted, that the Pope would hear the opinions, and collect the votes of the Cardinals in the Consistory, in the usual manner; and knowing that many of them depended upon his Catholick Majesty, and that several others were of themselves very much averse to the absolution of the King of *France*, did not much oppose this manner of proceeding, because he thought, that when it came to a scrutiny, the absolution would not pass in the Consistory, and was certain, that his Holiness would not act contrary to what a majority of votes should determine upon. But the Pope was not willing to hazard an affair of so great importance, and which had till then been conducted with infinite dexterity, to a plurality of opinions, especially if they were to be delivered in publick: for he knew they would then be influenced by private interests and considerations. Upon which account, after he had prevailed upon the *Spanish* Ambassadors to consent that the matter should be referred to a consultation, he did not proceed in the usual method, but after he had assembled the Consistory, and there caused the King's letters and petitions to be read, he said he was desirous to have the opinions of the Cardinals upon them, not in a summary or confused manner, and at one time only, but that they should come one by one into his own apartment, where he would hear what they had to offer at large, without the privity of any other person: and accordingly gave orders, that four of them should come every day, one by one, to a private audience, and confer with him about the present affair. The Pope shewed by this prudent manner of proceeding, that his design was to exclude all particular regards, and to give the Cardinals an opportunity of delivering their opinions freely, without fear of discovery, whilst he reserved the decision of the matter to himself, as he should be the better able to declare what course seemed best to him, when they had spoken their sentiments, and to pronounce in which opinion the major part of the votes concurred, that so all further opposition or contradiction might be prevented. And it succeeded as he desired: for after he had caused solemn prayers to be offered up in every church of the city, and had himself set an example of the most profound devotion, he gave audience to the Cardinals, one by one, for the space of many days: at the end of which, having called them together in the Consistory,

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he said, "He had taken the opinions of all the Cardinals, and that two thirds of them voted, that the King of *France* should be absolved from all ecclesiastical censures, and received into the bosom of the church: for which purpose he would treat with the King's Procurators, and impose such penances and terms of submission upon them in his name, as he should think most expedient and conducive to the service of God and the honour of the church." To this, *Marc Antonio Colonna* would have excepted, and had already got up to speak; but the Pope enjoined him silence, and said, "The matter had been now sufficiently discussed and determined by a majority of votes, and therefore he would not suffer that to be debated over again which had once been settled and agreed upon." 1595.

In this manner he dismissed the Consistory, and began to treat with the King's Procurators concerning the conditions, which had been already proposed and debated many days by means of Cardinal *Toledo*, who, though a *Spaniard* by birth, and a *Jesuit* by profession, yet, either out of conscientious motives, or for some other reason, was inclined to favour the King. But many obstacles intervened; for in the first place the Pope seemed resolved to declare the absolution null, that had been granted by the *French* Prelates at *St. Dennis*; and the King, on the contrary, was very urgent to have it made valid and confirmed by his approbation: in the second place, there were several objections made to the publication of the Council of *Trent*, which the Pope most earnestly desired to have accepted in *France*: and, lastly, which was the greatest impediment, because the Pope insisted, that the decree made in favour of the *Hugonots* should be disannulled, which could not be done without raising fresh wars. Yet, by the prudence and address of the King's Procurators, and the moderation of the Pope, instruments were drawn up, in terms so proper for the purpose, and such clauses inserted, that every thing was adjusted to their mutual satisfaction, as the honour of the Apostolick See was preserved, and the King not reduced to a necessity of entering into new broils and disturbances.

When things were so far accommodated, the Pope, on the 16th of *September*, went in his pontifical habit, attended by the college of Cardinals, into the portico of *St. Peter's*, where he was placed on a throne prepared for that purpose, and surrounded by all the Cardinals, except those of *Alessandrino* and *Arragon*, who were not present at that solemnity. There, *James Davy* and *Arnaud D'Ossat*, appearing in the habit of private Priests, and holding the King's proxy in their hands, presented the petition upon their knees to the Secretary of the Holy Office; which being publickly read, the Secretary, standing at the foot of the throne, pronounced the Pope's decree, which, after a narrative of the whole transaction, ordained and declared, that *Henry* of *Bourbon*, King of *France*

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1595. and *Navarre*, should be absolved from all ecclesiastical censures, and received into the bosom of the church, on condition that he would there and then consent to abjure the heretical opinions formerly maintained by him, to submit to the publick penance that should be enjoined him, and to observe the terms proposed by his Holiness, which were as follow: That the Catholick religion should be re-established in the principality of *Bearn*, and four religious houses founded there for Friars and Nuns: That the decrees of the Council of *Trent* should be received throughout the whole kingdom of *France*, except in such points as might disturb its tranquillity, which the Pope would condescend to dispense with: That the Prince of *Condé* should be put into the hands of the Catholicks in the space of one year, to be educated in their religion: That he should observe the agreement formerly made betwixt the Holy See and the Kings his predecessors, in the disposal of benefices, the reformation of abuses, and other particulars: That none should be promoted to bishopricks but Catholicks, and such too as were men of exemplary lives: That all lands and goods taken from churches and religious houses, should be restored without any judicial process or other impediment: That whosoever were appointed magistrates, should be persons that were neither in the least suspected of heresy themselves, nor favourers of hereticks, either directly or indirectly: and that he should notify his conversion and abjuration to all Christian Princes. The spiritual penances imposed upon him were, That he should be present at conventual mass every *Sunday* and holiday, either in his own chapel or some other church; that he should attend at common mass every day, and upon certain stated days of the week should offer up particular prayers, according to the custom of the Kings of *France*: That he should fast on *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, and receive the communion publickly four times in the year.

The Procurators accepted the conditions, of which they demanded a publick instrument, and then kneeling down at the gate of *St. Peter's*, with a loud voice abjured the heresies that were contained in a certain writing: after which, being touched lightly upon the head by the Cardinal *di Santa Severina* with his rod of office, they received absolution. Upon this, the gates of St. *Peter's* were immediately thrown open, and the whole church was filled with vocal and instrumental musick, whilst all the artillery was fired from the castle of *St. Angelo*, to shew the joy of the publick upon this occasion. The Procurators, clothed in their prelatical habits, assisted at mass in the place where the *French* Ambassadors had always been used to sit, and then proceeded to the *French* church of *St. Lewis*, where the rejoicings were redoubled, both the court and city of *Rome* expressing infinite satisfaction, one being naturally inclined to favour

favour the *French*, and the other overjoyed at the reunion with ſo noble and auguſt a kingdom. 1595.

When theſe ceremonies were over, the Pope deputed Cardinal *Toledo* Legate to the kingdom of *France:* but afterward, whatever might be the occaſion, he changed his mind, and appointed Cardinal *Aleſſandro de Medici* to that legation, who ſucceeded him in the papacy. The Procurators, who had brought an affair of ſo great difficulty and conſequence to this happy concluſion, were afterward, at different times, created Cardinals by the ſame Pope, who frequently acknowledged, that the modeſty both of the one and the other, and the prudence they had ſhewn in the courſe of this negociation, had effectually removed the innumerable obſtacles that always preſented themſelves to him, whenever he took it into conſideration.

The news of the abſolution was brought to the King by *Aleſſandro del Bene*, who came poſt from *Rome* to *Lyons*, in expectation of finding him there: but his Majeſty had left that place before he arrived, and was gone to *Paris*. For he had already concluded a general truce with the Duke of *Mayenne* for three months, in order to treat of the conditions of agreement with more convenience, and to wait for the determination of the court of *Rome*. But as things proceeded more ſlowly there than had been at firſt expected, after he had ſettled the affairs of that province, and begun a treaty of accommodation alſo with the Duke of *Nemours* and his brother the Marquis of *St. Sorlin*, he returned as faſt as he could to *Paris*, to provide for the relief of *Picardy*, where the *Spaniards* were now carrying on a vigorous war. During this interval, the Marſhal *De Bois-Dauphin*, one of the Duke of *Mayenne's* neareſt dependants, ſubmitted to his Majeſty: and the Duke of *Elbœuf*, who was reconciled to him ſome time before, had eſtabliſhed a truce with the Duke of *Mercœur* for *Bretagne*. So that every thing now ſeemed tending in all parts of the kingdom to a general pacification, except that on the ſide towards the *Low Countries*, the war lately proclaimed againſt the *Spaniards*, by little and little gave birth to new troubles and diſturbances.

The End of the Fourteenth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF *FRANCE.*

BOOK XV.

ARGUMENT.

The progreſs of the Spaniſh forces in Picardy: the taking and recovery of Han. The ſiege of Caſtelet: the deſign of the Condé de Fuentes, General of the forces in Flanders, to beſiege Cambray: the preparations for that purpoſe. To facilitate the enterpriſe, he reſolves, in the firſt place, to beſiege Dourlans, and ſits down before it. The French commanders, on the other hand, make preparations to relieve it: they attempt to throw ſuccours into it, and come to an engagement: the Spaniards gain the victory: Admiral Villers and many of the Nobility are ſlain. The conquerors ſtorm the town, and make a very great ſlaughter there. The Spaniſh army inveſts Cambray: the Duke of Nevers, who arrived in that province ſome time before for the defence of it, ſends his ſon, the young Duke of Rhetelois, to

to relieve the besieged: he happily passes through the enemy's camp and enters the town. After him the Sieur De Vic also gets into it: they make a resolute defence. The citizens, dissatisfied with their Governor, Balagny, who had obtained that principality, rise in arms, make themselves masters of one of the gates, and open it to the Spaniards. The French retire into the citadel, but finding neither ammunition nor other provisions there, they are obliged to surrender to the Condè de Fuentes, who grants them honourable conditions. The King leaves Burgundy and marches to relieve them, but does not arrive in time. He consults what course is best to be taken, and resolves to besiege La Fere. An accommodation ensues with the Dukes of Nemours and Joyeuse, and at last with the Duke of Mayenne, who comes to wait upon the King before La Fere. Albert, Cardinal and Archduke of Austria, comes out of Spain to govern the Low Countries. He throws relief into La Fere, by means of Niccolo Basti: the King, however, does not slacken the siege. The Archduke resolves, if possible, to raise by diversion, and for that purpose, makes a sudden assault upon Calais and takes it: he likewise makes himself master of Guines, and lays siege to Ardres, which surrenders for want of strength to defend it. La Fere submits to the King about the same time, who, finding his army in a bad condition, resolves to disband it. Cardinal De Medici, the Pope's Legate, arrives in France, and is received there with great honour. A treaty of accommodation is set on foot with the Duke of Mercœur, who artfully prolongs it. The King assembles the States in the city of Roüen to raise money, and to settle the affairs of the kingdom: but being taken ill, he returns into the neighbourhood of Paris. The Spaniards surprize Amiens, the principal city in Picardy. The King is exceedingly affected with the loss, and resolves to besiege it without delay: the different occurrences of the siege and defence are related. The Archduke marches with a very powerful army to relieve it: the two armies face each other many days, and have several encounters. The Archduke retires, and the besieged surrender. The King makes an incursion into the county of Artois; but is obliged to retire by the season of the year and the plague. A treaty of agreement betwixt the two Crowns is introduced by the Cardinal Legate; the Deputies of both sides meet at Vervins. The Duke of Mercœur submits to the King. After some difficulties, with regard to the Duke of Savoy, a general peace is at last concluded and published.

1595.

THE arms of the King of *France* were not attended with the same good success on the confines of *Picardy*, as in *Burgundy* and *Franche Comptè*: for the *Spanish* Generals, who were commanders of resolution and experience, perceiving the *French* forces were either very weak or very much disunited there, had not only slain great numbers

1595. bers of them in ſeveral encounters, but had likewiſe made themſelves maſters of many towns and places of importance.

The Duke of *Boüillon* and Count *Philip* of *Naſſau*, had proſecuted the war unſucceſsfully, ever ſince the year before, in the duchy of *Luxembourg*, and made divers incurſions into it: where, after they had taken ſome places of ſmall conſequence, they were ſo diſtreſſed by Count *Mansfelt's* army, but much more by exceſſive rains and the overflowing of rivers, that they were forced to retire, one into the city of *Sedan*, and the other by ſea into *Holland*: and though the Duke of *Boüillon*, in the beginning of the next year, had raiſed the ſiege which the *Spaniards* had laid to *la Ferté*; yet that was done rather by artifice than force. So that, except ſome few excurſions, things were tolerably quiet on that ſide.

But the Archduke *Erneſt* dying ſuddenly in the beginning of *March*, the government of the *Low Countries* devolved upon the *Condé de Fuentes*, who being of a martial diſpoſition, and deſirous to retrieve the reputation of the *Spaniſh* arms, applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to reform the diſcipline of the army, which he had ſeen in ſo flouriſhing a condition during the life of the Duke of *Parma*: ſo that, as Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* was gone to ſerve the Emperor in the war of *Hungary*, he was left in the ſole adminiſtration both of civil and military affairs; and making uſe of the aſſiſtance of the Sieur *De la Motte*, the Prince of *Avellino*, Monſieur *De Rhoſne*, the Count *Giovanni Giacopo Belgioioſo*, and Colonel *De la Berlotte*, all of them old experienced commanders, and punctual obſervers of military diſcipline, he had not only quieted moſt of thoſe that mutinied for want of pay, but had alſo reformed the troops of every nation, and filled them up with veterans, in ſuch a manner, that he thought himſelf in a condition to go upon ſome enterpriſe, though his army was rather valiant than numerous: and whilſt he was conſidering with himſelf what it ſhould be, the inhabitants of the province of *Hainault* and the county of *Artois* propoſed the ſiege of *Cambray* to him, engaging themſelves to furniſh him largely both with men and money, as ſoon as they ſhould ſee his army encamped before that city, from whence thoſe provinces daily received ſuch annoyance, that their commerce and tillage were totally interrupted. The ſame requeſt was made by the Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, who, having been deprived of his government of that city, likewiſe offered to ſupply him with money and ſoldiers, provided the *Spaniards* would attempt to recover it. This ſeemed a gallant enterpriſe to the *Condé de Fuentes*, as well on account of the ſplendour of the city, and the largeneſs of the territory dependent upon it, as the reputation he ſhould gain thereby: for ſince the time that it fell into the Duke of *Alançon's* hands, the *Spaniards* had never dared to attempt the recovery of it,

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and the Duke of *Parma* himſelf, either called away by more urgent occaſions, or diſſuaded by the difficulty of effecting it, had wholly given it up. But if the undertaking was ſo highly reputable and magnanimous, it was alſo likely to prove a very difficult one, conſidering the ſtrength of the city and caſtle, the number and riches of the inhabitants, the garriſon which Monſieur *De Balagny* kept in it, and many other circumſtances which occurred to the Count, who, though he was determined within himſelf to attempt it, yet prudently concealed his deſign till he had made ſuch preparations as he thought neceſſary to ſecure ſucceſs.

1595.

But whilſt he was intent upon this undertaking, and buſy in preparing for it, a new incident that happened in *Picardy* haſtened the courſe of the war, and was attended with very great danger to both ſides. The Sieur *De Gomeron*, Governor of *Han*, a conſiderable town in that province, having reſolved to ſide with the *Spaniards* when he ſaw the affairs of the League upon the decline, agreed to receive what garriſon they ſhould think fit, not only into the town, but alſo into the caſtle. But upon the arrival of *Cecco di Sangro* for that purpoſe, with eight hundred *Italian* foot, and of Captain *Olmeda* with two hundred *Spaniards*, two hundred *Walloons*, and four hundred *Germans*, *Gomeron* would not admit them into the caſtle, though he admitted them into the town, for fear they ſhould drive him out of the place when they found themſelves ſtronger than him. Upon this demur, after many letters and meſſages had paſſed betwixt them, *Gomeron* was at laſt perſuaded by Don *Alvaro Oſorio*, Governor of *La Fere*, to go into *Flanders*, where he ſhould receive not only the full ſum of money that had been promiſed him, but alſo ſufficient ſecurity for being continued in the government of the place: for which purpoſe, having left the government of the caſtle in the hands of his brother-in-law the Sieur *D'Orvilliers*, and his own mother, he went himſelf, with his two younger brothers, to *Antwerp*, where the *Condé de Fuentes*, enraged that he had not performed his promiſe, cauſed him and his brothers to be detained priſoners, and wrote to *Orvilliers*, that if he did not deliver up the caſtle to his commanders, *Gomeron* ſhould anſwer for it with his head. But *Orvilliers*, who was no leſs irreſolute than his brother-in-law, could not well determine what courſe to take (though the mother was exceedingly anxious for the ſafety of her ſons, and very importunate with him to comply) but ſometimes intimated to the *Spaniards*, that he would give the caſtle up to them, and ſometimes treated with the Duke of *Longueville* and Monſieur *D'Humieres*, the King's Lieutenant in that province, to admit them ſecretly into the town, to deſtroy the *Spaniſh* garriſon that lay there: by which manner of proceeding he kept both parties long in ſuſpence, till Monſieur *D'Humieres*, offering him larger conditions, and promiſing that all the *Spaniſh* com-

1595. manders who were taken, should be given in exchange for *Gomeron*, he at last resolved to adhere to the *French*: and as the Duke of *Longueville* was accidentally killed but just before by a musket-ball, that he had received from one of his own men in a volley of small arms which they fired to salute him, his brother, the Count *De St. Paul*, to whom the King had given the same government, having sent to the Duke of *Bouillon* to meet him at *St. Quintin*, determined to attempt that enterprise, though it did not seem very likely to succeed, from the strength of the garrison, and the suspicion he had of *Orvilliers's* sincerity. Monsieur *D'Humieres* took upon him to conduct this undertaking, and was at very great pains in assembling the Noblesse of the province, and all the soldiery in the neighbouring garrisons, to carry it on with the more vigour and probability of success.

In the mean time, the *Condé de Fuentes*, having put the affairs of *Flanders* in good order, had advanced to the confines with eight thousand foot and two thousand horse, in order to make himself master of *Castelet*, a town upon the borders of the territory of *Cambray*, built by *Henry* the second, during the wars with the Emperor *Charles* the fifth: and as it was necessary to reduce this place before he could proceed to besiege *Cambray*, he had sat down before it and battered it with twelve pieces of cannon. This, however, did not divert the *French* from their design, who, thinking it a matter of much greater consequence to reduce *Ham* than to relieve *Castelet*, had taken the field with four thousand foot and above a thousand horse, encamping sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, at no great distance from that town. But though they concealed their design, and seemed to have some other in view, yet their drawing so near, and some provisions that *Orvilliers* was making in the castle, had raised a jealousy in *Cecco di Sangro*, and the other *Spanish* commanders, who justly suspecting what was intended, determined to block up three avenues that led from the city to the * esplanade of the castle; for which purpose they drew a trench across every one of them, raising a barricado upon each with casks filled with earth, and made loop-holes through the houses on both sides, to fire with their small arms upon the place that extended itself from the city to the fosse and raveline before the castle gate: and, for greater security, they also sent to acquaint the *Condé de Fuentes* with the suspicion they had conceived, and to desire relief.

The *French*, on the other hand, being well assured of *Orvilliers's* fidelity, by many of his relations that were in the army, drew near the town in the beginning of the evening, betwixt the gate of the castle and that which looks toward *Noyon*. But the centinels, who were posted on the

* The void space betwixt the glacis or counterscarp of a citadel, and the first houses of a town.

outside

outſide of the works, having given the *Spaniards* notice of the enemy's approach, *Cecco di Sangro* cauſed ſeveral cannon ſhot to be fired that way, by which the *French*, perceiving that the garriſon was alarmed, and in readineſs to receive the aſſault, reſolved to enter the caſtle and fall down upon the town on that ſide. The Count *De St. Paul*, with all the cavalry and a body of a thouſand foot, ſtood firm in the field: Monſieur *D'Humieres* and the Duke of *Boüillon* entered the caſtle, from whence the difficulty of attacking the enemy appeared very great; for the gate of the raveline was ſo narrow, that it obliged them to go out by few at a time, and in a diſorderly manner; and when they were got through it they came directly upon the eſplanade, which lay open to the fire of the town: for which reaſon they were unwilling to expoſe themſelves to ſo manifeſt a danger in the darkneſs of the night, but reſolved to wait for the morning, and then to open the gate where ſuccours were generally admitted (though it was then walled up) through which it would be an eaſy matter to get into the foſſe, where they might cut away part of the counterſcarp, and come out upon the flank of the caſtle at a place that was ſecure from the fire of the enemy. This they effected by break of day, and being drawn up in three diviſions, each of which had an hundred Gentlemen completely armed in the front of it, they advanced to attack thoſe of the garriſon, who ſtood ready at their works, and received the aſſault with great bravery. The diſpute was ſharp and obſtinate, as the ſoldiers on both ſides were reſolute and experienced veterans; but the ſucceſs was different at the three ſeveral places where they were engaged: for Monſieur *D'Humieres*, having attacked the trench on the right hand, that was guarded by *Baldaſſare Carracciolo* and *Marcello de Giudice*, was not only vigorouſly oppoſed, but repulſed with conſiderable loſs, after an action that laſted two hours. On the left hand, where the Sieur *De Seſſaval* and Colonel *De la Croix* aſſaulted the barricado defended by Captain *Olmeda*, there was no great advantage gained on either ſide: but in the middle, where the Vidame of *Amiens* and the Governor of *Noyon* had fallen upon *Cecco di Sangro*, after a long ſtruggle, in which *Cecco* received two wounds with a pike, the *French* at laſt broke through the breaſt-work, and though they met with a ſmart reſiſtance every where, yet they advanced almoſt as far as the *Porte de Noyon*, which they had deſigned to open for the Count *De St. Paul* and his men to enter at it. In the midſt of ſo great danger *Cecco* was obliged to ſet the houſes in that quarter on fire, which, luckily for him, was carried by the wind ſo cloſe upon the *French*, that it forced them to retire, the flames making ſuch havock, that they could not continue the aſſault. It was now mid-day, and the ſoldiers on both ſides were ſo weary, that their vigour was much abated: and yet the Sieur *D'Humieres*, ſeeing the wind was changed, and

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1595. the flames turned upon the *Spaniards*, put his division in order again, and, placing himself in the front of it, advanced to renew the attack: in the very beginning of which he received a musket-ball in the head, and instantly dropped down dead upon the spot. This accident, however, did not damp the courage of his men; for as they were relieved by the Duke of *Boüillon* with fresh forces, they at last possessed themselves of the *Porte de Noyon*, by which the Count *De St. Paul* immediately entered with the rest of the army: so that the *Spaniards* were now distressed on all sides. Yet they never turned their backs, but still made a brave resistance, as they retired towards the Fauxbourg *de St. Sulpice*, where, after they had sustained the assault till night, without receiving any succour from the *Condé de Fuentes*, as they had expected, they laid down their pikes and seemed ready to surrender. But the *French*, either enraged at the death of Monsieur *D'Humieres*, or out of their inveterate hatred to the *Spaniards*, pursued the victory without regard to any thing, and would have put them all to the sword, if the hopes of redeeming *Gomeron* had not inclined them to make as many prisoners as they could. On the *Spaniards* side were slain about eight hundred; *Cecco di Sangro*, *Baldassare Carracciolo*, Captain *Olmeda*, *Ferrante Nimfa*, *Marcello del Giudice*, and *Alessandro Brancaccio* were all taken prisoners, with many other officers and soldiers: of the *French*, about an hundred and twenty soldiers and forty Gentlemen were killed, amongst whom were Colonel *De la Croix*, the Sieurs * *De Bayan-court*, *Des Mazieres*, Lieutenant to Monsieur *De Surville*, and many Captains of foot. Amongst the wounded were Colonel *Lierville* and the Sieurs *D'Arpajon* and *De Chalande*.

In the mean time, the *Condé de Fuentes* having received intelligence of the assault which his men expected, left the siege of *Castelet* to the Duke of *Pastrana*, and went with part of his army to relieve them: but arriving the day after the action at a place within three miles of *Han*, he heard the news of their misfortune, and not thinking fit to attempt any thing further at that time, returned to prosecute the siege he had begun. So that the *French*, being in full possession of the town and castle, left the Sieurs *De Sessaval* and *Plinville* with a proper garrison there, and delivered *Cecco di Sangro*, and many other prisoners, to *Orvilliers*, to be given in exchange for the Sieur *De Gomeron*. But that affair took a very different turn: for the prisoners having secretly tampered with a *Neapolitan*, who was riding-master to the Sieur *De Gomeron*, and lived in the castle, it was agreed betwixt them, that he and two other soldiers of the garrison should let them out of the apartment where they were confined, and furnish them with arms, by which means they hoped not only to recover their

* The *French* says *Haraucourt*.

own

own liberty, but to diſpatch *Orvilliers*, and ſuddenly make themſelves 1595. maſters of the fortreſs. The attempt ſucceeded pretty well at firſt: for *Cecco di Sangro*, with his companions, made a furious and unexpected aſſault upon the guards at noon day, and got poſſeſſion of the caſtle gate, which they locked up, and ran directly to the Governor's apartment, with a deſign to kill him. But finding him, and thoſe that were with him, already in a poſture of defence, a very ſharp engagement enſued betwixt them; at the noiſe of which the officers that lodged in the town, ſuſpecting what had happened, inſtantly ran to the caſtle, and endeavoured to get into it by the help of ſcaling-ladders: ſo that there was another ſkirmiſh in that part alſo. But as the *Italians* were not ſtrong enough to maintain the attack in two different places at the ſame time, they came to a capitulation with *Orvilliers*, by the interpoſition of Madam *De Gomeron*, in which it was agreed, that they ſhould be ſuffered to go freely out of the gate that looks toward the fields, and that he ſhould be left in full and quiet poſſeſſion of the caſtle, as before. After the priſoners were thus releaſed, *Gomeron* was left in the hands of the *Spaniards*, without any hope of redemption; and yet Madame *De Gomeron*, who left no means untried to obtain the liberty of her ſons, had ſo wrought upon *Orvilliers* by her tears, intreaties, and promiſes, that he began to waver, and ſeemed inclined to enter into a freſh agreement with the *Spaniards*: upon which, ſhe imagined he would eaſily be prevailed upon to receive their army, if they would advance thither, and accordingly wrote to the *Condé*, that if he would come before the place with his forces, *Orvilliers* ſhould deliver up the caſtle to him.

During this interval the *Condé* had not only battered the walls of *Caſtelet*, but had alſo made a furious aſſault, and though it was bravely ſuſtained by the beſieged, yet whilſt they were engaged their powder took fire, and was all blown up, which obliged the Sieur *De Liramont* Governor of the place, to ſurrender, upon condition that their goods and perſons ſhould be ſpared; and this being granted, he marched out of it with the uſual military honours. When this enterprize was over, the *Condé* moved with his whole army towards *Han*: but at his arrival there, *Orvilliers*, who was grown more irreſolute than ever, and did not know what to determine upon, at laſt opened the gate next the town, and fled out of the caſtle to *Roye*. The Count *De Seſſaval*, however, who immediately entered it with two hundred ſoldiers, began to fire with his artillery upon the *Spaniſh* camp, at which the *Condé de Fuentes* was ſo provoked, that he cauſed *Gomeron* to be brought out, and beheaded, in the ſight of all thoſe that were in the caſtle, and ſent his brothers back to their confinement in the caſtle of *Antwerp*.

After this the *Condé*, in the firſt tranſports of his anger, reſolved to beſiege

1595. besiege the town; but the next day when his passions had subsided, he thought it would be imprudent to defer his design upon *Cambray* any longer; for which reason he raised his camp, and marched away to plunder and ravage the adjacent territories. At his approach *Clery* and *Bray*, two weak towns in that country, lying upon the river *Somme*, without making any resistance, immediately submitted to his army, which began to drive away the cattle, and lay waste the corn fields in many places, to the great terror of the country people. But the forces were not yet in readiness, which the Provinces of *Artois* and *Hainault*, had obliged themselves to contribute: and without them the commanders, considering the large circumference of the town, and the number of people that were in it, did not think proper to attempt the siege. The Count, therefore, to keep his forces in action, and to facilitate the reduction of *Cambray*, by blocking up the several passes to it, resolved to make an attempt upon *Dourlans*, a town not very large, but tolerably strong, and situated upon the confines of *Picardy* and the territory of *Cambray*, above *Peronne* and *Corbie*. The Sieur *D'Araucourt* commanded in the town, and the Sieur *De Ronsoy* in the castle: for all the places of that province (as near the confines) are secured by castles, most of which are stronger from the nature of their situation, than the help of art, having walls built in the old manner, and flanked only with great towers; but the Governor, seeing the danger so imminent, had with great diligence strengthened this place with ramparts and ravelines, after the modern way of fortification. The weakness of the garrison, which was much inferior to what it ought to have been upon such an occasion, was the chief thing that encouraged the *Condé* to go upon this enterprize: but though it was a sudden resolution, and he turned his forces that way without losing a moment of time, yet he could not invest it and block up the passes, before the Duke of *Boüillon* had intelligence of his proceedings, who, not having sufficient time to consider what was most proper to be done in such an emergency, immediately sent four hundred Gentlemen and eight hundred foot into the town: in which he certainly did not act with prudence. For if, instead of them, he had thrown in all his foot, which amounted to above two thousand, he would not afterwards have been necessitated to attempt the relief of it, with so terrible a slaughter of his forces: and if he had not shut up the Noblesse within the walls, he would have been so strong in horse, that he might have obliged the enemy to raise the siege, only by obstructing the passes: but upon such sudden and unexpected occasions, even the wisest men cannot be supposed to attend to every particular with the same care and circumspection. These forces had no sooner joined the garrison, which now all together amounted to eleven hundred foot and five hundred horse, than he began to be sensible of his error: for as there was

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no particular commander of ſufficient authority, to take the charge of the defence wholly upon himſelf, the Lords and Gentlemen of the country that were within the walls, being all ambitious to command, threw every thing into diſorder and confuſion; ſo that their preſence, which would have been highly uſeful in the field, was rather of diſſervice than otherwiſe in the town. And yet, as the expediency of keeping the enemy at a diſtance from the walls was ſufficiently obvious, they began to put ſome of thoſe ravelines, that were on the outſide of the ramparts, into ſo good order, as to retard the approach of the enemy for ſome days. But the unfitneſs of the garriſon likewiſe plainly appeared in this: for the Nobleſſe would not condeſcend to work, and the foot, being few in compariſon of what were wanted, all the neceſſary preparations went on very ſlowly and heavily.

The *Spaniſh* army ſat down before *Dourlans* on the fifteenth of *July*, and the ſame evening, *Valentine* Sieur *de la Motte*, who had the poſt of Major General, advancing too near the walls to reconnoitre the place, in order to form a judgment on which ſide it would be moſt proper to make their approaches, was killed by a muſket ball, which he received in his right eye. He was a ſoldier that had raiſed himſelf by degrees from a very low rank in the army, to ſo reſpectful a command, with the cleareſt character, and had been often employed in the moſt important enterpriſes, on account of his great valour and experience. The perſon fixed upon by the *Condé de Fuentes* to ſupply his place, was *Chriſtian* Sieur *De Rhoſnè*, who had acquired the higheſt degree of reputation amongſt the *Spaniards*, by his prudence as well as bravery and conſummate knowledge in military affairs. By his advice they began, in the firſt place, to fortify themſelves in their entrenchments, and to block up all the avenues with forts and half-moons, not only to prevent any relief from being thrown into the town, but to ſecure their camp, which was not very large, againſt any ſudden attack from the *French*. When theſe works were finiſhed, it was ſtill a matter of doubt on which ſide the place ſhould be aſſaulted: for ſeveral were of opinion that they ought to begin with the caſtle, the reduction of which, they ſaid, muſt ſoon be attended with the ſurrender of the town: and others, judging it a very difficult matter to reduce the caſtle, ſaid they thought it more adviſeable to make themſelves maſters of the town firſt, in order to make an attack upon the caſtle more practicable. But, after long conſultation, a third opinion, propoſed by Monſieur *De Rhoſnè*, at laſt prevailed; which was, that the town ſhould be aſſaulted on that ſide where it joined to the caſtle, becauſe a breach might be made in the wall, and part of the works of the caſtle demoliſhed at the ſame time. The ſituation of their camp naturally pointed out this advice; for the river *Oyſe*, which run cloſe by, made it more eaſy to be defended, and would prevent any ſudden attempt upon their batteries, from

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1595. the Duke of *Boüillon* or the Count *De St. Paul*, who, he knew, were drawing their forces together with great diligence, to relieve the Noblesse which they had unadvisedly shut up in the town. The first attack was upon an half moon, raised on the outside of the ramparts to cover the fosse that separated the castle from the town, which, though made of nothing but earth, was yet so firmly cemented together, by length of time, that it was cannon proof. Monsieur *De Rhosnè* therefore, having found it in vain to batter it, began two trenches (that he might carry on the approaches without being annoyed by the shot, either from the town or the castle) which he continued till he was got within a stone's throw of the half moon: and whilst the besieged imagined he would carry them on as far as the fosse, he suddenly ordered two divisions, one of *Italians* the other of *Walloons*, which were in readiness for that purpose, to sally out of them: some of whom, scrambling up the face of the half moon, and others clapping ladders to it, got so suddenly upon the parapet, that they fell upon those that defended it, before the artillery of the castle could do them any harm. The assault did not continue long, but was very sharp, for those that sustained it were all veterans: but as they were in a manner surprised, after they had fought about a quarter of an hour, and found themselves overpowered by the number of the enemy, they were at last obliged to retire into the covert way that was on the outside of the fosse. Upon which, Monsieur *De Rhosnè* entered the half moon, and ordered *La Berlotte's* division to cover themselves in that place, as he designed to plant his battery there. The *Walloons* accordingly began to fortify themselves with the utmost diligence, and the besieged were no less active in their endeavours to prevent them. For which purpose, they kept so hot a fire upon the place where the besiegers were at work, from three sakers that were on the platform of the town, and on the other side from the artillery of the castle, that they made a very great slaughter amongst them: and yet the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and *Walloons*, by turns, worked so hard, that they at last made the half moon defensible, and planted seven culverins in it, which battered the works of the castle; and six other pieces of cannon, that played upon the wall of the town, for two days together, without intermission, at the end of which they had brought their two trenches to the counterscarp, in order to advance to the assault.

In the mean time the Duke of *Boüillon* and the Count *De St. Paul*, being joined by Admiral *Villers* with the forces of *Normandy*, were very intent upon relieving this place, not so much for the importance of the town, as on account of the great number of Gentlemen that were shut up in it: and though their army was not very numerous, yet they were confident that the Noblesse which they had with them, would enable them to throw in some supplies of men and ammunition, by forcing the guards

1595.

on fome fide or other, though they were well fortified, and very diligent in their duty. The Sieur *De Seffaval's* defign was, to force his way into the town with a thoufand foot, and twenty four carriages laden with ammunition and provifions, and at the fame time to open a paffage, if he could, for the four hundred Gentlemen that were in *Dourlans* to return to the army, in which, befides the infantry, there were twelve hundred cuiraffiers, and fix hundred harquebufiers on horfeback. And as the circumference of the town was irregular, and the avenues various that led to it, fome lying on one fide, and fome on the other fide of the river, which yet was fhallow enough to be forded in many places without difficulty, they determined to divide themfelves into three bodies, and to appear in three different parts, to keep the enemy divided and employed in feveral places. With this defign, they had a confultation amongft themfelves on the evening of the twenty third of *July*, concerning the moft proper means of putting it in execution. The Count *De St. Paul*, the Marquis *De Belin*, and the Sieur *De Seffaval* were of opinion, that they ought to wait for the arrival of the Duke of *Nevers*, who, having been appointed by the King to fuperintend the affairs of that province, was already upon the road to join them, as it would be madnefs, they faid, to go upon that immediately with extreme danger, which they might attempt with more ftrength and greater probability of fuccefs at the end of two or three days. But the Duke of *Boüillon* (betwixt whom and the Duke of *Nevers* there had long fubfifted a fort of an emulation, not only on account of their being of different religions, but becaufe each of them pretended to a fuperiority over the other in point of reputation and underftanding) could not bear to think of ftaying for his coming, and that the honour fhould be referved for him, which he expected to reap himfelf, by raifing the fiege, or relieving the town: and having drawn the Admiral over into his opinion, he in a manner forced the reft to concur with him in the refolution he had taken to attack the enemy the next day.

On the other hand the *Condé de Fuentes*, knowing that the hopes of the *French* chiefly confifted in keeping his forces divided and employed in different places, refolved to advance three miles to meet them, that he might oppofe their attempt with his whole ftrength united, and having left *Hernando Telles Portocarrero*, with twelve hundred foot to guard the batteries, and *Gafparo Zappogna* with a thoufand more, to defend his camp and trenches, he advanced with the reft of his army along the road, by which the enemy were approaching. The Prince of *Avellino* led the van, which confifted of two fquadrons of horfe, one of *Flemings* and *Walloons*, and the other of *Italians*, flanked by two wings of *Spanifh* harquebufiers: the Duke of *Aumale*, and the Sieur *De Rhofnè* were in the centre, with two columns

1595. of infantry, each of which had four field-pieces in the front: the rear was brought up by the *Condé* himself, in which were all the rest of the cavalry, flanked by a battalion of *Germans*.

On the other side, the Admiral and the Duke of *Boüillon* led the van; the Count *De St. Paul* conducted the main battle, and the rear was commanded by the Marquis *De Belin*. It was almost noon on the twenty fourth of *July*, when the two armies came in sight of each other, and soon after met: upon which, the *French* vanguard immediately charged the two squadrons of cavalry in the enemy's van with such violence, that the *Walloons*, who were on the left, being broken and defeated by the Admiral, presently ran away: but that of the *Italians*, commanded by the Prince of *Avellino*, sustained the fury of the Duke of *Boüillon* a considerable time, till the Admiral, who had routed and dispersed the other squadron, came to charge them in the flank, by which they also were obliged to retire, though without falling into disorder: but the *Spanish* harquebusiers coming up that were in the flanks, the engagement grew very hot, especially as the *Walloon* horse, which had now rallied, returned to the battle, and fought with as much courage as any of the rest. Whilst the two vans were thus engaged, *Sessaval*, with the foot under his command, left them, and marched forward towards *Dourlans*, and happening to fall in with the body of infantry conducted by the Duke of *Aumale*, there ensued as fierce an encounter betwixt them, as there was betwixt the cavalry. But as soon as *De Rhosnè* saw these two bodies of foot thoroughly engaged, he wheeled off as fast as he could to the right, with that under his command, and having possessed himself of a rising ground, which was on the flank of *Sessaval's* infantry, after he had raked them through and through with his field pieces, he came down from thence, with the two corps of harquebusiers that were in the front of his division, and made such havock amongst them, that the Sieur *De Sessaval*, Colonel *St. Dennis*, and a great number of others were slain, and the rest so dispersed, that they could not be rallied, but were forced to leave all their colours and carriages of ammunition and provisions in the hands of the enemy. In the mean time, the *Condé de Fuentes*, having got to the top of an eminence, from whence he could more distinctly observe what passed, immediately dispatched two squadrons of horse to succour the Prince of *Avellino*: whilst Monsieur *De Rhosnè* and the Duke of *Aumale*, who by this time had put their forces in good order again, were advancing separately to make another charge. The Duke of *Boüillon*, therefore, finding it necessary to give way, and not caring to run any further risque, retired, without having sustained any considerable loss, towards the main battle, which was still entire, as the Count *De St. Paul* had never been in the action. The Admiral, likewise, who had been warmly engaged with a superior number of the

the enemy from the very beginning of the battle, after the Sieur *D'Arginvilliers*, Governor of *Abbeville*, and *D'Hacqueville*, Governor of *Ponteau de Mer*, Captain *Perdriel*, and above two hundred Gentlemen of *Normandy* were ſlain upon the ſpot, now began to think of retiring, though it would have been a very difficult matter, and perhaps too late. But his courage and affection prompted him to return into the heat of the battle: for ſeeing his nephew, the young Sieur *De Montigny*, with fifteen or twenty of his followers, in a manner ſurrounded and hard preſſed by *Antonio Mendozza's Spaniſh* infantry, he rallied his horſe which were retiring, and made a furious charge to diſengage him. But being encloſed by the *Spaniſh* harquebuſiers, and his retreat cut off by the *Italian* and *Walloon* cavalry, he fought deſperately till he was wounded in many places, and at laſt fell from his horſe: and though he told his name, and offered a ranſom of fifty thouſand crowns, yet a *Spaniſh* ſoldier killed him in cold blood, and another cruelly cut off one of his fingers for the ſake of a very rich diamond ring that he wore upon it: for which barbarity they were both juſtly put to death by the order of the *Condé de Fuentes*. All thoſe that followed him were likewiſe cut to pieces, though they fought deſperately, and made the victory very bloody to the enemy. But the Duke of *Boüillon*, either becauſe he thought the beſt ſervice he could do the King would be to ſave the reſt of the army, or out of pique to the Admiral, on account of his being ſo zealous a Catholick, perſuaded the Count *De St. Paul* (who was a young man, and ſuffered himſelf to be guided by the opinion of his ſeniors) that all attempts to reſcue the Admiral would be in vain, and that nothing remained to be done, but to uſe their endeavours to make a ſafe retreat with the main battle. The Marquis *De Belin*, on the contrary, abhorring that advice, immediately advanced with the rear to ſuccour the Admiral in his diſtreſs: but being encountered by four ſquadrons of lances, which the *Condé de Fuentes* had ſent to attack him, he was not able to withſtand their fury: ſo that his men were preſently routed, and ran away, leaving him and the Sieur *De Longchamp* in the hands of the enemy: from whence it clearly appeared, that cuiraſſiers are not by any means equal to lances in the field. The loſs the *French* ſuſtained in this battle was more conſiderable, on account of the quality, than number of the ſlain: for they were not above ſix hundred, but moſt of them Gentlemen and perſons of diſtinction, as the army was chiefly compoſed of ſuch: which ſerved in ſome meaſure to excuſe the Duke of *Boüillon's* conduct, in endeavouring to ſave the reſt, though it was the general opinion, that if he had either charged reſolutely at firſt with all his troops, or had ſent for the Count *De St. Paul* with freſh forces to his aſſiſtance, even after he was engaged, he might have thrown relief into *Dourlans*, or at leaſt have retreated without expoſing himſelf to ſo great a ſlaughter. The *Spaniards*

1595. *ards* had but few killed, and those of no great note; and amongst the wounded, there were none of any account, except *Sancho de Luna*.

Whilst the two armies were thus engaged, the besieged in *Dourlans* were not idle: for upon the first rumour of the battle, they made a vigorous sally upon the trenches; but finding the posts well fortified, and all the guards under arms, they were as bravely repulsed, though they did not sustain much loss in that action. After the battle was over, the *Condé de Fuentes* returned victorious to his camp before *Dourlans*, and being now no longer under any apprehension of being molested by the *French*, he used his utmost endeavours to reduce the town as soon as possible: and though the besieged behaved with remarkable courage, yet their conduct and experience were not equal to it, so that it evidently appeared, that the place must at last fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*, though probably with a great slaughter of them. On the twenty eighth the besieged made another furious sally, in the heat of the day: but as the enemy's foot were ready to receive them, they were again repulsed after an obstinate dispute, and whilst they were retiring by degrees, without seeming to run away, they were so fiercely attacked on the flank by the cavalry, that they lost many of their men, and were forced to run back as fast as they could to the very counterscarp. The next day, after the artillery had not only demolished part of the wall of the town, but also made a breach in an angle of the castle, the *Condé* caused an assault to be made, and sent the infantry to attack both places at once, in order to discourage the besieged, and divide their strength. The *Spaniards* advanced to the castle, the *Walloons* to the town, and soon after the *Italians* entered the trenches to reinforce them. On this occasion *Hernando Telles Portocarrero* gave remarkable proofs of his valour: for he was the first that mounted the breach made in the castle, and fought there with so much resolution at the head of his men, that, the Count *De Dinan*, who had the charge of the defence on that side, being slain, and his men defeated, and driven off the castle, was taken, with very great slaughter of the garrison. From thence the assailants rushed furiously down into the town, and made themselves masters of that also, without meeting with any obstacle or impediment from trenches or casemates: for either the inexperience, or the discords that subsisted amongst the besieged had been such, that no sort of works were thrown up there to oppose the enemy. Here, in revenge for the slaughter at *Han* (which every soldier called upon his comrade to remember) all the besieged were put to the sword, without distinction, in the fury of the storm: so that, out of such a number of Gentlemen and soldiers, only the Sieurs *D'Haraucourt* and *De Griboval*, and about forty others, with much difficulty escaped with their lives, and were made prisoners: *Monsieur de Ronsoy*, Gov e rnorofthe castle, the Sieurs *De Francourt* and *Proüilles*,

Proüilles, who had the principal commands, above three hundred of the 1595. Noblesse, and more than six hundred soldiers being slain upon the spot. The town was sacked in the heat of the action, and continued at the mercy of the soldiers till night, at which time those had quarter given them who had taken sanctuary in churches. After so complete a victory, the *Condé de Fuentes* immediately repaired the walls, and demolished the works and trenches that he had thrown up on the outside of them, and, having given the government of the place to *Portocarrero*, as a reward for his gallant behaviour in the reduction of it, he began with very great diligence to make preparations for the siege of *Cambray*, in order to improve the success with which his late enterprize had been attended.

In the mean time the Duke of *Nevers* arrived at the army, which was now very much dispirited by it's late defeat; and though he endeavoured to overlook the errors that had been committed, yet, in a conversation with the Count *De St. Paul* and the Duke *De Boüillon* at *Pequigny*, he could not forbear telling them, "That they had been too couragious in their consultations, and too prudent in their retreat:" at which reproach, added to their former enmity, the Duke of *Boüillon* was so disgusted, that he left the camp: the Count *De St. Paul*, likewise, who did not much relish it, retired to *Boulogne:* so that the whole weight and care of the army devolved upon one person only. The Duke of *Nevers* having thus taken upon him the command of the army, though it was reduced to a very low condition, marched directly towards *Amiens*, on the second of *August*, to secure that city, which was exceedingly terrified with the slaughter that had just happened no further off than *Dourlans*. But as the citizens flocked to him in multitudes, and seemed in great pain lest *Corbie*, a town not far from the enemies quarters, should fall into their hands, he promised to go thither himself the next day: and accordingly having left his son, the young Duke of *Rhetelois*, at *Amiens*, he proceeded without farther delay to *Corbie*; in which town, though weak, he began to make preparations to receive the *Spanish* army, if it should march that way. But the next day the *Condé de Fuentes*, who was not above seven leagues from thence, having raised his camp from before *Dourlans*, advanced in one day's march almost as far as *Peronne*, which obliged the Duke to leave *Corbie* with all his forces, and to march away towards *Arboniers*, that he might get into *Peronne* the same night. On the fifth, the *Spaniards* passed pretty near the walls of the town, and took the rout of *St. Quintin:* upon which the Duke, being sent to by the Viscount *D'Auchy*, who was in that place, went thither on the sixth in the morning, which day the *Spanish* army made a halt in the same quarters, and stayed there four days to gather provisions together from all parts, and on the eleventh of *August*, drew within four miles of *Cambray*, by which they

1595. they plainly discovered their intention of besieging that place, and delivered the other towns from the apprehensions they had been under on their own account.

The Marshal *De Balagny*, who then commanded in *Cambray*, finding the garrison weak, and himself very much hated by the citizens, who could not bear his manner of government; and at the same time being destitute of means to pay and support his men, earnestly sollicited the Duke of *Nevers*, by four couriers, dispatched express one after another, to assist him with some forces, and also to furnish him with a sum of money; acquainting him, at the same time, how little confidence he reposed in the inhabitants, and with what a panic the garrison had been seized with, upon the news of the slaughter at *Dourlans*. Upon this, the Duke of *Nevers*, having called a council of war, was a long time in doubt whether he should go himself into *Cambray* or not: for, on one hand, the desire of preserving that city, and the honour he expected to gain by defending it, prompted him to advance; and, on the other, the necessity of recruiting the army, and putting it in good order again, dissuaded him from it. But as the rest of the commanders unanimously agreed, that he ought not to engage himself there, since they were in hopes that *Balagny* would be able to perform what was requisite for the defence of the town, and that his own presence would be absolutely necessary elsewhere to provide relief for it, he resolved to send his son *Charles* Duke of *Rhetelois*, with four hundred horse, and four companies of firelocks, which he likewise mounted on horseback for the greater expedition. To attend his son, he sent the Sieurs *De Bussy* and *Trumelet*, the first a Colonel of great experience, the other Governor of *Ville Franche*: and the command of the firelocks he gave to the Sieur *De Vautricourt*, an old experienced officer, intending, after his son was got into the town, that Monsieur *De Vic* should likewise attempt the same with an hundred horse and four hundred more foot, to assist in such parts of the defence as Marshal *De Balagny* (under whose command all those forces were to be) could not attend to himself, or perhaps might not understand.

During this interval the *Condé de Fuentes*, having been reinforced by five thousand foot, sent from the neighbouring provinces under the command of the Prince of *Chimay*, and a regiment of *Walloons*, raised and paid by *Lewis de Barlemont*, Archbishop of *Cambray*, had advanced pretty near to the town on the fourteenth of *August*, and immediately began to block up the passes, through which he expected the enemy would endeavour to send relief. But this diligence and precaution only served to quicken the motions of the Duke of *Rhetelois*, who instantly set out with a resolution to throw himself into the city if possible; and having marched all night, arrived at break of day upon a large plain, which surrounds the town on every side.

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He did not intend indeed to have made his appearance at all by day-light, 1595. but was retarded by an exceeding heavy rain which fell that night, and much more by a river that he was to paſs in the village of *Aune*, over a wooden bridge, ſome part of which happened to be broken down: ſo that he was obliged to ſtay there till they had repaired the bridge, as well as they could, by the help of piles and planks. The *Spaniards*, therefore, who were informed of his approach, had ſufficient time to mount their horſes, and at the Duke's arrival were ready drawn up in good order, and waited to receive him upon the high road, on the plain along which he was to paſs. But as ſoon as he diſcovered the enemy, not being thoroughly determined how to proceed, he made a halt, till the guide that conducted his forces, who was well acquainted with the country, informed him there was a deep hollow way betwixt the enemies horſe, and one of the lower gates of the city, which was difficult to be paſſed, ſo that if he would turn off on that ſide, he might get under the walls of the town before the enemy could overtake him, as they muſt neceſſarily be obliged to take a large circuit, for fear of diſordering themſelves in that hollow way: upon which the Duke, couragiouſly putting himſelf at the head of his men, quitted the main road, and, turning to the left, advanced on a round trot, by the road which his guide ſhewed him, in hopes of getting to the gate without any oppoſition from the enemy. But when he came very near the town, he fell in with a corps de garde of fifty horſe, which, at the alarm that was ſpread through the whole country, had poſted themſelves there to block up the paſſage: ſo that being now under a neceſſity of engaging, he ſhut down his beaver, and having encouraged his men, charged the enemy with ſo much fury, that he broke them, and drove them off at the very firſt onſet without the loſs of a man, and having wheeled about to put his men in their former order, he continued to advance pretty faſt. But he had not proceeded above two hundred yards further, before he met another body of an hundred and twenty horſe, which he charged with the ſame vigour, and forced them to retire without making any conſiderable reſiſtance. In the mean time the main body of the *Spaniſh* horſe, which had firſt diſcovered his motions, advanced towards him with no leſs celerity; but the impediment of the hollow way, and the dirtineſs of the roads, which the rain that had fallen the night before made very wet and ſlippery, retarded their march ſo much, that when the firſt troops came up to charge the Duke, he was already got under the artillery of the town, which, firing very ſharply upon them and ſcouring the whole plain, ſecured him from all danger, ſo that he entered the town in ſafety, to the great joy of every one in it, without ſuſtaining any other loſs but that of one of his pages, and an inconſiderable part of his baggage, as the waggons which carried it could not

1595. come up ſo faſt as the reſt, and conſequently fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*.

The ſucceſs of this attempt made it neceſſary for the *Condé de Fuentes*, to inveſt the town more cloſely, to prevent any freſh relief from entering: to which he was likewiſe induced by the want of money to maintain his army. For tho' the Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, and the adjoining provinces, had obliged themſelves to contribute five hundred thouſand florins, yet they refuſed to pay them down before he began the ſiege, and had made himſelf maſter of the counterſcarp. Beſides, his natural ardour, now much increaſed by his late advantage, ſpurred him on to undertake what ſeemed above the ſtrength of his army, as if he had been inſpired with a preſentiment of ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the great difficulty of the enterpriſe. He reſolved, therefore, as the city was of a large circumference, and he had but few men, to ſhut up all that part with forts and redoubts that lies towards *France*, on this ſide the river *Scheld*, which runs thro' the middle of the city, imagining he ſhould be able to ſupply his want of men by the help of fortifications, as all the forces in his army were not ſufficient to occupy a ſpace that extended many miles. But it appeared upon this occaſion, as upon many others, that forts and redoubts are not ſufficient to hinder thoſe that are determined to paſs them, at the riſque of expoſing themſelves to a few cannot ſhot, except the intervals betwixt them are defended by a proper number of ſtout and reſolute men. The *Condé*, however, ſent for four thouſand pioneers out of the neighbouring provinces, and having ſeventy two pieces of cannon of different bores, with a prodigious quantity of ammunition and other warlike engines, began with great ſpirit to block up the city on all ſides, but more particularly on that where he thought the *French* moſt probably would attempt to relieve it. For this purpoſe, he cauſed a fort to be raiſed after the manner of a platform, betwixt *Porte Neuve* and the *Porte de St. Sepulchre*, over againſt that part of the city that faced the ſouth, able to contain a thouſand foot, which was called the fort *De Guiargni*, from the name of the bourg cloſe by it: another, almoſt as large, he ordered to be thrown up, oppoſite to the place where the river enters the town on the weſt ſide, which they diſtinguiſhed from the other, by the name of the fort *De Premy*, taken likewiſe from the name of the adjacent bourg: and betwixt theſe two there were built ſeventeen redoubts, by way of ſentinel boxes, in each of which were twenty five men, the two forts themſelves and all the ſpace from one to the other being guarded by the Prince of *Chimay*, with the forces that had lately arrived from the neighbouring provinces. Beſides theſe poſts, another great fort was raiſed towards the north, below the gates *De Quentimpré* and *Des Selles*, which they called *St. Oloy*, where the Count *De Bie* commanded with a regiment of *Germans*.

mans. In the ſpace betwixt the *Porte des Selles* and the citadel, which extends from the north to the eaſt, they intended to plant their battery, but principally over againſt the baſtion *De Robert*: and for this purpoſe they began to mark out trenches, the command of which was given to *Agoſtino Meſſia*. The *Condé* himſelf, with the cavalry of the army and two diviſion of *Walloons*, was quartered in two little villages in the rear of the fortifications; and *Ambroſio Landriano*, Lieutenant General of the light horſe, poſted himſelf, with four hundred horſe and ſix hundred foot, upon the road that led to *Peronne*, having laid ſeveral ambuſhes in the woods, to attack ſuch as ſhould endeavour to relieve the town, and to obſtruct their paſſage.

1595.

After this diſpoſition was made, they began to break ground, under the directions of *Paciotto* the chief engineer, and Colonel *La Berlotte*, men in very high eſteem, one for his ſkill in fortification, and the other for his long experience in all the duties of the military profeſſion. But the work was attended with much more difficulty than was expected: for in the lower places, which were ſometimes overflowed by the *Scheld*, they could not dig above the depth of a ſpan before they were interrupted by water; and the higher parts were ſo hard, and full of ſtone, that it coſt them much time and labour to make but little progreſs: and yet the ſoldiers, who were inured to fatigue, elated with victory, and eager to plunder ſo rich a city, wrought with ſuch incredible patience and diligence, under the continual inſpection either of the *Condé* himſelf, or of Monſieur *De Rhoſne*, who encouraged them from time to time with good words, and promiſes, and gratuities, that on the firſt of *September* two very large trenches were brought to the edge of the foſſe, betwixt the baſtion *De Robert* and a raveline in the midſt of the curtain. It is certain, that if the beſieged had harraſſed them in carrying on their works, with ſallies and counter-batteries, it muſt have been extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to have made their approaches: but it was plain to be ſeen, that Monſieur *De Balagny* was either daunted, or had very little experience in military affairs. For, during the ſpace of ten days, whilſt the *Spaniards* were carrying on their works with ſo much vigour, the beſieged lay wholly idle, and did not offer to moleſt them in any manner whatſoever: and though the young Duke of *Rhetelois*, who, on account of his tender years, ſuffered himſelf to be governed, in a great meaſure, by the advice of others, earneſtly endeavoured to perſuade them to attempt ſomething, yet he had not weight enough to prevail. So that nothing at all would have been done, even on the very day that the trenches were opened upon the foſſe, if he himſelf had not pointed a culverine, and fired it with ſome ſucceſs upon the enemy, for the ball fell into the very mouth of one of their trenches; by which example, ſome of his Gentlemen, who were more

1595. active and couragious than the rest, fired many other pieces of cannon, and did some damage to the besiegers.

But the next day Monsieur *De Vic* opportunely arrived, a man of great reputation and experience, who having escaped all the ambushes laid by *Landriano*, drew near the city, on the second of *September* in the morning, with all his men on horseback; and as the guards of the besiegers which he found there, were but few and thin, he passed betwixt fort and fort, without sustaining any loss, and got safe almost to the walls of the town, not far from the edge of the fosse. But when he thought himself past all danger, he was suddenly attacked in the rear by a body of *Italian* horse, under the command of *Carlo Visconte*, which had advanced on a full gallop towards him: so that, to avoid so imminent a danger, as all the rest of the cavalry were close at his heels, he immediately ordered his men to dismount and abandon their horses to the enemy, who, whilst they were busily employed in securing this booty, gave him and most of his men an opportunity of getting into the fosse: and though the *Spaniards* boldly pursued him thither, yet they could neither do him any damage, nor prevent him (after a long skirmish and several discharges of the artillery) from entering safe into the town. His presence seemed to put life and spirit into the besieged; for the same night the soldiers, vying with each other who should work hardest, raised two platforms behind the curtain that was now battered by the enemy, and a cavalier at the gorge of the bastion *De Robert*, where they planted many pieces of artillery, which made a furious counter-battery, and did so much mischief to the besiegers, that having their cannon dismounted and spoiled, the carriages broken, and the gabions scattered, the *Spaniards* were disabled from making any farther attempt upon the town for the space of three days. At the same time he caused two mines to be sprung under their principal battery, with such success, that they entirely demolished it, and buried five pieces of the enemies cannon, spoiling and dismounting all the rest. Nor did he omit, at the same time, to make some sallies when there was a proper opportunity, tho' there were so many places to be guarded continually, that he could not do it often, nor with any great number of men.

So gallant a defence, however, did not hinder Colonel *La Berlotte*, who had the principal charge of the siege, from carrying on his approaches, under the shelter of gabions rather than trenches, though with the loss of many men, till he had at last advanced near enough to attempt the counterscarp: but he found it of such a height, that his men were forced to make use of ladders to go down into the fosse, which appeared exceedingly dangerous: for the flank of the bastion *De Robert*, and a casemate, that was just finished in the fosse, fired briskly, from both sides, upon those

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that were hardy enough to come to the ladders: ſo that it was neceſſary to raiſe another battery of five culverins, with which, when it was finiſhed, he played furiouſly upon the flank of the baſtion *De Robert*: whilſt the caſemate was deſparately aſſaulted for four days together, and an infinite quantity of fireworks thrown in, to make himſelf maſter of it. But the beſieged were now grown ſo reſolute, that it proved a very difficult matter to poſſeſs himſelf of the caſemate: and in the flank of the baſtion, Monſieur *De Vic* had cauſed five pieces of cannon to be planted ſo low, that it was not poſſible by any means to ſilence them. The commanders, therefore, reſolved to remove the battery to a lower place, near the *Porte des Selles*, where the whole camp worked with ſo much eagerneſs, that in two days they planted twenty two pieces of cannon againſt the curtain, and ſix large culverins againſt the flank of the baſtion, which ſoon diſcurtained it, and made it extremely dangerous for the guard that was there to ſtay in it any longer. Almoſt at the ſame time Colonel *La Berlotte*, having made his approach by the two other trenches, advanced under cover cloſe to the caſemate, which he preſently forced the beſieged to quit: ſo that the foſſe being now cleared, he began to fire afreſh with his artillery, and ordered the army to get ready to make an aſſault.

1595.

The *Condé de Fuentes*, however, was much alarmed, when he heard that the Duke of *Nevers* had ſtaid at *Peronne*, and aſſembled above four thouſand foot and betwixt ſeven and eight hundred horſe there, with which he made no doubt but he would endeavour to relieve the city, eſpecially as there was ſo dear a ſtake in it as his own ſon. Wherefore, having cauſed all the avenues to be cut off and blocked up, he ordered another large fort to be raiſed at the entrance into the plain, where he placed *Gaſtonne Spinola* with a thouſand foot: ſo that the whole army was poſted in ſuch an advantagious manner, that they were ready for action upon the leaſt alarm: and the town was ſo incloſed with forts and bodies of infantry betwixt them, flanked by troops of horſe, and with field pieces in their front, that it was almoſt impoſſible for the enemy to break through, without expoſing themſelves to extreme danger, or coming immediately to a battle. But after all theſe precautions againſt the attack which he apprehended from the Duke of *Nevers*, the Count was likewiſe in very great want of money: for the neighbouring provinces, it ſeems, had been much more ready to promiſe than able to perform, and could raiſe but one half of the ſum they had engaged for, moſt of which he had been forced to diſtribute amongſt the ſoldiers that had mutinied at *Liramont*, in order to quiet them, and bring them back to his camp: and the court of *Spain* being very ſlow (according to its cuſtom) in ſending him ſupplies, he was reduced to very great diſtreſs, and could not tell how to maintain his army, which being altogether employed, either in carrying

1595. on the approaches, or guarding the forts, could not make excursions to support itself in the country, though at that time of the year the fields were full of all manner of fruits and provisions, necessary for the sustenance both of men and horses. Besides, the prosecution of the siege seemed likely to be attended with so many difficulties and dangers, especially when the strength of the town, the number and valour of the inhabitants, and the vigilance and experience of Monsieur *De Vic* were considered, that several were of opinion, it would be the most prudent way to raise the siege, and not to throw themselves away in so hopeless an undertaking, nor to stay till the King of *France* came upon them, who, having been victorious in *Burgundy*, was now advancing, as every one knew, towards *Picardy*.

But in the midst of these difficulties things took a very strange and unexpected turn. The inhabitants of *Cambray*, long accustomed to live under the gentle government of their Archbishops, bore the dominion of Marshal *De Balagny* with great impatience, and their disgust increased much more after the King of *France* had converted that government into a principality, and granted it in fee to *Balagny*, whose haughty and covetous disposition very much enflamed the discontent of the citizens. This was still heightened by the insupportable behaviour of Madam *De Balagny*, the Marshal's lady, who, being joined with him in the investiture, not only ruled her husband just as she pleased, but had reduced the city in general to despair, by her extortion, rapine, womanish insolence, and extreme ill treatment of every kind: so that when the *Spanish* army began to draw near those quarters, the people, under a pretence of sending to sollicit the King for relief, had dispatched two of their most eminent citizens to him, who offered, that if his Majesty would deprive *Balagny* of his dominion over the city, and annex it to the Crown of *France* again, they would pay the garrison at their own charge, and defend it, in case it should be besieged by the *Spaniards*, in such a manner, that his Majesty should be at no kind of trouble or expence at all about it: which request being rejected by means of Madame *De Gabriel*, of whom the King was passionately enamoured, the Deputies returned and made such a representation of the affair to their fellow citizens, that from despair they were wound up to the highest degree of rage and resentment. In this state of disaffection they were when the siege began, by which also they were much distressed; and Monsieur *De Balagny* was so entirely destitute of money, that he took a resolution to coin certain pieces of copper, which he commanded every one, by a proclamation, to receive without demur, and promised to change them when the siege was at an end. But as many refused to accept that sort of money, because they could not be certain what might be the event of the siege, and at the

same

ſame time put but little confidence in *Balagny's* promiſes, he and his wife were forced to uſe many violent methods to cauſe their decree to be obeyed: upon which, the people now grown frantick, took an opportunity, after a breach was made (whilſt all the ſoldiers were employed at different places upon the wall) and running furiouſly to arms, firſt made themſelves maſters of the main ſquare, where there was a guard of two hundred *Swiſs*, and then of the *Porte de St. Sepulchre*, which, being furtheſt removed from danger, was but weakly guarded. After this they immediately diſpatched two of the principal citizens to treat of a ſurrender with the *Spaniards* upon certain conditions: and theſe Deputies happening to fall into the quarters of the Prince of *Avellino*, were ſent directly by him to the *Condé de Fuentes*, who being aſſured by the Prince, that the citizens had actually made themſelves maſters of the *Porte de St. Sepulchre*, gave orders for the batteries to ceaſe firing, and began to treat with the Deputies. 1595.

In this interval, Monſieur *De Vic* having heard the uproar, was come into the main ſquare, where he endeavoured to appeaſe the tumult, and quiet the citizens with good words and earneſt exhortations, ſince it was impoſſible to quell them by force, as there was ſuch a multitude of them, all well armed and thoroughly provoked, and, which was of ſtill more importance, not only already in poſſeſſion of all the ſtreets, but of one of the gates alſo, by which they might let in the whole *Spaniſh* army as ſoon as they pleaſed. But his exhortations had no effect at all; ſo that he was obliged to accommodate himſelf to the neceſſity of the time, adviſing them to be upon their guard againſt the *Spaniards*, and to beware of expoſing the city to the danger of being ſacked, which had often happened to thoſe that neglected their defence whilſt they were capitulating. This he did only to prolong the time, that ſo he might have an opportunity of retiring with his men into the citadel. After him Madam *De Balagny* made her appearance, and harangued the people for a conſiderable time, in a maſculine and ſpirited manner: but her preſence ſerved rather to increaſe than appeaſe the tumult; ſo that the garriſon was hardly got into the citadel, when the citizens opened the gate which they were in poſſeſſion of. The Deputies indeed had returned juſt before, with a copy of the capitulation, ſigned by the *Condé de Fuentes*: the ſubſtance of which was, "That the city ſhould not be plundered, but have a general pardon for every thing that was paſt: That the citizens ſhould enjoy their ancient privileges, and be governed by their Archbiſhop as they had been formerly:" which articles being accepted by the people, *Gaſtone Spinola* and Count *Giovanni Giacopo Belgioioſo* immediately entered the city with three hundred horſe, and being followed by *Agoſtino Meſſia*, with the *Spaniſh* foot, they took poſſeſſion of the place without moleſting or annoying any

of

1595. of the inhabitants. The ſame night the Archbiſhop and the *Condé de Fuentes* made their entry, and were received with the higheſt demonſtrations of honour by the citizens, who were overjoyed to ſee themſelves delivered, after ſo long a courſe of tyranny, inſolence, and oppreſſion, and re-eſtabliſhed in their ancient privileges and form of government.

In the mean while the *French*, who had retired into the citadel, in hopes of being able to defend it a conſiderable time, ſoon perceived that it was impracticable; for upon ſearching the magazines of corn and other proviſions, they found there was hardly ſufficient to ſupport them two days. This unexpected deficiency was entirely owing to the avarice and imprudence of Madam *De Balagny*, who, without the knowledge of her huſband, had ſold all that had been laid up in the publick ſtore-houſes: ſo that when the *Condé* ſent to ſummon the garriſon to ſurrender before he planted his artillery, and they ſaw it was impoſſible to maintain the place, they (to the aſtoniſhment of every one that did not know the cauſe, and particularly of the *Condé* himſelf) offered to give up the citadel upon certain conditions that were demanded by them, which the *Condé* granted in an honourable manner, out of regard, as he pretended, to the youth of the Duke of *Rhetelois*, and to the valour and reputation of Monſieur *De Vic*: but in reality, to prevent any further difficulties that might occur in the reduction of the citadel, which he was glad to get into his hands at any rate.

The conditions were, "That the citadel ſhould be delivered up to the *Condé de Fuentes*, with all the artillery and ammunition belonging to it: and that, on the other hand, he ſhould be obliged to cauſe the caſtle of *Clery*, which he had taken but a little while before, to be diſmantled in the ſpace of ſix days. That the Duke of *Rhetelois*, the Marſhal *De Balagny*, Monſieur *De Vic*, and all the other Lords, Commanders, Gentlemen, and ſoldiers, of what nation ſoever, ſhould be allowed to march out in rank and file with their colours flying, matches lighted, and ball in their mouth, for which purpoſe, thoſe colours ſhould be reſtored to them that had been left in the city, and that they ſhould proceed in their march with trumpets ſounding and drums beating: That the arms, horſes, and baggage belonging to the ſoldiers, which they had left behind them in the city, ſhould be returned: and, if any thing was wanting, the value of it ſhould be paid in money, at a price agreed upon betwixt Monſieur *De Rhoſnè* and Colonel *Meſſia* on one ſide, and Monſieurs *De Buy* and *De Vic* on the other. That Madam *De Balagny*, likewiſe, with all the other women, the ſick and wounded men, attendants and ſervants of any perſon whatſoever, ſhould be at liberty to go out without moleſtation. That all priſoners ſhould be releaſed without ranſom. That the debts contracted by Monſieur *De Balagny*, whether on account of the copper money

money or any other occaſion, ſhould be remitted, and that he ſhould not be moleſted nor his baggage ſeized for them. And, laſtly, that whatſoever had been done in times paſt by the ſaid Marſhal, his wife, ſons, officers, and ſervants, ſhould be forgiven and forgot, neither ſhould any of them hereafter be called to account, either by his Catholick Majeſty or the citizens of *Cambray*."

Theſe articles were ſigned on the 7th of *October*, and executed on the 9th, on which day they all marched out in the order and manner that had been agreed upon, and took the road towards *Peronne*: except Madam *De Balagny*, who, not being able to bear the thoughts of loſing the principality, added to the recollection of her own improvidence, which had obliged them to give up the citadel, was ſo full of grief and deſpair, that ſhe fell ſick, and, refuſing to take not only medicines, but any kind of food, died in a miſerable manner, before the time appointed for their quitting the place.

The *Condé de Fuentes* having thus fortunately gained ſo many ſignal victories, and acquired infinite reputation every where, now ſeeing his men tired out and diſordered by their late hard duty and labour, and being very much diſtreſſed for money to diſcharge their arrears, reſolved to divide his army and quarter it in ſeveral different places: eſpecially as the rains that uſually fall in autumn were now coming on, and the King of *France* was daily expected in *Picardy* with his victorious army. For theſe reaſons, having left five hundred *Spaniſh* foot in the citadel of *Cambray*, under the command of *Agoſtino Meſſia*, and two thouſand *German* foot to defend the town, he gave the Archbiſhop a commiſſion to govern it in the ſame manner that it formerly had been governed, before it fell into the hands of the Duke of *Alançon*: after which, he diſtributed the reſt of his infantry into the towns of *Artois*, *Haindult*, and *Flanders*, and went himſelf to *Bruſſels*, juſt as the King of *France* was come, with the utmoſt expedition, to *Compiegne*, where he heard, with infinite regret, of the loſſes and ſufferings of his party, which filled not only that province, but even the *Pariſians*, with terror and diſmay, when they ſaw the *Spaniards* making ſo victorious a progreſs in a country ſo near them.

Such was the courſe of the war betwixt the *French* and the *Spaniards* upon the confines of *Flanders*, which was no leſs favourable this year to the ſame party in the province of *Bretagne*, though it was ſtill carried on in the name of the League. For the Duke *De Mercœur*, notwithſtanding there was no very great cordiality betwixt him and the *Spaniards*, yet availed himſelf of their aſſiſtance in things that concerned their common intereſts, and held the principal places and the greater part of the Nobleſſe of the province at his devotion: by which he prevented the Marſhal *D'Aumont* and Monſieur *De St. Luc*, who commanded the King's

1595. party there, from making any confiderable progrefs: for though they were continually employed in incurfions and other enterprifes of fmall moment, with various fuccefs, yet, upon the whole, fortune was fo favourable to the Duke, that he had in a manner reduced all the province into his power; which was the more eafily effected by him, as the Marfhal *D'Aumont*, whilft he threw away his time and endeavours to no purpofe in befieging the caftle of *Comper*, a prodigious ftrong place, was wounded under the left elbow with a mufket-ball, which broke both the bones in fuch a manner that he died foon after, and was fucceeded in that command by Monfieur *De St. Luc*, who, though a cavalier of exceeding great valour, yet had neither fufficient rank nor perfonal authority to fupport the King's affairs, in the declining condition they feemed to be in that province, with the fame reputation that the Marfhal had done Befides, as the King had lately conferred the dignity of Marfhal upon Monfieur *De Lavardine*, which *St. Luc* expected fhould have been conferred upon himfelf, he was fo difgufted that he grew cool in his interefts, and did not act with the fame fpirit and vigour that he ufed to do: fo that his Majefty thought proper to fend for him to his own camp, and give him hopes of rifing to thofe honours that feemed due to his merit; by which changes the military operations proceeded but flowly, and with fmall fuccefs on that fide.

But if the party of the League gained fome ground in *Bretagne*, they met with fo many misfortunes in *Dauphinè*, that they were almoft utterly ruined there. The Duke of *Nemours* was in poffeffion of *Vienne*, a city in that province, whither he had retired after the lofs of *Lyons*, and having put a ftrong garrifon of *French* horfe and *Italian* foot into that place and the caftle of *Pipet*, which was not far from it, he harraffed all the country round *Lyons*, infefting the roads and obftructing the commerce, which that trading city carries on with the neighbouring provinces: fo that he had alarmed the inhabitants, by his continual depredations, to fuch a degree, that they had petitioned the King at the beginning of the year to fend them fuch relief as might be fufficient to deliver them out of the diftrefsful circumftances to which they were reduced. The King, therefore, who was at that time fo fully employed in *Burgundy*, that he could not go to their affiftance himfelf, ordered the Duke of *Montmorancy*, whom he had lately created High Conftable, to march out of *Languedoc* to defend the city and territories of *Lyons* againft the Duke of *Nemours*. But whilft he was preparing to do fo, the Duke of *Nemours*, finding he was not able to make head againft him with his own forces only, refolved to apply to the Duke of *Savoy* and the Conftable of *Caftile* for fuccours: and, in order to haften them, he went in perfon to *Turin* and *Milan*, leaving the Sieur *De Difemieux*, a Colonel of foot, and a perfon in whom

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he very much confided, to command his forces and govern the town of 1595. *Vienne*. In the mean time, the High Constable, *Montmorancy*, arriving much sooner than the Duke expected, joined his forces with those of *Alphonso Corso*, and began to act with great vigour and success against the enemy: upon which, *Disemieux*, either inclining to follow the current of fortune (as the generality of mankind are wont to do) or thinking himself not strong enough to make any effectual resistance, secretly agreed to deliver up *Vienne* to the Constable, provided the Duke of *Nemours's* forces might be suffered to march out of it without molestation, and retire into *Savoy*. And that he might put his design in execution the more effectually, and prevent any opposition from the officers of the garrison or town, he first privately gave up the castle of *Pipet* to *Alphonso Corso*, and then, having sent to desire the Constable would immediately advance to one of the gates of the town, which was guarded only by such as he had entrusted with the secret, he acquainted the Captains of the garrison that the enemy was at the gates, that he had delivered up the castle, and agreed to receive them into the town, upon condition, that the Duke's forces should be allowed to march out of it without having any violence offered to them: at which sudden and unexpected event the officers were so terrified and confounded, especially when they saw the danger so imminent, and the gate already opened to the Constable, that they accepted of a safe conduct, and retired unmolested to the confines of *Savoy*. All the other towns followed the example of *Vienne*: so that when the Duke of *Nemours* returned out of *Italy*, not finding any place to take shelter in, he retired to *Anicy*, a town of his own patrimony, where he was so overpowered with despair, that he fell into a grievous sickness, which put an end to his life in the autumn of this year.

The whole province of *Dauphinè* being thus reduced into the King's power, there seemed to be every where a cessation of arms, except in *Piedmont*: for Monsieur *Les Diguieres* having passed the *Alpes*, had begun a war there, which, though attended with various success on both sides (as there ensued many sharp encounters betwixt them, that were rendered still more bloody by the situation of the places where they happened) yet proved very detrimental in the main to the Duke of *Savoy*, whose country was the seat of action.

The affairs of the League were not at all in a better condition in *Gascony* and *Languedoc*: for though the Duke of *Joyeuse* (who after his brother's death had quitted the cloyster of Capuchins, and taken up arms to maintain that government) took much pains to keep the Noblesse united, under a pretence of waiting for the determination of the court of *Rome*: yet numbers of them, being tired of the war, and dispirited by so many misfortunes as had befallen their party, daily came over the King's; and

1595. the Parliament of *Tholouſe* was ſo divided, that part of the Counſellors, after they had declared for the King, left the city and retired to *Chaſteau Sarrazin*, where they were ſupported by the Duke of *Ventadour*, the Conſtable's Lieutenant in the government of *Languedoc*, and the Marſhal *De Matignon*, Governor of *Guyenne*, in ſo effectual a manner, that they rekindled a vigorous war. But fortune and the general diſpoſition of the people now inclining to favour the King's cauſe, the city of *Rhodez*, in the firſt place, with many caſtles and towns depending upon it, ſubmitted to his Majeſty: after which, *Narbonne* and *Carcaſſon* alſo, two of the principal towns that adhered to the League, raiſed an inſurrection and revolted from that party. So that the Duke of *Joyeuſe* was in a manner ſhut up within the walls of *Tholouſe*, and had no other hope left but that of an accommodation, which was earneſtly laboured by Preſident *Jeannine* in the name of the whole body of the League: for the Duke of *Mayenne*, who retired to *Châlons* after the King's abſolution was publiſhed (which he had firmly reſolved to wait for, though his own affairs ſuffered much by it) that he might ſhew the world that the ſole end of all his actions was the preſervation of the Catholick religion, and that no kind of adverſity had ever been able to make him ſwerve from his obedience to the Pope, having now no longer any objection, was determined to conclude the treaty of agreement, in which, as head of the League, he made a cautionary proviſion for all thoſe that ſhould be diſpoſed to follow him.

In the proſecution of this treaty two impediments occurred, which ſeemed exceeding hard to be removed: one was the immenſe debt that had been contracted by the Duke of *Mayenne*, not only in many places, and with many merchants of the kingdom of *France*, but alſo in *Switzerland*, *Germany*, and *Lorrain*, to raiſe and ſupport his armies. For the Duke inſiſting that the King ſhould diſcharge it, and his Majeſty not being in a capacity to do ſo at that time, it was a very difficult matter to ſettle that point, as the Duke was reſolved his own eſtate ſhould not be ſubjected to the payment, and his creditors would not conſent either to transfer or wait any longer for what they had truſted him with, but demanded it in ready money. The other obſtacle was, the commemoration of the late King's death: for as all the treaties and decrees made in favour of thoſe of the League that had ſubmitted to the King, conſtantly included pardon and oblivion of all paſt offences, except the murder of *Henry* the third (which had always been expreſsly excepted) the Duke of *Mayenne* was deſirous to have ſome expedient found, by which he might not appear to have been the author of it, nor be ſubject to any inquiſition that might thereafter be made concerning that matter, leſt an occaſion ſhould be taken ſome time or other to revenge paſt injuries. It was almoſt impoſſible,

possible, therefore, to get over this difficulty: for not only the King thought it very unjustifiable to suffer the memory and authors of so atrocious a fact, and so dreadful an example of attempting the persons of Kings, to escape with impunity and oblivion: but the Parliament also would not bear to hear of it; and it was most certain, that the Queen Dowager, who had often demanded justice, would strenuously oppose it.

These two difficulties prevented the conclusion of the treaty of accommodation, which had been set on foot in *Burgundy*, and the King being obliged to go with all speed into *Picardy*, took President *Jeannine* along with him, to continue the negociation. But as they had come to no conclusion during the journey, much less could it be done when they arrived at *Paris*: for the dangers occasioned by the *Spanish* war were so imminent, that both the King himself and all his Ministers were in great anxiety, and forced to turn their labours and attention upon other objects. The President, therefore, resolved to follow the army into *Picardy*, whither the King was marching to relieve *Cambray*: but the *Spaniards* had made themselves masters of it in so short a time, that relief was now too late. Upon which, the King retired to *Folambray* (a house of pleasure, built by *Francis* the first for the convenience of hunting) and from thence sent for his Council to him, that they might maturely consider and digest whatsoever related to the treaty of peace with the Duke of *Mayenne*. After much deliberation and debate there, many obstacles and impediments occurring in every article, it seemed highly necessary to send for the depositions that had been taken by the Parliament concerning the King's death, and likewise for some of the Presidents and Counsellors of that court, to see what degree of proof they contained, and be able to determine what course would be best to take in this affair. When the examinations were produced and the matter came to be considered, there was not proof enough indeed to found a process upon against any one, yet, from many concurring circumstances, several were suspected of being guilty. And though neither the Queen Dowager, as plaintiff, had yet sent in the particulars of her accusation, nor the Parliament made any thorough enquiry into the affair, yet it was thought, as neither the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, nor any of his family, at that time, appeared to have been actually concerned in the fact, there was a sufficient excuse for agreeing to some expedient that might serve to clear his reputation, and at the same time to free him from the apprehension of any future inquisition: so that after a consultation, that lasted many days, betwixt the High Chancellor, the first President *Harley*, the Sieur *De Villeroy*, the Count *De Schomberg*, and President *Jeannine*, it was at last determined, That a clause should be inserted in a decree, which the King should cause to be published

1595. publiſhed and regiſtered in the Parliament, ſetting forth, that his Majeſty having ordered the proceſs which had been inſtituted upon the death of the late King, to be reviſed in the preſence of himſelf, the Princes of the Blood, and Officers of the Crown, no proof of guilt had been found againſt the Duke of *Mayenne*, nor any other Prince or Princeſs of his family: and that, as he had been deſirous, for his further ſatisfaction, to hear what they had to ſay in exculpation of themſelves, they had all ſolemnly ſworn, that they were not in the leaſt concerned in or privy to that murder, but, on the contrary, that if they had known of any ſuch deſign, they would have oppoſed the execution of it: upon which account, his Majeſty thereby publickly declared the Duke of *Mayenne*, and all the other Princes and Princeſſes his adherents, to be innocent of that fact, ſtrictly prohibiting his Attorney-General for the time being, to ſet on foot any proceſs againſt them thereafter, and likewiſe forbidding all other officers and lawyers to concern themſelves any further in the matter.

The difficulty relating to the payment of the Duke of *Mayenne's* debts, was alſo got over at laſt: for the King ſecretly promiſed to give him four hundred and twenty thouſand crowns, to diſcharge ſuch ſums as were owing to private perſons; and as for the debt contracted for the raiſing and ſupporting his forces, the King gave his own ſecurity for it, and transferred it to the account of the Crown, forbidding every one to moleſt either the Duke or his eſtate upon that occaſion. It was likewiſe reſolved, though not without ſome oppoſition, that the treaty of peace ſhould be concluded with the Duke of *Mayenne* ſolely, as head of his party; to which the King had objected at firſt, in conſideration of the great number of thoſe that had come voluntarily and ſeparately over to him, and chiefly out of regard to *Paris* and the other principal cities: and, on the contrary, the Duke of *Mayenne* obſtinately inſiſted upon this point being given up, for his own honour and the reputation of his name.

The King then conſented to give him three places for his ſecurity, namely, *Soiſſons*, *Châlons*, and *Seure*, the full command over which he was to enjoy for the ſpace of ſix years, and after that term to reſtore them. He confirmed all the collations to offices and benefices that had been vacated by death, during the time that he had been head of the League, on condition that the poſſeſſors ſhould take out freſh patents for them under the Great Seal. He granted a general pardon for all paſt delinquencies, ſuch as treating with foreign Princes, raiſing money, levying taxes and impoſts, aſſembling armies, demoliſhing or building fortreſſes and towns; acts of hoſtility, aſſaſſinations, and particularly that of the Marquis *De Menelay*, who was killed by Lieutenant *Magny* at *La Fere*:

Fere: and, finally, for whatever had happened during the whole 1595. course of the war, of which honourable mention was made, declaring and certifying it to have been undertaken and carried on purely for the defence of the Catholick religion. He made the Duke of *Mayenne* Governor of the isle of *France*, and superintendant of the finances, and conferred on his son the government of *Challons* upon the *Soane*, which he separated from that of *Burgundy*. He included all those in the capitulation that should follow his example, and return to their duty and allegiance, particularly, the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the Marquis *De Villars*, the Sieur *De Montpezat* (which two last were sons-in-law to the Duke of *Mayenne*) the Sieurs *De l'Estrange*, *De St. Offange*, *Du Plessis*, and *De la Severie*, who were Governors of *Puy*, *Rochefort*, *Craon*, and *Ganache*. He suspended the execution of the sentences past upon the Dukes of *Mercœur* and *Aumale*, till he saw whether they desired to be comprehended in the accommodation, granting to each of them, not only an indemnity for what was past, but the free enjoyment of their estates, offices, and honours, provided they took the benefit of this capitulation, and acceded to the peace, within the space of six weeks.

Upon these conditions, and several others of less importance, a peace was concluded with the Duke of *Mayenne*. But it was far from an easy matter to get this decree accepted in the Parliament of *Paris*: for though the King himself had strictly forbad the Queen Dowager's agents to oppose the publication of it, yet there was a powerful opposition raised by *Diana de Valois*, Duchess of *Angoulesme*, and natural sister to the late King, who, coming personally into the Parliament, presented a petition, written and signed by her own hand, in which she protested against the confirmation of the decree, and insisted upon a more particular enquiry into the murder of King *Henry* the third. This had such an effect upon the court, as most of the Counsellors had either been so created by that King, or grievously injured by the League, that they would not accept the decree: and though the King severely reprimanded the Parliament in several very sharp letters that he wrote to them, and declared, that since the accomplishment of the publick peace and welfare required that the decree should be registered, his will and command was, that it should be accepted: yet even this was not sufficient to alter the resolution of the Counsellors. At last, however, they came to a determination, that the decree should be published, but upon these two conditions: in the first place, That it should be of no prejudice to the right of the Duke of *Mayenne's* creditors: and in the next, That the Duke himself should be obliged to come into the Parliament, and there publickly take an oath, that he had not been in any wise accessary to the murder of the late King, that he detested the fact, and that he would not skreen, protect, or favour any one that should

1595. hereafter be called to an account for it. This stubbornness in the Counsellors so provoked the King, that he sent them word, in an angry and resentful sort of a manner, "That it behoved them to take care how they obliged him to leave the superintendence of the war, and to be at the trouble of coming personally to the Parliament: that he was their King, and would be obeyed." But little regard was paid to this message: for though they agreed to accept the decree, yet it was done in such a manner, and with such clauses, as should sufficiently make it appear, that their consent was the effect of necessity and the King's express command: which being neither agreeable to his Majesty nor the Duke of *Mayenne*, the High Chancellor was sent to *Paris*, where, after a long and pathetic speech, in which he shewed them, how necessary their compliance with his Majesty's demands was for the good of the kingdom and the re-establishment of publick tranquillity, they were at last prevailed upon to accept the decree, without any clauses or restrictions.

The Duke of *Mayenne's* example was followed, not only by those that were specified in the capitulation, but separately also by the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*, the city and parliament of *Tholouse*, and all the rest that had formerly adhered to the party of the League, except the Duke of *Aumale*, who had gone over to the *Spaniards*, and being highly exasperated at the sentence passed upon him this year by the Parliament (in which he was declared a rebel) utterly refused to submit to the King. The Duke of *Mercœur* also signified an inclination, by means of his sister the Queen Dowager, to come into the agreement; but as he was still buoyed up with hopes of being able to keep possession of the duchy of *Bretagne*, by the assistance of the *Spaniards*, he deferred his determination for a while.

In the mean time, whilst the different terms of these accommodations were examined and discussed in the Council, the King, exceedingly chagrined at his late misfortunes, and desirous by some means or other to repair the losses he had sustained, which seemed to be chiefly owing to his long stay at *Lyons*, and the disgust he had given to the citizens of *Cambray*, by paying so little regard to their petition, was continually meditating with himself, and consulting with his commanders, what new enterprise he should go upon. The Duke of *Nevers*, sometime before, had formed a design of making an attempt upon some one of the towns, in the county of *Artois*, belonging to the crown of *Spain*, not only to ravage his Catholick Majesty's dominions, in the same manner that the *Spaniards* had done the kingdom of *France*: but also because he imagined the inhabitants of that country were enervated by long peace, and had suffered their fortifications in a great measure to fall to decay: for which reasons he had advised the King to march thither with all the forces he could raise,

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and endeavour to ſurpriſe *Arras*, or ſome other place of importance in thoſe parts, as he thought the *Condé de Fuentes*, who was often diſtreſſed by the mutinies and diſcords that happened amongſt troops of ſo many different nations as he had under his command, and reduced to extreme want of money, would not be able to reaſſemble his army ſoon enough to relieve the place that ſhould be aſſaulted. But the Duke of *Nevers* being ſeized with a long and grievous ſickneſs, of which he died at *Neſle*, this deſign, which chiefly depended upon the reputation of it's author, was entirely laid aſide: for the other commanders thought it too dangerous an undertaking to attack an enemy in the very heart of his country, where all the towns were ſtrong and full of people; eſpecially at a time when they were much wanted at home, now they had loſt ſo many towns, and whilſt the *Spaniſh* garriſons over-ran the whole country, and kept it in continual terror and alarm.

But if they were unanimous in their opinions, that it would be very imprudent to invade the enemies country, they did not agree ſo well in fixing upon any particular place, of all thoſe that were loſt, to make an attempt upon: for ſome thought it moſt adviſeable to endeavour to recover *Cambray*, whilſt the King's forces were freſh and in good ſpirits, and before the *Spaniards* had thoroughly eſtabliſhed themſelves there, by repairing the breaches that had lately been made; but the King's army was ſo ſmall, that this, upon further conſideration, was judged impracticable, as a much greater force was requiſite to inveſt a city of ſo large a circumference, which was alſo very ſtrongly fortified and well garriſoned. Others ſaid, it would be much better to begin with *Dourlans*, in order to diſtreſs *Cambray*, as the *Spaniards* had done: to which it was objected, that the ſtrength of the place, and the vigilance of the Governor, *Hernando Portocarrero*, were ſuch, that no ſucceſs could be expected from that undertaking. At laſt, the opinion of the Marſhal *De Biron* and Monſieur *De St. Luc* prevailed, the latter of whom was juſt come to the camp, to take upon him the command of the artillery, in the room of Monſieur *De la Guicke*, lately made Governor of *Lyons*. They adviſed his Majeſty to lay ſiege to *La Fere*, a place of very great importance, but ſhut up in ſuch a manner by the marſhes, that almoſt ſurround it, that there were only two ways by which it was poſſible to make any approach, ſo that if thoſe two avenues were blocked up, with a fort at the entrance of each of them, the town might be diſtreſſed to ſuch a degree, even by a ſmall number of forces, that, if it could not be reduced by force, it muſt ſoon be obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions.

The King therefore reſolved to follow this advice: for which purpoſe he aſſembled his forces, which were quartered in different places of the province, and made a ſudden march towards *La Fere*, on the eighth of

 November,

1595. *November*, with five thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe. As ſoon as he arrived near the town, he immediately took poſſeſſion of the avenues, and having obliged the people of the country round about to come in to work, in a few days raiſed two forts, each of them able to contain a thouſand men, which, being well provided with artillery, totally blocked up the paſſages to the town: the reſt of the foot were obliged, on account of the ſeaſon, to lie in a large village on the edge of the marſh, and the horſe took up their quarters in the villages on the north ſide of the town, towards *Flanders*, to prevent any relief from thence. Don *Alvaro Oſorio*, an old experienced officer, commanded in *La Fere*: for the Vice-Seneſchal *De Montelimar*, who was entruſted with the government of it by the Duke of *Mayenne*, by little and little had given it up to the *Spaniards*, reſerving only the revenue of the place, and the title of Count *De Fere*: for which he was liberally rewarded, firſt by the Archduke *Erneſt*, and afterwards by the *Condé de Fuentes*. There was great plenty of ammunition and warlike ſtores in the place: for all that had not been expended by his Catholick Majeſty's different armies, which had been in *France* of late years, was conſtantly left there: and there was a garriſon of *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Germans*, more than ſufficient for the defence of it. But ſo great a number was rather an inconvenience than otherwiſe: for it increaſed the ſcarcity of proviſions, of which there was but a ſmall quantity in the town, as the King's approach was ſo ſudden, that they had not time to lay in any: ſo that the forts being raiſed, and both paſſages to the town entirely ſhut up, the inhabitants began to feel the want of them from the very firſt day of the ſiege.

About this time *Albert* Cardinal of *Auſtria*, appointed Governor of the Low Countries by his Catholick Majeſty, was come to *Bruſſels*, and having taken upon him the adminiſtration of affairs, and the command of the army in the room of the *Condé de Fuentes*, he began to conſider by what means he might beſt ſupport the *Spaniſh* arms in that high degree of reputation, to which his predeceſſor had victoriouſly advanced them, and attained himſelf in the courſe of a few months: and as repeated letters from Don *Alvaro*, repreſented the great want of proviſions at *La Fere*, in the very beginning of the ſiege, he determined in the firſt place to attempt the relief of that place. But that was a very difficult undertaking: for the army, which had ſuffered much, and was tired out with the hard duty of the laſt ſummer, was divided and ſent into winter quarters at ſeveral different places, where the ſoldiers often ran into tumults for want of pay; amongſt whom the *Italian* cavalry mutinied afreſh, and were gone again to ſeize upon *Liramont*: in another place *Gaſtone Spinola's* diviſion of *Sicilians* had done the ſame, and two battalions of *Spaniards*, having likewiſe thrown off their obedience, quartered themſelves at diſcretion in plentiful

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and advantageous places: the *Walloons* alſo, though they did not openly mutiny, yet refuſed to ſtir out of their quarters, till they had received all the arrears that were due to them: ſo that before the merchants were able to furniſh the Cardinal with money for the bills of exchange which he had brought with him, and the ſoldiers could be paid and ſatisfied, much time muſt neceſſarily be ſpent, and therefore an army could not be drawn together ſufficient for that or any other enterprize. Beſides, the ſeaſon was ſo rainy, and otherwiſe ſo adverſe, that it was not poſſible to move with a body of men, properly furniſhed with artillery, ammunition, and other military proviſions: and to make an incurſion to the very centre of one of the enemy's provinces, at a time when the fields afforded no ſuſtenance either for men or horſes, and the produce of the late harveſt was conſumed by the ruinous war that had been already carried on there, ſeemed to be too raſh an undertaking, conſidering the difficulty of ſupporting the army there, and the danger of being ſurpriſed and cut off by the vigilance of the King of *France*. Theſe impediments, great indeed in themſelves, appeared much more ſo to the Cardinal, who was not accuſtomed to ſuch ſort of expeditions: it was determined, therefore, in council, after long debate, that *Nicolo Baſti* ſhould march with part of the light horſe into *Picardy*, and attempt to throw ſome quantity of proviſion into *La Fere*, upon which the beſieged might ſubſiſt till the ſeaſon grew more favourable, and the affairs of *Flanders* would allow him to give them more effectual aſſiſtance.

1595.

With theſe preparations and deſigns, ended the year one thouſand five hundred and ninety five, leaving many ſeeds of future war, and bloody battles to be ripened in the courſe of the next: in the beginning of which, the firſt event that happened worthy of notice, was the recovery of *Marſeilles*, a city and port in *Provence* of the utmoſt importance, ſituated upon the coaſt of the *Mediterranean*. This city, enriched by the profits of merchandiſe, and full of inhabitants, enjoys many conſiderable privileges and immunities, granted at the time that they were ſubject to the Counts of *Provence*, and afterwards amply confirmed when they came under the dominion of the Crown of *France:* the principal of which is, that the citizens themſelves chuſe a Conſul, who, with the aſſiſtance of a Vice-conſul, appointed by himſelf, without any other ſuffrage, entirely governs the affairs of the town, keeps the keys of the gates, and has the care of defending both the town and port. And this prerogative, which looks more like abſolute liberty, than any kind of ſubjection, the *Marſilians* have at all times maintained and preſerved with a ſpirit peculiar to them, not admitting any ſort of garriſon, and governing themſelves by laws and cuſtoms adapted to a mercantile and ſea-faring people, of which two ſorts the inhabitants chiefly conſiſt.

1596.

1596. At the beginning of the League, this city was drawn over to that party by the authority of Monſieur *De Vins*, and the influence of the Conſul and his Vice-conſul, whom they had found means to gain: and though it firſt received the Duke of *Savoy*, at the inſtigation of theOunteſs *De Saux*, and ſoon after excluded him again, out of a jealouſy that its liberties were in danger: and notwithſtanding the Count *De Carſes* and the Marquis *De Villers* had often been admitted into it, for it's further ſecurity and defence, yet it had always preſerved its own conſtitution, and kept itſelf independent on any foreign juriſdiction. In the beginning of the war *Charles Caſaut* was elected their Conſul, and appointed *Lewis de Aix* his Vice-conſul, who being men of great ſubtlety, and of a bold and enterpriſing ſpirit, agreed ſo well together, and gained ſuch an authority over the people, that they were continued in their offices for many years ſucceſſively, by which they had made themſelves in a great meaſure abſolute lords over the city, and governed it as they pleaſed. But when the affairs of the League were upon the decline, and every one began to think of providing for his own ſafety, theſe men, knowing themſelves hated and envied by the greater part of the principal citizens, and apprehenſive of being called to account for the mal-adminiſtration with which their conſciences reproached them, reſolved to ſide with the *Spaniards*, in order to maintain themſelves in their government, and for that purpoſe had entered into a a treaty with his Catholick Majeſty, about delivering up the city to him; and, as it was ſufficiently obvious to that Prince of what vaſt advantage and importance it would be to his own dominions, on account of its ſtrength, riches, and ſituation, he ordered *Carlo Doria* to ſail thither from *Genoa*, with ten gallies, well manned and armed, as if he was going to *Spain*, and to favour and aſſiſt their deſigns in ſuch a manner, that when they ſaw themſelves ſuported by his forces, they might the more effectually prevail upon the people to put themſelves under the government and protection of the *Spaniards*. Theſe orders were executed with ſuch diligence and addreſs by *Doria*, and every thing now ſo well adjuſted, that his Catholick Majeſty thought himſelf ſure of ſucceeding in his deſign; eſpecially as it was coloured over with many ſpecious pretexts, one of which was, that the county of *Provence* in particular belonged to the Infanta *Iſabella*, excluſive of the right which ſhe claimed to the kingdom of *France* in general.

The King of *France*, ſuſpecting that the forces which were raiſing in *Spain* and *Italy*, and the equipping ſo large a ſquadron of ſhips by his Catholick Majeſty, were deſigned for ſome ſuch purpoſe, and that the *Condé de Fuentes* and the Duke of *Paſtrana*, who had entirely left the Low Countries, in order to go to *Genoa*, had been ſent thither on purpoſe to ſuperintend theſe preparations, was exceedingly mortified that he could not turn

turn his forces that way, and ſent orders to Monſieur *De Oſſat*, to complain of theſe proceedings to the Pope, and to acquaint him, that if his Holineſs did not find ſome means to divert the deſign of them, he ſhould be obliged to call the *Turk* to his aſſiſtance in the *Mediterranean*. Which meſſage being punctually delivered by *De Oſſat*, the Pope was ſo affected with it, that, either out of fear or anger, he turned pale, and earneſtly remonſtrated againſt ſuch a manner of proceeding: however, upon *De Oſſat's* repreſenting to him, that if *Marſeilles*, and the other cities of *Provence*, ſhould fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*, *Avignon* alſo, and ſeveral other places belonging to his Holineſs, would be in danger, he promiſed to uſe his endeavours to quaſh that attempt. This complaint was ſeconded by the *Venetian* and *Florentine* Ambaſſadors, who ſuggeſted, that the *Spaniſh* monarchy would become too powerful and formidable, if it got poſſeſſion of that city and port, which were of ſo great importance, and ſo near *Italy*: ſo that the Pope, after much conſultation, reſolved that Cardinal *Joyeuſe*, who was returning into *France*, ſhould go by *Marſeilles*, and make uſe of his name to diſſuade *Caſaut* from any ſuch attempt. But this had little effect: for though the Cardinal uſed his utmoſt endeavours, yet *Caſaut*, who was a man of ſpirit, and more reſolute than prudent, could not be prevailed upon to deſiſt from the deſign he had formed; upon which account, the Grand Duke and the *Venetian* Senate began to think of ſome more effectual means to oppoſe it, nor was the Pope averſe to their intention. But the execution of it was prevented, either by the King's uſual good fortune, or the courage and vigilance of his miniſters.

He had lately conferred the government of that province upon the Duke of *Guiſe*, and appointed Monſieur *Les Diguieres* his Lieutenant there, to facilitate the courſe of his deſigns: and though they did not agree very well together, as they were not of the ſame religion, and had always followed different parties, yet they both had a diſlike to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who, pretending that government lawfully belonged to him, took much pains to get poſſeſſion of it, and to drive out not only thoſe that adhered to the League, but even the friends and followers of the King; upon which account his Majeſty, now he was reſuming other governments into his hands, in different parts of the kingdom, reſolved to force him in a manner to quit what he had poſſeſſed himſelf of there, and to accept of ſome other employment; and therefore had appointed the Duke of *Guiſe*, with whom he had always been at enmity, and *Les Diguieres*, who could not endure him, to provide for the ſecurity of *Provence*. But he had likewiſe a further view in proceeding after this manner: for the Duke of *Guiſe* having but lately made his ſubmiſſion, and come over to the King, on condition he ſhould have that government, to which the

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1596. House of *Lorrain* pretended a sort of hereditary right, derived from that of *Anjou*, the King thought it necessary to give him a Lieutenant, who he knew, by long experience, was not only very faithful, but also extremely vigilant, and would be ready to make a vigorous opposition to any new attempt which the Duke might possibly make, whilst the minds of the people were still fluctuating, and former animosities not yet thoroughly extinguished. Besides these considerations, there was also another motive of great weight: for *Les Diguieres* and Colonel *Alphonso Corso*, who both resided in *Dauphinè*, did not agree well together there, and were continually thwarting each other in their measures, to the manifest prejudice of the publick affairs: for which reason the King resolved to put an end to those discords, by sending *Les Diguieres* into *Provence*, and appointing *Alphonso Corso* Lieutenant to the Prince of *Conti*, who was just made Governor of *Dauphinè*.

But though the Duke of *Guise* acted with candour and sincerity, and had no such sinister designs, yet at his arrival in *Provence*, being either dissatisfied at having a Lieutenant with so much power imposed upon him, and who was also of a different religion, or desirous that all transactions with the Duke of *Espernon* should be carried on, under the name and by the means of *Les Diguieres*, that his own authority and office of Governor might not seem to be opposed or disputed, he had ordered his Lieutenant to turn the garrisons out of several towns which had been put into them by the Duke of *Espernon*, and went himself to *Aix*, here he was wholly taken up in concerting measures for the recovery of *Marseilles*, which he thought an undertaking of far greater reputation and importance, and therefore resolved to act singly in it, that he might reap all the honour himself, if he succeeded in it. And notwithstanding he had found means to carry on a correspondence with several of the inhabitants for that purpose, by the assistance of some persons who had been banished out of the city, yet it produced no effect: till at last he prevailed upon one *Pietro Libertà* (a *Corsican* by extraction, but born and educated at *Marseilles*, and Captain of a company of foot, which sometimes had the guard of one of the gates) to let some of the exiles privately into the town again: which he having performed, they wrought so effectually upon many of the citizens, who could no longer bear the tyranny of *Casaut*, and dreaded the dominion of the *Spaniards*, that they promised, if the Duke of *Guise* would come at the break of day, on the eighteenth of *February*, with a proper force of horse and foot to a neighbouring village, and proceed immediately from thence to the gate commonly called called *Porte Royale*, upon certain signals which they would make, he should be admitted there with all his men. Upon these assurances the Duke, having assembled all the forces that were in the province, except those under the command

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of *Les Diguieres* (whom he had not acquainted with his defign, that he might have no fhare in the reputation he hoped to gain by this enterprize) he made a feint of going to befiege a town about five leagues from *Marfeilles*; and whilft people were amufed by his moving that way, he fuddenly changed his rout, on the evening before the day appointed, and advanced with very great filence towards the city: and though it was a very dark, rainy night, and the roads were deep and broken, he made fo expeditious a march, that he arrived early in the morning, according to appointment, at fome houfes near *St. Julian's* church, where he waited for the fignals agreed upon.

1596.

Thofe in the city that were privy to this defign, apprehending that the badnefs of the night might have prevented the Duke's march, fent fome of their men out of the gate, according to daily cuftom, to fee if the coaft was clear, and to bring them certain intelligence whether he was arrived or not. But as they returned in great hafte, and faid they had difcovered a body of armed men under *St. Julian's*, *Lewis de Aix*, who was juft come to that gate, gave the Conful immediate notice of it, and then fallied out himfelf, with twenty picked men, to fee what truth there was in the report that had been made by the firft party. But as foon as he was got out of the gate, thofe that were in the plot let down the portcullices, and the Conful, who alfo came thither himfelf prefently after, beginning to examine the foldiers more particularly concerning the report which they had brought, was fuddenly attacked by *Pietro Libertà*, and four of his men, who knocked him down, and immediately difpatched him with their daggers: after which, the whole guard cheerfully concurring with their Captain, the fignals were made to the Duke of *Guife*, who inftantly advanced towards the gate, where he met *Aix* the Vice-conful, and foon not only routed his men, but wounded him himfelf in fuch a manner, that he ran back again to the gate as faft as he was able, but finding it fhut, and in the hands of the confpirators, he was forced to retire into the foffe, and from thence fcaling the wall near the harbour, got into the furthermoft part of the city, where he called all his adherents to arms, and being joined by *Fabian Cafaut*, fon to the Conful who was already flain, they marched up in a diforderly fort of a manner, with about five hundred men, to fee if they could recover the gate: but it had been opened in the mean time, and the Duke of *Guife* was entered with all his men. On the other hand, the exiles, running about and exhorting their fellow citizens to exert themfelves for the recovery of their liberties, had raifed the whole town: fo that after *Aix* and *Cafaut* had difputed the entrance of the ftreet that led to the *Porte Royale*, for the fpace of half an hour, the tumult ftill increafing, and the citizens every where fhouting *God fave the King*, they retreated into the town hall for fear of being furrounded, where

1596. where they were so furiously attacked by the Duke of *Guise*, who fought undauntedly at the head of his men, amongst showers of musket balls, stones, pieces of wood, and fireworks, which flew round him on every side, that they could not maintain the place, but fled secretly from thence, and crossing the harbour in a boat, one of them got into *St. Mary's* church, the other into the convent of *St. Victoire*, and their men being thus deserted were soon all cut to pieces.

The whole city had now flocked to the Duke of *Guise*, with white sashes on: upon which he did not lose a moment's time, but immediately assaulted, and without much resistance made himself master of the two forts, *De St. John* and *Cap de Morre*, that lie towards the sea, and from thence began to fire with the artillery upon *Doria's* gallies, which were at anchor near the mouth of the harbour. This indeed put them into some terror and confusion: but *Doria*, who had prudently kept his vessels at a good distance from the forts, and caused all his men to embark at the beginning of the fray, happily got out of the city, without receiving any damage, and put to sea. The Duke of *Guise* having now gained a compleat victory, spent all the rest of that day in taking measures to prevent the town from being plundered, or otherwise damaged in the tumult, and having lodged his men in the principal posts, took absolute possession of the city, without much difficulty: for his courage in the action, and his prudence in quieting the commotion, entirely gained him the hearts of the *Marsilians*. *Lewis de Aix* and *Fabian Casaut* surrendered the next day, on condition that they should be allowed to go freely with their effects to *Genoa*, and that banishment should be the severest kind of penalty inflicted upon any of their adherents. In this manner the city was delivered from a tyrannical usurpation, and wholly reduced into the King's power: an acquisition very opportune, and of great consequence, as it was one of the principal ports in the *Mediterranean*, and a mart so well situated, that it was resorted to by most trading nations: but what made it then still more considerable, was, that the *Spaniards* had already got footing in it, and if they had been allowed a little more time to settle themselves there, it would have been exceeding difficult to dislodge them, as it lay so near other states belonging to his Catholick Majesty.

In the mean time, whilst the re-union of *Provence* was thus attempted, the besieged in *La Fere* were reduced to very great want of provisions. *Nicolo Basti*, therefore, who was appointed to convoy some relief to them, being arrived at *Doway*, was contriving how to throw some quantity of victuals into the town. But that seemed hard to be effected, for the King's cavalry were continually scouring the roads, and the narrow passes that led to the town were so blocked up by the forts, that it seemed almost impossible to get through them: however, as the necessity was urgent,

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having found ſome means of giving *Alvaro Oſorio* notice of his approach, 1596. he deſired him to keep ſome little boats in readineſs to come out of the town, upon a certain ſignal, and row to the further ſide of the marſh, whither he would endeavour to bring the proviſions; after which he immediately left *Doway* with ſix hundred horſe, and arrived in the night at *Caſtelet*, the gates of which place he kept locked all the next day, that the *French* might not have any intelligence of his deſign: and having ordered every one of his men to carry a bag of meal behind him, and a bundle of match about his neck, which was alſo much wanted at *La Fere*, he ſet out when it began to grow dark, and after he had paſſed the river *Somme*, took the road towards *St. Quintin*, which town he left on the right hand, and continued his march with ſo much expedition, that on the ſixteenth of *March*, in the morning, he was very near the place where the King's cavalry were quartered, who being alarmed by the firing of the ſentinels, immediately mounted, imagining ſome relief, for the enemy was at hand. But a thick miſt, which happened to riſe about the break of day, was ſo favourable to *Baſti's* deſigns, that the King's guards, which were now all under arms, could not diſtinguiſh which way the enemy was approaching: and whilſt they were buſied in ſending out ſcouts on all ſides, *Baſti* paſſing betwixt the quarters of the Reiters and thoſe of the Duke of *Boüillon*, without meeting with any oppoſition, came to the bank of the marſh next the river, and finding *Oſorio* ready with his boats there to receive the proviſions; after he had cauſed the meal and match to be unloaded and put into them with as much expedition as poſſible, he began to retire with the ſame ſpeed; but upon ſight of the *French* and *German* cavalry (which at laſt were aware of his arrival, and had poſted themſelves on the way to *St. Quintin* to cut off his retreat) he took a different road, and falling into that which leads to *Guiſe*, returned ſafe to *Cambray*, without any oppoſition or impediment.

The ſucceſs of this enterpriſe (in which fortune and good conduct ſeemed to claim equal ſhares of the glory) gained *Baſti* very great reputation indeed, but was of ſmall ſervice to the beſieged, the number of whom was ſo large, that the meal which was brought by him, laſted but a little while: and the King, who was daily joined by freſh forces, had now laid cloſer ſiege to the town, blocking up all the avenues, and fortifying them with trenches and breaſt-works, where he alſo kept ſtrong guards of horſe, ſo that it was in vain to expect any further relief. But the ſiege being protracted by the reſolution of the inhabitants, the King, at the advice of ſome of his engineers, reſolved to ſtop the courſe of the river, which cauſed and fed the marſh on the lower ſide of the town, in hopes of making it riſe in ſuch a manner above, that the beſieged muſt be obliged to ſurrender, to avoid being drowned. For this purpoſe he ſet

1596. a vast number of pioneers to work, whom he had sent for from all the neighbouring places: but, though they wrought at it with great art and diligence, yet the rains that fell at that season of the year, increased the current of the river (which for the most part was low and gentle) from time to time, to such a degree, that it hindered their progress, by breaking down the dams, carrying away the piles, and often destroying the labour of many days in the space of an hour: and yet, as the King himself was constantly with them, this undertaking was at last finished. But it soon appeared how fallacious the projects of engineers often prove: for, the town standing much higher than the marsh (a circumstance that was taken notice of by several from the first, but wilfully disregarded by the authors of this design) the water did not rise above two feet at most in the town, and was so long in rising even to that height, that the inhabitants had sufficient time to remove themselves and their effects into the higher parts of it, without receiving any damage. At the end of two days, however, the water fell considerably, by having forced its way through the lower part of the fen again in many places, and left such a quantity of slime and mud in the streets, that the exhalations which arose from it, corrupted the air, and filled the town with dangerous distempers: so that the besieged being hurt only by this accident, and that not till after many days, the labours and endeavours of the King's army proved, in a great measure, ineffectual in their principal intent, and the only hope he had of reducing the place, was by famine, which, after a siege that had lasted so many months, was now become very grievous and intolerable: nor had the besieged any thing else to support them, but the expectation of the relief which the Cardinal was preparing, with the utmost diligence, to give them.

With this design, after he had paid his men to their satisfaction, and quieted those that had mutined, he put his army in good order, and made ready for a march: but most of his commanders (the principal of whom were, the Duke of *Arescot*, the Marquis of *Ranti*, and *Francisco de Mendozza*, High Admiral of *Arragon)* advised him not to hazard his army upon such an undertaking, as the King had not only had sufficient time and convenience to fortify his own camp very strongly, during a course of so many months, but, which was of still greater consequence, had put good garrisons, and many horse into *St. Quintin*, *Montrüeil*, *Boulogne*, and all the other towns round *La Fere*, in such a manner, that if the *Spanish* army should advance beyond them, in order to raise the siege, they must leave them in their rear, in which case they would not fail to break up the roads, and cut off the passage of provisions: so that if it should require many days to dislodge the King (as they might well expect) the army would certainly be in great danger and distress. They added, that the

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1596.

King had received the Duke of *Mayenne*, with great demonſtrations of honour and reſpect, at the camp before *La Fere*, whither he was come, ſince the publication of the late agreement, with many of his friends and followers to attend his Majeſty: that the High Conſtable, the Duke of *Montmorancy*, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, and moſt of the Nobility in the kingdom having alſo joined him, he had now eighteen thouſand foot, and almoſt five thouſand horſe under his ſtandard, an army ſo powerful, eſpecially when the bravery of the cavalry was conſidered, that it was neceſſary to weigh the matter very maturely, before they advanced ſo far into that province, againſt ſo great a force, and in the midſt of ſo many of the enemy's towns. The Cardinal likewiſe knew very well, that the States of *Holland*, deſirous to have the war continued in *France*, had equipped a conſiderable ſquadron of ſhips, to land men at *Boulogne*, for the ſervice of the King of *France*: and that the Queen of *England*, though his Majeſty had not complied with all her demands, had ſent another fleet to his aſſiſtance, and, to ſupport their common intereſts, with eight thouſand foot on board, which it was thought were to land at the ſame place that the *Hollanders* did: the commanders, therefore, were apprehenſive, that when theſe forces were united, it would not only be in vain to attempt the relief of *La Fere*, but alſo very difficult to make their retreat, even from the place where they then were.

Theſe conſiderations being fully diſcuſſed in council, determined the Cardinal to try what he could do by way of diverſion: for by ſitting down before ſome place of importance that adhered to the King, he thought he ſhould oblige him to riſe from *La Fere* with his whole army to ſuccour the place ſo attempted; or, if he perſiſted in the ſiege, and did not move to relieve it, there would be ſufficient opportunity to make himſelf maſter of ſome other town of equal conſequence with *La Fere*. But there occurred no leſs difficulties when they came to fix upon the particular place: for *Guiſe*, *Ham*, *Guines*, and the other ſuch like towns that lay neareſt to *Flanders*, were not to be compared with *La Fere*, and *St. Quintin*, *Montrüeil*, and *Boulogne* were ſo well fortified and garriſoned, that there appeared no poſſibility of reducing any one of them: ſo that in this ſtate of doubt, it would probably have been ſome time before the Cardinal had come to a reſolution, if Monſieur *De Rhoſnè* had not ſecretly adviſed him to go upon a different expedition, not yet thought of by any other perſon.

This commander had been ſo long in the ſervice, that he was well acquainted with all the fortreſſes in the kingdom, and the recollection of what had been formerly done, convinced him that *Calais* might eaſily be taken: for though both the fortifications and ſituation of it appeared ſo ſtrong, that it was accounted impregnable, yet thoſe that were in it

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1596. had always been very negligent in their duty, and did not guard it with ſuch care and circumſpection, as were neceſſary for the preſervation of ſo important a place: ſo that whilſt the town was ſubject to the *Engliſh*, the weakneſs of the garriſon that they kept in it had invited *Francis* Duke of *Guiſe* to lay ſiege to it in the year 1557, in which undertaking he ſucceeded ſo well, that, contrary to the expectation of every one, he made himſelf maſter of it only by that defect. *De Rhoſnè*, therefore, who was an active and inquiſitive man, after he had frequently conſidered the matter, had at laſt got certain information that Monſieur *De Bidoſſan*, at that time Governor of the place, had not above ſix hundred foot in it (a garriſon by no means ſufficient for it's defence) and that, either out of private intereſt, or ſupineneſs, or an error common to many, ſeemed to think himſelf ſufficiently ſecured by the ſtrength of his works, without any regard to the number or valour of his men. Some add, that the King of *France* having ſent the Sieurs *De la Noüe* and *De la Valliere* to view the condition of all the towns upon the confines of *Picardy*, thoſe officers had not proceeded with that ſecreſy in this viſitation, which ought always to be obſerved on ſuch occaſions, but had talked very freely and openly, after the manner of the *French*, concerning the weak ſtate of thoſe frontiers: and when the ſo much boaſted ſtrength of *Calais* was objected to them, they inconſiderately anſwered, "That whoſoever ſhould attack that fortreſs in a proper manner and place, would find the reduction of it to be but a twelve days job:" which ſaying, being reported to *De Rhoſnè*, by one whom he had employed as a ſpy upon them, excited a curioſity in him, to make a further enquiry about the place and manner which they had hinted at. Being thus perſuaded that he ſhould be able to make himſelf maſter of this ſea-port, ſo famous for it's fortifications, and ſo conveniently ſituated for an intercourſe with *Flanders* and *England*, he repreſented the matter in ſuch a light to the Cardinal Archduke, that he was prevailed upon to conſent to it, and the more eaſily, becauſe all the other enterprizes that had been propoſed were clogged with very great difficulties and impediments.

After they had determined betwixt themſelves to go upon this expedition, they kept their real deſign very ſecret, and gave out, amongſt the other commanders, that it was their intention to make an attempt upon *Montrüeil*, a place upon the road that led directly to *La Fere*, but not of ſo much conſequence as either *Boulogne* or *St. Quintin*: and having got together a great quantity of proviſions under this pretence, and carriages to convey them to *Doway*, *Arras*, and other neighbouring places, the Cardinal appointed *Valenciennes* for the general rendezvous of his forces, whither he went himſelf on the thirtieth of *March*, and after he had muſtered and reviewed his army, which conſiſted of ſix thouſand *Spaniſh*

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foot, six thousand *Walloons*, two thousand *Italians*, four thousand *Germans*, twelve hundred gens d'armes and cuirassiers, and almost two thousand light horse, he divided it into several columns, and made them take different routs, to amuse the enemy. Part of the light horse, and the Marquiss of *Trevico's* division, he sent under the command of *Ambrogio Landriano* towards *Montrüeil*: with the rest of the light horse *Basti* marched into the territory of *Cambray*: *Agostino Messia*, with a regiment of *Spaniards* and two of *Walloons*, advanced towards *St. Paul*; and the Count *De Bossu*, with the *Flemish* troops, moved towards *Arras* and *Bethune*. But whilst their own forces were kept no less in the dark than the *French* by this feint, Monsieur *De Rhosnè* with the *Spanish* divisions under *Ludovico Velasco*, and *Alonso Mendozza*, and four hundred horse, left *Valenciennes* on the fourth of *April* in the evening, and marched all night, till he arrived at *St. Omer*, where he was joined by Colonel *La Berlotte*, and the Count *De Bucquoy*, who waited for him there, with two divisions of *Walloons*; and having taken with him three pieces of heavy cannon, and four field pieces from thence, he advanced with great speed towards *Calais*, where he arrived very unexpectedly, as it lay so much out of the way, and at the furthermost point of a tongue of land which extends itself a great way into the sea, so that neither the *Spaniards* nor the *French* had ever before thought either of defending or besieging it, during the course of this war.

1596.

Calais stands upon the coast of the *British* channel, at the extremity of a promontory, not above * thirty leagues from *England*, and has a very large harbour, which being sheltered on each side with large high banks of sand, commonly called *downs*, affords a secure and commodious reception for a vast number of ships. The town is almost wholly surrounded by marshy grounds, where the sea overflows and covers the plain for many miles, and being enclosed within four banks by a very large moat, is of a quadrangular form, having a royal bastion at three of the angles, of modern structure, with cavaliers within them, besides many great towers and ravelines along the curtain: and at the fourth angle, which points towards the north-west, stands the citadel, which likewise is of a square form, with large towers that flank it on every side. The moats are very deep and capacious, for they admit the water at two different places, and the town, which is little less than a league in circuit, is also fortified all round with thick ramparts, though they were then grown defective in many places, and in some entirely decayed and fallen down by length of time and the carelessness of the Governors. On the outside, along the beach of the harbour, there is a large suburb, generally full of traders and mariners, where a strong current of water, that flows

* This is a mistake in the author, for it is but seven leagues from *Calais* to *Dover*. The harbour is much altered since that time, and now almost choaked up.

from

1596. from the marſhes and runs through the city in ſeveral ſtreams, is joined in one channel, and empties itſelf with great rapidity into the ſea. On the other ſide of the harbour, and at the point of the downs which cover it from the north, there ſtands a large and exceeding ſtrong tower, called the *Riſbane*, which, commanding the mouth of the harbour, is well furniſhed with artillery, and effectually prevents veſſels of any kind from entering it. But on the ſide next to the firm land (which is only a ſtrait ſort of an iſthmus betwixt two large marſhes) about a league from the city, there is a bridge over a river that runs into the ſea, which, being fortified with towers, totally blocks up the paſſage that leads to the town, along a very narrow bank: and this place is called the Fauxbourg *de Nieulet*.

Monſieur *De Rhoſnè* knew very well, that he muſt not expect to reduce this fortreſs, except he could ſpeedily make himſelf maſter of *Nieulet* bridge and the *Riſbane*: for if he did not get poſſeſſion of *Nieulet*, it would be exceeding difficult to paſs the river and come under the town: and without the aſſiſtance of the artillery in the *Riſbane*, he could not poſſibly command the mouth of the harbour, in which caſe, ſuch ſupplies might be thrown into the town by ſea, that there would be no longer room to build any hopes on the weakneſs of the garriſon. For theſe reaſons, having marched from *St. Omer* with wonderful expedition, conſidering the impediment of the artillery that he had with him, he came on the 9th of *April*, by break of day, in ſight of *Nieulet*, and without giving the guards (who were not above forty) time either to aſſemble their ſpirits or receive aſſiſtance, he cauſed it to be aſſaulted on one hand by the *Spaniſh*, and on the other by the *Walloon* foot, keeping a conſtant fire at the ſame time with the four ſmall pieces of cannon, not out of an expectation that they would do any great execution, but to increaſe the terror of the guards, who, being ſo few, very ill provided, attacked on a ſudden, and, which was ſtill worſe, without any commander of ſufficient authority to keep them to their duty, baſely abandoned the defence of that place, and ran away into the town.

As ſoon as *De Rhoſnè* had thus poſſeſſed himſelf of the bridge at *Nieulet*, he left four companies of *Walloons* to guard that poſt, and, without loſing a moment, advanced to aſſault the *Riſbane*, againſt which he preſently planted his artillery, and began to batter it furiouſly about noon: he likewiſe drew three of the ſmaller pieces to the ſide of the harbour, with which, and the aſſiſtance of the *Walloon* muſketry, he ſo effectually prevented any ſupplies from entering the tower, that thoſe of the ſuburb which ſtood on the other ſide of the harbour, after ſeveral attempts to get in, were at laſt obliged to retire. There were but ſixty men in the *Riſbane*, and thoſe too without a proper officer to command them: ſo that, though the

the place was ſtrong, and might have been defended many days, yet, as ſoon as they ſaw the enemy was preparing for an aſſault, their courage failed them and they quitted it; but being attacked and routed in their flight, ſcarce thirty of them, who had got into ſmall boats, eſcaped ſafe into the ſuburb. Upon which, *De Rhoſnè*, reſolving to purſue ſo fortunate a beginning, immediately entered the *Riſbane*, put the artillery in order again, and lodged a ſufficient number of foot there to hinder any relief by ſea. And indeed it was but juſt in time that he did it: for the very next morning ſeveral ſhips belonging to the *Holland* fleet, which was off of *Boulogne*, appeared in ſight, and uſed their utmoſt endeavours to get into the harbour; but were ſo ſhattered by the artillery of the *Riſbane*, that they were forced to tack and ſtand out to ſea again: and one of them, loaded with wine, being ſunk outright in the mouth of the harbour, ſerved to block up the entrance ſtill more, if any further attempt ſhould be made to get into it: and yet two of the *Hollanders* ſmall barks, with two Captains and eighty men in them, happily effected it, and landed in the ſuburb, where they ſtayed for the defence of it.

1596.

In the mean time, the Cardinal Archduke, having received advice of the ſucceſs of his forces, marched thither in all haſte with his whole army, on the 11th of *April*, and having marked out a camp betwixt *Caſal de Mer*, the bridge of *Nieulet*, and the road that leads to *Graveling*, he took poſſeſſion of St. *Pierre's* church, about half a league from the walls. The town being thus inveſted, and their quarters ſoon fortified, as they were ſituated amongſt marſhes and ditches, *De Rhoſnè*, who was well informed of the defect of the wall on the ſide that ſtands toward the ſuburb, reſolved to plant a battery at the bottom of the harbour: and though it ſeemed exceeding difficult to get thither, yet he had obſerved, that at the ebb of the tide the water fell in ſuch a manner, that the extreme part of the harbour was laid dry, and the bottom ſo firm and gravelly, that it afforded ſufficient means for his infantry to march up to an aſſault. But in order to keep the beſieged employed on the other ſide alſo, and to divide them, weak as they were, he thought proper to raiſe another battery upon the road to *Graveling*, though the wall on that ſide was extremely well lined with earth, and flanked by two royal baſtions. On the battery next the ſuburb, were mounted ſeventeen pieces of cannon, fifteen on the *Graveling* road, and four others againſt each baſtion: all which were in readineſs on *Eaſter* day, the fourteenth of that month, and began to play furiouſly on *Monday* as ſoon as it was light: whilſt the beſieged, who were diſpirited by the ſmallneſs of their number, uſed no means at all to hinder the progreſs of the enemy, except that, on the firſt day, whilſt the *Riſbane* was battered, they made a ſally to bring in

ſome

1596. ſome proviſions: nor from that day forward durſt they make any further attempt.

In this ſtate of affairs, the King having intelligence that the *Spaniards* were in motion, and not being able to find out where they deſigned to ſit down at laſt, left the Conſtable to command the army before *La Fere*, and marched with ſix hundred horſe and his regiment of guards to *Abbeville*, from whence he ſent the Sieur *De Montluc*, with two thouſand foot, to *Montrüeil*, apprehending (as the enemy ſo gave out) they would make an attempt upon that place: but receiving information on the 13th, that they had ſuddenly come before *Calais*, he diſpatched the ſame *Montluc*, the Count *De St. Paul*, Governor of the province, and the Marquis *De Belin*, with orders to embark as ſoon as poſſible at *St. Vallery*, and try to get into the town: but, though they boldly executed their orders, yet they were driven back by contrary winds, which blew hard all that time, and were forced to return to the place where they had embarked, without ſucceeding in their deſign. The King, therefore, who was exceedingly concerned at the imminent danger which the town was in, reſolved to go himſelf to that port, but the bad weather ſtill continuing, he went to *Boulogne* the next day, upon the hopes which the mariners had given him, that it would be more eaſy to relieve the beſieged from thence: but when he came thither, and found the wind was not yet changed, the undertaking ſeemed altogether as difficult, if not more ſo, than ever: nor was there any poſſibility of giving the beſieged the leaſt aſſiſtance by land, for both the bridge at *Nieulet* and *Caſal de Mer* were ſtrongly guarded, and the enemy's whole army encamped on that ſide. So that the King, as the laſt expedient he could think of, put a body of his choiceſt foot on board ſome ſhips, and ſent them out to ſtruggle with the wind and hover about the harbour, that they might be in readineſs, whenever the wind changed, to run into it at all events: but neither did this ſucceed, for the ſhips being toſſed about and blown into different places, could never get near the harbour, and if they had, they would certainly have been driven off again by the artillery of the *Riſbane*.

At the ſame time, the King diſpatched ſeveral ſhallops to haſten the ſailing of the *Engliſh* fleet, in hopes of being able to make ſome vigorous attempt, and force the Cardinal to raiſe his camp from before *Calais*, if thoſe forces could be landed in good time. But it was all to no purpoſe; for the Queen of *England* having altered her reſolution, would not ſuffer her fleet to ſail yet, though it had rendezvouſed and lay ready at *Dover* for that purpoſe. And notwithſtanding the *French* Ambaſſadors, and particularly Monſieur *De Sancy*, who was lately gone thither, were in cloſe treaty concerning the terms on which the forces ſhould land, yet ſo many obſtacles occurred, and the intereſts of the two Crowns were ſo hard

hard to be reconciled, that much time had ſlipped away without their coming to any agreement.

In the mean while the *Spaniſh* artillery had played upon the walls without intermiſſion, from break of day till evening on *Eaſter Monday*, at which time the infantry, taking the advantage of low water, advanced on both ſides to make a reſolute aſſault. Fortune, however, was not altogether ſo favourable to *De Rhoſnè* in this deſign as ſhe had been before: for though the wind had ſtood right all that day for his artillery, which was a circumſtance of no ſmall ſervice to him (as it cleared away the ſmoak from him, and gave him an opportunity of firing faſter, and with more certainty) yet it increaſed to ſuch a degree, and blew ſo hard in the evening, that it would not ſuffer the tide to fall low enough to lay the furthermoſt part of the harbour quite dry, ſo that his infantry were forced to wade up to their knees, and in ſome places up to their middle, in water, which was no ſmall impediment, and very much retarded the aſſault: and yet he got over this difficulty, and began a fierce aſſault upon the ſuburb, that laſted till nine o'clock (the moon being then at full and ſhining very bright) in which the *French*, having loſt above an hundred of their men and one of the *Holland* Captains, reſolved to retire, and got ſafely into the town after they had ſet fire to the ſuburb in all parts. On *Tueſday De Rhoſnè* drew all his artillery into the ſuburb which they had abandoned, and there being nothing on that ſide to annoy him in the flank, he preſently planted two and twenty pieces upon the edge of the moat, with nothing elſe to defend them but ſingle gabions, and thoſe not very high; and the next day began to batter the wall with ſuch fury, that, for want of being duly lined with earth, it became aſſailable in a few hours. But whilſt the infantry, which conſiſted of *Spaniards*, *Walloons*, and *Italians* mixed together, were preparing to march up, the beſieged, terrified at the wideneſs of the breach, and the ſmallneſs of the number they were then reduced to, ſent out a drum to beat a parley, and the ſame evening capitulated to quit the town and retire into the citadel, which they likewiſe promiſed to ſurrender into the Cardinal's hands, if they were not relieved in the ſpace of ſix days.

The King, who was ſtill at *Boulogne*, had advice of this compoſition, at a time when he had alſo juſt received an anſwer from the Earl of *Eſſex*, General of the *Engliſh* forces, with whom Monſieur *De Sancy* had conferred, and entertained great hopes of prevailing upon the *Engliſh* to make an immediate deſcent, that ſo the citadel might be relieved before the expiration of the ſix days. But the Earl was not ſo forward as he wiſhed; for as the King had often promiſed to give the *Engliſh* ſome place on that coaſt for their convenience and ſecurity, and had always found means to defer it from time to time, on one pretence or other:

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1596. when his Ambassadors to Queen *Elizabeth* renewed those assurances, in order to prevail upon her to let the fleet sail instantly to his relief, the Earl peremptorily refused to put into any port of *France*, or to land any men, except that promise was first effectually performed. And though *Sancy* pleaded the urgency of the occasion and the shortness of the time, and earnestly desired the Earl to consider of what importance the preservation of *Calais* was to their common interests, yet he could not by any means persuade him to alter his determination: so that he was under a necessity of writing to the King to know his pleasure in that respect. But his Majesty, who was not a little provoked that his confederates should take the advantage of his distress, to force him to a compliance with their demands, resolutely answered, "That he had rather be robbed by his enemies than his friends:" so that being resolved to try what he could do with his own forces, and seeing the wind, which had been contrary so many days, was not yet changed, he sent the Sieur *De Matelet*, Governor of *Foix*, with three hundred foot, supported by a strong body of the Duke of *Boüillon's* cavalry, to force the enemy's guards, if possible, and get into the citadel.

This detachment advancing in the dark of the night, close by the quarters of the *Italians*, that were commanded by the Marquis of *Trevico*, found the guards there so remiss, that they all got into the citadel without so much as being discovered: by whose arrival the Governor, inhabitants, and soldiers that were in it, were so encouraged, that after the truce was at an end, they not only refused to surrender, but protested they would defend themselves to the last man. The Cardinal, therefore, being now convinced that some relief had got in, unknown to him, ordered Monsieur *De Rhosnè* to renew his battery with the utmost vigour: upon which, having planted his cannon against the towers of the citadel, he played upon them with such fury, that on the 26th they had made a breach wide enough to be stormed. The next morning, all the *Italian* foot marched up first to the assault, out of a desire to wipe off the disgrace they had incurred by so carelessly suffering relief to pass by them: and being followed by the *Walloons*, and then by the *Spaniards*, they all fought most desperately, till after a very bloody action, that lasted six hours, in which the Governor, *Bidossan*, and above four hundred soldiers were killed, they at last entered the citadel, where the *Italians* put all the rest to the sword, except Monsieur *De Campagnole*, and some few others, who had taken refuge in a church, and afterwards surrendered at discretion. Of the *Spaniards* about two hundred were slain (amongst whom was Count *Guidubaldo Paciotto*, an engineer of great character) and an hundred wounded: a loss very trifling indeed, considering they had in so few days made themselves masters of one of the most important fortresses in

in the kingdom, and which was accounted impregnable: but as ſo little care had been taken to ſecure it, the event of the ſiege was not by any means anſwerable to the reputation of the place. 1596.

The reduction of *Calais* in ſo eaſy and unexpected a manner, not only chagrined the King exceedingly, but alſo laid him under an abſolute neceſſity of coming to ſome agreement with the Queen of *England* and the States of *Holland*: for *La Fere* not being yet given up, he was very loath to riſe from that ſiege, and entirely throw away the pains and expence he had been at for ſo many months, to the great diminution of his reputation: and, on the other hand, he conſidered, that if he did not receive very ſpeedy and powerful ſupplies from both thoſe States, he could not poſſibly raiſe another army to oppoſe the progreſs of a victorious enemy: ſo that all the other towns in that province muſt of courſe be given up, ſince it could not be reaſonably expected, that they ſhould be able to make a more vigorous reſiſtance than *Calais* had done, which was ſo much ſtronger and better fortified both by art and nature. Moved by theſe conſiderations, and hoping the authority of the Duke of *Boüillon* would have great weight with the Queen, whoſe example, he well knew, would be followed by the *Hollanders*, he diſpatched him into *England*, with full powers to conclude ſuch a treaty there, that the fleet might ſail as ſoon as poſſible to land the *Engliſh* forces at *Boulogne*.

But the difficulties that occurred in this negociation were very great, and the Queen was utterly averſe to it; partly becauſe ſhe wanted to avail herſelf of his neceſſities to gain poſſeſſion of a port on his coaſt, for which purpoſe ſhe had been ſo dilatory in ſending any relief to *Calais* before the loſs of it, in hopes of forcing the *French* to put that place into her hands: partly becauſe ſhe ſaw the King now reconciled to the Catholick religion, and thought it was in the King of *Spain's* power to conclude a peace whenſoever he ſhould reſolve no longer to moleſt the kingdom of *France*, and therefore ſhe did not care to put herſelf to new expences, the effects of which her enemies might fruſtrate and make ineffectual at any time when they were ſo diſpoſed. For theſe reaſons, after ſhe had abſolutely refuſed, for many days, to liſten to any treaty that ſhould lay her under freſh obligations, ſhe only conſented to lend the King ſuch aſſiſtance for the time to come as ſhe could afford to do, without putting herſelf to thoſe inconveniencies that ſhe had done in times paſt: and becauſe the *French* were very importunate to have the Earl of *Eſſex* come upon the coaſt of *Picardy* with his fleet, the *Engliſh* anſwered, that it chiefly conſiſted of ſhips and men that had voluntarily offered their ſervice to cruize upon the coaſts of *Spain* under the conduct of the Earl, the Queen could not alter their deſtination now ſhe had given them ſpecial commiſſions for that very purpoſe: that nevertheleſs they would be of great ſervice to the

1596. King of *France*, as the damage which the kingdom of *Spain* muſt receive thereby, would neceſſary call off his Catholick Majeſty's forces from the war he was proſecuting in *Picardy*. But theſe hopes and remedies ſeeming too remote and ineffectual, the Duke of *Boüillon*, who was a *Hugonot* himſelf, repreſenting the danger that the Proteſtant religion would be in, if the *Spaniards* gained any ſtronger footing, earneſtly exhorted both the Queen herſelf, and her principal Miniſters, to exert their utmoſt ſtrength in ſo critical a conjuncture. And indeed his authority, his eloquence, and the force of his arguments, but moſt of all, his being of the ſame religion, made a deep impreſſion on the *Engliſh* court: for he ſeemed to be chiefly concerned for their common intereſts, the ſupport of the *Hugonot* party in *France*, and that the King might not be forced into ſuch an agreement with the *Spaniards* as might be prejudicial to the States of *Holland*, the tranquillity of *England*, and liberty of conſcience in his own kingdom: the negociation, however, notwithſtanding theſe fair appearances, proceeded but very ſlowly, and was clogged with ſuch difficulties, that though a confederacy was at laſt concluded with *England*, nearly of the ſame nature with that which had formerly been eſtabliſhed with *Charles* the ninth, and without the conſignment of any ſea-port to the *Engliſh* (a demand which they had candidly receded from) and though the Duke of *Boüillon* went with an Ambaſſador from the Queen to *Holland*, where the ſame confederacy was agreed to: yet ſo much time had been loſt in theſe proceedings, that affairs in *Picardy* were in no wiſe bettered by them, and the Earl of *Eſſex's* fleet having ſcoured the coaſts of *Spain*, was put out of commiſſion again without performing any thing worthy of notice.

Whilſt this confederacy was negociating in *England*, the Cardinal Archduke, whoſe motions depended upon no body but himſelf, in the firſt place ſpent ten days in repairing the breaches at *Calais*, and then ſent a trumpet to ſummon *Guines* and *Han*, both which places immediately ſurrendered. After which he determined to make an attempt upon *Ardres*, a place of pretty large circumference, excellently fortified, and but three leagues from *Calais*, the poſſeſſion of which, he thought, would thoroughly ſecure what he had already got. And though the enterpriſe ſeemed likely to be attended with much difficulty, on account of the ſituation of the place, which ſtands upon the top of a hill, and, like a cavalier, commands all the plain below it, that extends itſelf a little more than a cannon-ſhot, and is bounded by mountains and woods very unfit to encamp in, but convenient for the ambuſhes of an enemy; yet the Cardinal, encouraged by the ſucceſs of his arms, reſolved to follow the advice of Monſieur *De Rhoſne*, who perſuaded him to this undertaking, and hoped

hoped to make himſelf maſter of the place before the King could diſengage himſelf from *La Fere* and come to relieve it.

There were at this time in *Ardres*, the Marquis *De Belin*, Lieutenant of the province, Monſieur *D'Annebourg*, Governor of the town, and the Sieur *De Montluc* lately come in to reinforce it: which commanders had almoſt two thouſand foot and an hundred and fifty horſe, with a pretty good quantity of proviſions, artillery, ammunition, and other things neceſſary for their defence: and, as they foreſaw a ſiege, they had been exceeding diligent, not only in ſtrengthening the fortifications of the town, but alſo in repairing thoſe of the ſuburb which ſtands towards *Boulogne*; for that being the ſide on which the enemy might raiſe their batteries with the moſt eaſe, they determined to keep them as far as poſſible from the walls by defending the ſuburb. This was adviſed by the Governor of the town, a ſoldier of great valour and experience, whoſe deſign was to defend the ground inch by inch, in order to give the King an opportunity of making himſelf maſter of *La Fere* in good time, that he might come to their relief before they were reduced to extremities. But the Marquis *De Belin* was of a different way of thinking, and ſaid, it would be highly imprudent to throw away their men, in defending a ſuburb of no great conſequence, and which was not tenable, and therefore it would be much better to employ themſelves in maintaining ſuch poſts as were moſt likely to hold out a conſiderable time: however, as all the other Commanders were of opinion, that the poſſeſſion of the ſuburb was of great importance, the Governor's advice prevailed in that point, and a proper guard was placed there to defend it. There was alſo another diſpute amongſt the Commanders; for the Marquis would have had the enemy moleſted and harraſſed in their approaches, by ſmart counter-batteries, without ſparing ammunition: on the other hand, the Governor, not thinking their ſtores altogether ſufficient for ſo great a waſte, was deſirous they ſhould be huſbanded, for fear of being reduced to diſtreſs by the want of them, as they were abſolutely neceſſary to prolong the ſiege: but ſeeing the Marquis's authority had more weight than his own, he concealed part of the ammunition leſt there ſhould be occaſion for it.

Amidſt theſe diſputes and differences of opinion, which commonly happen where the command is lodged in more than one (to the great prejudice of publick affairs) thoſe in the town were ſtill preparing for their defence. But the Cardinal Archduke, having left *Juan de Rivas* in the government of *Calais*, moved with the whole army, on the 6th of *May*, and took up his firſt quarters at *Guines*; the next day he came before *Ardres* ſo early, that, by the eighth at night he had thoroughly fortified his camp, which lay out of cannon-ſhot from the town, and yet not very near the hills and woods: for betwixt the hills and his works there was room

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1596. enough to draw up both the horſe and foot conveniently in order of battle: and upon all the roads that led through the woods and over the hills into the plain, he poſted ſtrong corps de gardes, with double trenches and works in their front, or, more properly ſpeaking, in their rear, on thoſe ſides that lay towards *Boulogne*, *Montrüeil*, and the other towns in the poſſeſſion of the King of *France*. The army being thus encamped and ſecured with wonderful diligence, on *Thurſday* the 9th of *May*, *Agoſtino Meſſia's Spaniſh* foot, and Colonel *La Berlotte's Walloons* advanced towards the ſuburb and began to break ground: but the Sieur *De Montluc*, whoſe courage would let no opportunity paſs of annoying the enemy, ſallied out, and began ſo warm a ſkirmiſh with them, that he prevented their approach. Upon which, another diviſion of infantry, under the command of *Jago Teſſeda*, and *Coquel's Walloons* came up to reinforce their friends; and, on the other ſide, *Montluc* being forced to retire as they advanced, the Marquis kept ſo hot a fire upon them, that they were obliged to diſcontinue their works till night, at which time they returned to them: but the night was ſo clear and light, that the artillery never ceaſed playing, and did great damage to the beſiegers, who, nevertheleſs, having ſurmounted all impediments by dint of reſolution, got to the counterſcarp of the ſuburb, and the next morning planted ſome pieces of cannon there to fire upon it: yet, as *Montluc* made ſallies every hour, and kept thoſe that were at work in continual motion and alarm, they made very little progreſs till he was unfortunately killed by a cannon ball. After this event, as the other commanders were neither ſo active nor ſo vigilant, the beſiegers began to batter the works of the ſuburb, which being weak, and ſoon demoliſhed, they made ſo violent an aſſault, that the guards were forced to abandon it with the loſs of above forty men: but whilſt the *Spaniards* and *Walloons* were ruſhing furiouſly into it, Monſieur *De Montaut*, a Colonel of the *French* infantry, attacked them with ſuch vigour, that, after a bloody diſpute, which laſted two hours, he recovered the ſuburb, and drove the enemy headlong out again, with the loſs of three hundred of the beſt men in their army. And yet the next day, after the cannon had played upon it from morning till noon, the foot ſtormed it afreſh in four different places, at each of which they fought deſperately on both ſides, till the evening, when Colonel *La Berlotte*, being grievouſly wounded, and *Agoſtino Meſſia* knocked down with a ſtone, which hit him on the head, they both thought proper to retire with their forces. But the next morning the aſſault being renewed on all ſides, the Marquis *De Belin*, conſidering the weakneſs of the place, ordered the guards to quit it, for fear of loſing ſo great a number of brave men, in which retreat they were ſo cloſely purſued, that thoſe who guarded the gate of the town, being afraid leſt the enemy ſhould enter with their own men, lowered the portcullice ſo

ſuddenly,

ſuddenly, that above two hundred of them were ſhut out and cut to pieces. 1596.

The enemy's infantry then covered themſelves as faſt as they could, and Monſieur *De Rhoſnè* having determined to make his aſſault on that ſide, cauſed two batteries to be raiſed, one of nineteen cannon, by the *Spaniards*, the other of ſeventeen pieces, of different ſizes, by the *Walloons*: but before they were finiſhed, the counter-battery of the town annoyed them grievouſly on all ſides. At laſt, however, when the batteries were ſufficiently covered, and the cannon began to play upon the flanks of the baſtions, the Marquis, either out of Cowardice, as the general opinion was, or becauſe he thought it impoſſible to defend the place, and was deſirous to ſave himſelf and ſo many other valiant men for a better occaſion, called the principal commanders to a council of war, and perſuaded them to ſurrender: but the Governor and *Charles* Sieur *De Arambures*, a man of great reputation in that province, oppoſing it, and the reſt of the officers declaring they would defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, the Marquis objected that all the ammunition was ſpent, ſo that it was not poſſible to hold out any longer. The Governor then acquainted him, that he had made ſuch a reſerve as would laſt many days if it was uſed with diſcretion, and that, in the mean time, they might probably be relieved by the King, who he thought would make himſelf maſter of *La Fere* at laſt: to which the Marquis angrily replied, that he deſerved to be puniſhed for having concealed the true quantity of ammunition from his ſuperior officer, and that the ſpace of two or three days, more or leſs, was of little ſignification, ſince he knew the King would not be able to reduce *La Fere* ſo eaſily; and upon this, going out of the Council in a paſſion, though many proteſted againſt it, he immediately ſent out a Captain, and capitulated to march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying, and that the townſmen ſhould be at liberty to ſtay or go as they pleaſed: but thoſe that ſtaid were to acknowledge the King of *Spain* as their Sovereign. Thus, to the wonder of all men, and the great diſcontent of the garriſon, the Marquis marched out of the place with all his men under arms, on the twenty third of *May*, and took the road to *La Fere*: but Captain *Mainſerme*, one of the officers of the garriſon, who had the guard of a baſtion towards the *Spaniard's* quarters, would by no means conſent to the agreement; and, though the enemy was in poſſeſſion of all the reſt of the town, he threw up a trench round his baſtion, and made a brave defence, till, ſeeing the artillery had beat down all his works, he thought he might then retire without any blemiſh upon his reputation.

The day before this the beſieged at *La Fere*, being reduced to extreme diſtreſs, and perceiving, by the Cardinal's proceedings, that he had no other means of relieving them, but by attempting to make freſh acquiſitions,

1596. tions, and to cauſe a diverſion that way, at laſt made propoſals of ſurren—dering to the King, after they had given the Cardinal an opportunity of making ſo great and important conqueſts, by their conſtancy and reſolution in defending that town ſo long. His Majeſty, therefore, being glad to put an end to ſo troubleſome an enterprize, that he might go to the relief of *Ardres*, readily granted them all the conditions they demanded: which were, That the Seneſchal *Montelimar*, commonly called Count *De La Fere*, and *Alvaro Oſorio*, Governor of the garriſon, and all their forces both horſe and foot, ſhould march out of the town with their arms, baggage, colours flying, drums beating, trumpets ſounding, matches lighted, ball in their mouths, and be ſafely convoyed as far as *Caſtelet*: That they ſhould be allowed to take along with them one piece of cannon which had not the arms of *France* upon it, with ammunition for ten diſcharges: That the Seneſchal ſhould be acquitted of all impoſts, revenues, and contributions which he had levied, and that neither he nor any others of the garriſon ſhould thereafter be called to account for any paſt crime or action whatſoever, nor any of them moleſted for the debts they had contracted: That the inhabitants, upon taking an oath of allegiance, ſhould not only be pardoned for all paſt offences, but treated like good ſubjects for the future, and that whoſoever had a mind to go out with the garriſon ſhould have liberty to depart.

Upon theſe terms, *La Fere* ſubmitted to the King, on the twenty ſecond of *May*, who was ſo impatient to be gone, that he moved the very next morning, with all his cavalry, towards *Ardres*, and left the Conſtable to follow him, as expeditiouſly as poſſible, with the reſt of the army, intending to take his courſe through the woods, and to hazard an engagement at all events: but he had not marched above two miles, when he received an account of the Marquis's compoſition, which was the more galling to him, as he had now conceived great hopes of relieving that place. Indeed his anger and diſpleaſure were ſo great, when he ſaw his whole deſign defeated by the puſillanimity of one man, that he would not ſuffer the Marquis to come into his preſence, either becauſe he thought him unworthy of that honour, or was afraid he ſhould not be able to contain his indignation: but, though he cauſed a proceſs to be inſtituted againſt him by the Marſhal *De la Chaſtre*, and often reſolved to put him to an ignominious death, yet Madame *Gabrielle* interceded for him ſo effectually, that the ſentence paſſed upon him, which was not publiſhed till after many days, only deprived him of his employments, and confined him for ever to his own eſtate.

Ardres being thus taken on one ſide, and *La Fere* on the other, it was the general opinion, that the two armies muſt now meet, and that the King, who ſhewed ſuch eagerneſs to retrieve his loſſes, and was ſtrongly reinforced

reinforced by almost all the Nobility in the kingdom, would not omit any convenient opportunity of coming to an engagement. But the Cardinal-Archduke was more intent upon keeping what he had got, than forward to expose his army to new dangers; and being recalled by the bad state of his affairs in the *Low Countries*, left *Villa verde*, a *Spanish* commander, with a good garrison in *Ardres*, and in three days march arrived in the territory of *St. Omer*: from whence, having received intelligence that the cavalry left to guard the provinces of *Flanders*, had been routed by the garrisons of *Bergen* and *Breda*, which overran all that country, he proceeded in his march to oppose their incursions, and to turn his arms upon the States, which, during the war in *France*, daily gathered fresh strength. 1596.

The King was in doubt, for a considerable time, whether or not he should this year endeavour to recover some other place, but at last found that impracticable, as his infantry (which are the most serviceable forces in the reduction of fortresses) were, in a manner, worn out by lying so long before *La Fere*: for, besides the continual fatigue of so many months, the badness of the air in that low marshy country had occasioned many distempers amongst his men, who, having spent the winter in all manner of hardships, now began to feel the effects of it. Besides, he was in very great want of money: for, as many provinces had but lately returned to their obedience, and the rest that adhered to him before were ruined by the havock and devastations of so long a war, the revenue of the kingdom was either wholly dissipated, or in such disorder, that he could not by any means support his army in *Picardy*, which was in a great measure laid waste and exhausted by having been the seat of war for the two last years. To these two weighty impediments was added, the remembrance of the ill success which the King had met with, in trusting to other commanders upon such occasions: so that, being obliged to return to *Paris* to receive the Pope's Legate, who was just come thither to confirm some things, and cause others to be put in execution, which had been promised by his Majesty's Agents and Ambassadors, in order to obtain the Pope's benediction, he thought his army would make but small progress, if he did not command it in person.

For these reasons, after mature deliberation in the Council, he determined to dismiss the Nobility, that they might refresh themselves, till he should have occasion to assemble them again, and to distribute the rest of his forces into the garrisons of the most important places, that he might not be under any apprehension of their being surprised, if the enemy should make a sudden return. He likewise resolved to go himself (after he had received the Legate, and given him proper satisfaction) to some convenient city in the middle of the kingdom, and there to call an assembly of the principal magistrates of every province, not only to put his finances in

1596. in good order, and regulate his Court, but to make all neceſſary preparations, that he might proceed upon a good bottom the next year, in his attempts to recover the places he had loſt in *Picardy*. In the mean time he hoped the confederacy with the Queen of *England* and the States of *Flanders*, would be concluded, which would enable him to take the field with ſo powerful an army, that the enemy could not pretend to oppoſe him.

With this reſolution he left the Marſhal *De Biron*, with three thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, upon the banks of the *Somme*, to ſcour the coaſt of the river, and to be ready upon any emergency that might happen in that country. *Perſone*, *Boulogne*, *Montrüeil*, *Abbeville*, and *St. Quintin* he left well garriſoned, and ſent the Count *De St. Paul* into *Amiens*, though that city, which is very large and populous, inſiſted upon its ancient privileges, and refuſed to admit any garriſon, out of a confidence that it ſhould be able to defend itſelf, as it always had done in the courſe of ſo many wars.

In this interval *Aleſſandro de Medici*, Cardinal of *Florence*, and Legate from the Pope, was come into *France*, to the mutual ſatisfaction of the King, who was very deſirous to make the Pope his firm friend, and of his Holineſs himſelf, who could not be thoroughly ſatisfied till he had re-eſtabliſhed the obedience and reſpect which, in former times, had always been paid to the Apoſtolick See, by the Crown of *France*. At his arrival on the frontiers of *Dauphinè*, he was received with great pomp, by Monſieur *Les Diguieres*, who had drawn up all the forces under his command in battalia for that purpoſe: for though that commander was no friend to the Catholick religion, yet he ſhewed him all manner of honour and reſpect, both at his reception, and in conducting him to *Lyons*, where the Cardinal ſtayed a few days, and then proceeded in his journey to *Moulins*: from whence he took a round-about road, on account of the plague which then raged in many places, and arrived on the nineteenth of *July* at *Mont l'Hery*, which is about ten leagues from *Paris*. The King, therefore, on his return from *Picardy*, advanced with as much expedition as poſſible, and eſcorted only by an hundred perſons in his train, to receive him there, which he did, not in a publick and ſolemn cavalcade, but in a private and familiar viſit; as he was deſirous of ſhewing his readineſs, and even impatience to meet him, his affection to the Pope, and his particular regard for the Legate himſelf, who, beſides the Nobility of his birth, and maturity of years, was much eſteemed by him for his great prudence and conſtant endeavours to ſerve the Crown of *France*. The principal Lords of the Court attended his Majeſty in this viſit; amongſt whom was the Duke of *Mayenne*, out of a deſire to let the Legate ſee the ſincere reconciliation that was betwixt them, and how much the heads of

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the Catholick party were honoured and esteemed: and as the King expressed the most profound reverence for the Majesty of the Holy See, and the person of the Legate, the Cardinal, on his part, likewise shewed himself so full of moderation, and so well disposed to favour the interests of the King and his Crown, that the good opinion which his Majesty had conceived of him before, was now turned into a very great degree of confidence and affection.

The next morning the King returned to *Paris*; and the Cardinal, continuing his journey, was met in the first place by the young Prince of *Condé*, at the distance of a league from the suburbs, to shew how effectually his Majesty had endeavoured to gratify the Pope, in getting him out of the hands of the *Hugonots*: and at the gate of the suburbs he was received by Cardinal *Gondi*, attended by all the Princes and the whole Court, with such a concourse of people, that if the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Espernon* had not dismounted and opened a way through the multitude with their swords drawn, he would certainly have been suffocated in the crowd, that rushed in, from all sides, to welcome him into *Paris*, where he was received amidst the acclamations and rejoicings of the whole city, and went directly to the cathedral of *Nôtre Dame*. After he had performed his devotions in that church, he was conducted to a palace fitted up on purpose for him, in a royal manner, and there, with the utmost courtesy, received the first President *Harlay*, who came to wait upon him in the name of the whole Parliament, and afterwards all the other magistrates of the city, and many private persons, every one congratulating him upon the reconciliation of the King and kingdom to the Apostolick See.

After this, the Legate's commission, or power as they call it, was accepted and published in the Parliament: and though some of the counsellors were of opinion, that certain clauses should be added to it, as had always been usual, to limit and circumscribe the authority of Legates within the privileges of the *Gallican* church; yet the King would have it published without restriction, or the least mention of any such thing; a circumstance which gave great satisfaction to the Pope, and added much reputation to his Pontificate, when people saw that he did not meet with that opposition in this point, which had usually been made to other Popes. And this was likewise so agreeable to the Legate also, that he shewed the sense he had of it, by his great moderation and strict adherence to the prudent instructions he had received from the Court of *Rome*, to avoid all occasions of bringing either his own authority, or the privileges of the clergy, or the jurisdictions of the Crown of *France* into question: which indeed was the true and only way to prevent those odious contests that commonly used to arise about those rights, and a temper very proper both to re-establish the kingdom in its obedience, and to compose the distractions

1596. of the times. This manner of proceeding, which was very agreeable to the prudence of the Pope, and the moderation of the Legate, was ſuggeſted by *Giovanni Delfino*, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador at *Rome*, and afterwards Cardinal, who, being well acquainted with the affairs of *France*, adviſed both his Holineſs and the Legate not to make too ſtrict an enquiry into the irregularities that had been committed in eccleſiaſtical matters, before the abſolution of his Majeſty, whilſt the kingdom was in a manner ſeparated from the church, but to overlook many things that were paſt, and to proceed with lenity and addreſs in regulating the future. Which advice being well received from a perſon of his prudence and experience, ſerved as a rule to govern themſelves by, in ſeveral difficulties that afterwards occurred.

The Legate had his firſt publick audience at *St. Maur*, a little way out of the city, on the firſt of *Auguſt*, in which his Majeſty ratified all the conditions that had been accepted by his proxies, when they received abſolution at *Rome*: with which ready compliance in all points, the Pope was ſo well pleaſed, that he ſoon after ſent him all ſuch diſpenſations as ſeemed neceſſary. From theſe things, which chiefly related to the intereſts of religion and of the Pope, the Cardinal Legate proceeded to treat of thoſe that concerned the tranquillity of the kingdom and the peace of *Christendom*: for the Pope, well knowing to how weak and low a condition the kingdom of *France* muſt be reduced, by ſo long a courſe of civil wars, and how much need it had of peace and eaſe to recover its antient vigour: and, on the other ſide, conſidering that the King of *Spain's* coffers were utterly exhauſted, and that his ſubjects were ruined and oppreſſed to the laſt degree, he plainly ſaw the Crown of *France* would be in great danger, if the war was continued, and the moſt Chriſtian King ſtill neceſſitated to keep up the ſtrict confederacies and alliances he had entered into with Princes that were enemies to the Catholick church: and he perceived that King *Philip*, for his part, unable to ſupport the weight of two formidable, though not very diſtant wars at the ſame time, by endeavouring to keep up the reputation of his arms in *Picardy*, had loſt many ſtates in the *Low Countries*, to the great prejudice of the Catholick religion, and encouragement of the enemy in thoſe parts. He therefore reſolved to mediate a peace betwixt thoſe two Crowns, being ſenſible that neither of them would ever condeſcend to aſk it, if he did not interpoſe as a common father and diſintereſted mediator. He likewiſe conſidered the war with the *Turk*, which then raged with great fury in *Hungary*: and as he was very deſirous that all Chriſtian Princes ſhould vigorouſly unite in it, to prevent the further progreſs of the common enemy, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to make an agreement betwixt thoſe Crowns, that ſo, both of them together, or at leaſt the King of *Spain*, might be able to lend his aſſiſtance

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for the common interefts of the houfe of *Auftria:* for which purpofe, he had given ftrict orders to the Legate, that, as foon as ever the King's abfolution was ratified, he fhould immediately propofe fuch an accommodation, as he thought it was not only requifite for the fecurity and repofe of *Chriftendom,* but alfo would make his Pontificate memorable and glorious.

1596.

The Cardinal, who was a man of a mild and peaceable difpofition, and of long experience in the affairs of the world, was no lefs ready to promote the general good and his own particular reputation, than the Pope was earneft in inciting him to it: fo that at the firft conference after the publick audience at *St. Maur,* he began to found the King's inclinations; who, being no ftranger to the wounds of his kingdom, and agreeing with the general opinion, that nothing but peace could heal them, was ready to come into any fort of agreement that was confiftent with his honour. The difficulties which his Ambaffadors met with in concluding the confederacy in *England,* likewife prompted him to it: for he clearly perceived, that the Queen, without any other regard, only wanted to get poffeffion of fome place on his fea-coaft, that fhe might keep his hands in a manner tied up, and make further encroachments upon occafion: and he very well knew fhe was fo embarraffed by the commotions in *Ireland,* which were then very great, that fhe could not affift him with many forces, even if fhe was fo inclined. He likewife confidered the circumftances of the *Hollanders,* who, though they wifhed to have the wars in *France* continue, that the *Spanifh* forces might be diverted and divided, yet were not in a condition to fend any fuccours to their neighbours, when they had fo much to do at home. Nor were the Proteftant Princes of *Germany* (whofe attention was now altogether turned upon the war with the *Turk*) either able or willing to do any thing in the affairs of *France,* which they thought powerful enough itfelf to make head againft the arms of *Spain:* the King, therefore, feeing how little he could promife himfelf from foreign aid, refolved to depend wholly upon the ftrength and forces of his own kingdom.

But thefe were curtailed and debilitated in various manners. For the royal revenues were in the utmoft diforder, and indeed almoft annihilated, by the multiplicity of abufes that had been introduced, and the ufual rapacity of civil war; and the produce of the impofts and duties in the mercantile towns and fea-ports was extremely diminifhed, by the ceffation of all commerce with *Spain,* the *Weft Indies,* and his Catholick Majefty's other dominions: nor was the trade which was carried on in *Englifh* and *Dutch* bottoms, attended with much profit, as their navigation was interrupted, and the fea covered with pyrates inftead of merchants. But want of money (the very life and foul of war) was not the only difficulty he

1596. he laboured under. The Duke of *Mercœur*, ſtill in arms and powerful in *Bretagne*, over-ran and harraſſed the whole country with his forces; and turning ſometimes towards *Normandy*, ſometimes towards *Poictou* and *Xaintoigne*, kept thoſe provinces alſo in continual terror and alarm. *Provence* and *Dauphiné* were neither yet thoroughly reduced to obedience, nor free from the incurſions, of the Duke of *Savoy*, which made it neceſſary to keep two armies there continually employed: and, what was ſtill of greater conſequence, the *Hugonots*, either incenſed or grown jealous at the cloſe conjunction betwixt the King and the Pope, were in a manner up in arms, and (demanding liberty to meet and conſult about their own affairs) ſeemed to threaten ſome new inſurrection: ſo that it was to be feared he would be obliged to begin a war with the *Hugonots* before he had wholly eſtabliſhed a peace with the Catholicks.

Theſe motives inclined the King to wiſh for peace: and point of honour only, to which he had always ſhewn the ſtricteſt regard, made him ſeem deſirous to continue the war. He therefore reſolutely told the Legate, in his firſt conference with him, "That he would not accede to any kind of peace, except all the places were firſt reſtored which had been taken from him, and the loſſes of the Crown totally repaired:" and this he ſaid in ſo peremptory and ſpirited a manner, that he appeared thoroughly determined not to liſten to any treaty of peace, till he had done himſelf and his reputation juſtice by his arms. The Legate, however, imagining he could pretty well gueſs at the King's ſecret deſires, from the preſent ſituation of affairs, with which he was perfectly acquainted; and thinking it his duty to break the ice firſt, though there was no great appearance of ſucceſs, he diſpatched Father *Bonaventura Calatagirone*, General of the order of *St. Francis*, into *Spain*, to ſound the inclinations of that Court.

But the forwardneſs which the Legate ſhewed to promote a peace, did not prevent the King from making diligent preparations to proſecute the war the next year: for he had ſummoned an aſſembly of all the officers of the Crown, principal Magiſtrates and Treaſurers of his kingdom at the city of *Roüen*, where, beſides reforming ſeveral diſorders and abuſes, he intended to regulate his finances, and endeavour to perſuade the leading men and the heads of the Clergy and commonalty in every province to aſſiſt him ſuch a manner, that he might be able to ſupport the weight of the war by himſelf: which he thought would be no difficult matter, as they all knew the urgent neceſſity there was for it, how ſoon ſome of the rich and fertile provinces had almoſt recovered their former vigour ſince civil wars had ceaſed in them, and in how much more flouriſhing a condition they would quickly be, if good order and government were added to the bleſſings of peace: and he imagined every one would cheer-

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1596.

fully contribute to raiſe ſupplies, which were not to be expended, as in former times, either to gratify the King's private paſſions, or to wage a domeſtick war againſt thoſe of the ſame blood; but to ſupport one againſt foreigners, and to defend the Crown now it was attacked by its ancient rivals and inveterate enemies. And becauſe there had been a ſort of a particular truce, ever ſince the year before, with the Duke of *Mercœur*, in order to treat with him, and find ſome means of bringing him to an accommodation, yet, as it was often violated and interrupted, the King at this time ſent the Count *De Schomberg* and the firſt Preſident *De Thou* to treat with the Duke's Deputies, in the preſence of the Queen Dowager of *France*. But the event of this treaty was doubtful, and the terms vague and unſettled: for the Duke, who was a ſubtle intriguing man, and not eaſily diverted from his purpoſes, had ſeveral private negociations on foot both in *France* and *Spain*, and was in hopes that he ſhould yet be able to diſmember the duchy of *Bretagne* from the Crown (which had been united to it no longer than ſince the times of *Lewis* the twelfth and *Francis* the firſt) and to ſecure it to his poſterity: or, if he could not accompliſh that, at leaſt to hold that ſtate in the name of the Infanta *Iſabella*, who claimed a right to it as next heir of the houſe of *Valois*, ſince women were not excluded from ſucceeding to the inheritance of *Bretagne*. For this purpoſe he had diſpatched *Lorenzo Tornabuoni* to the Court of *Spain*, and ſtill ſecretly endeavoured to draw ſeveral of the principal men of the province into a concurrence with his deſigns, expecting, at all events, to obtain much more advantageous conditions from the Infanta than from the King of *France*. But as the declining ſtate of the League did not ſeem to favour his views, and the agreement which the other Princes of his houſe, and particularly the Duke of *Mayenne*, had made with the King, very much perplexed him, he ſtill kept the treaty of accommodation alive, and found means to prolong the truce from time to time, one while making uſe of force, another of artifice, to make himſelf maſter of ſome convenient town, and to keep the provinces adjoining to *Bretagne* in perpetual alarm and commotion.

In purſuance of theſe deſigns he had, about this time, ſucceſsfully employed *Charles Gondi*, Marquis *De Belleiſle*, and ſon to the Marſhal *De Retz*, to ſeize upon *Fougeres*, a town of great importance on the confines of *Normandy*: and at that place had been taking meaſures to have the ſame Marquis let into *Mont St. Michael*, an exceeding ſtrong town upon the ſea-coaſt, to which there is no approaching by land, except during the ſhort ſpace of two hours in the day-time and two more in the night, when it is low water. Theſe practices had been carried on ſo far with ſome perſons in the town, that the Marquis, having received a promiſe of being admitted into it, left *Fougeres* ſecretly in the night with an

hundred

1596. hundred horſe and four hundred foot, and came to *St. Michael* juſt when the ebb of the tide was at the loweſt. At his arrival there, after the ſignals agreed upon had been made and returned, he was invited by the Governor of the caſtle, to come, with ſix only in his company, to take poſſeſſion of the firſt gate, in order to let in the reſt of his men: upon which invitation, the Marquis, a young man of more courage than prudence, made no ſcruple of entering; but ſeeing the gate through which he had paſſed into the firſt raveline, immediately ſhut upon him, he turned about with a ſtern countenance to the Captain that ſhut it, and commanded him to keep it open. But the Captain, ſeeming to deſpiſe his command, returned him a haughty anſwer, and the garriſon taking arms, inſtantly killed the Marquis and his ſix companions: after which, they began to play with their artillery upon the reſt of his forces, who being now well aſſured of their Commander's misfortune, retired unpurſued to *Fougeres*.

This accident, however, did not diſcourage the Duke of *Mercœur* from purſuing his deſigns: for having lately had the good fortune to get poſſeſſion of *Tiſange*, a fortreſs in *Poictou*, and to make a further progreſs in other parts, he continued to treat of peace in an indeterminate ſort of a manner, always governing himſelf by the preſent ſituation of affairs, ſometimes lowering his demands in the King's proſperity, ſometimes increaſing them in his misfortunes, and being no leſs uncertain than others what he ſhould reſolve upon at laſt. Nor did the King, who was no ſtranger to the cauſe of theſe proceedings, abſolutely give up his deſign of concluding a treaty with him, as he was diſpoſed to grant him advantageous terms, in order to exclude the *Spaniards* from the poſſeſſion of *Bretagne*, and reunite ſo important a member to the Crown: which was the reaſon that had induced him lately to depute the Count *De Schomberg* and the Preſident *De Thou* (whoſe wiſdom and addreſs he thought a ſufficient match for the Duke's artifices and inconſtancy) to treat with his Agents.

He likewiſe ſent the Sieurs *D'Emery* and *Godfrey de Calignon*, Chancellor of *Navarre*, to the Chiefs of the *Hugonots*, who, having withdrawn from Court, and retired to the towns near *Rochelle*, had got a number of men together in arms, and continued their conventicles and aſſemblies, to the great jealouſy of the King and diſpleaſure of his Council. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, though he had ever been an enemy to that party, yet deſired the reſt of the Council to conſider, how deſtructive it would be to excite a new civil war, at a time when the wounds of the kingdom were not yet cloſed, and they were daily diſtreſſed by the ſucceſs of the *Spaniſh* arms: upon which, they determined to ſend thoſe two perſons, who were men of very great eſteem, to treat with that faction, and to aſſure them, that nothing prejudicial to liberty of conſcience was either

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intended or thought of. For though the conditions exacted by the Pope 1596. were well known to every one, yet a clause was added, "That they should not be put in execution, if it seemed likely to occasion war or disturbances:" by which proviso, the obedience due to the Pope and the liberty of the *Hugonots* were secured at the same time: for the temper of the times was manifestly such, that the King could not restrain them in that point, without raising fresh wars and commotions, and exposing his Crown to great dangers. When these two Deputies arrived at the places where the *Hugonots* resided, they had several conferences with the heads of that party, and the rest that were come to *Chastelraut*, assuring them, that the edicts made in favour of their religion should be strictly observed: which indeed put a stop to the execution of the designs that were then in agitation, but did not prevail upon the Dukes of *Boüillon* and *Tremouille* to march, as the King desired, with the forces of that party into *Picardy*: for the arrival of the Legate, and the close conjunction betwixt him and the King, had made them so suspicious, that they would not venture out of their places of security.

Whilst they were proceeding by way of negociation in these parts, there was not a total cessation of arms on the confines of *Picardy*; for the garrisons, which both sides had there in great number, had frequent skirmishes and encounters, which still kept the war alive. And the Marshal *De Biron*, who never failed to molest the enemy upon every occasion, often made incursions into his Catholick Majesty's provinces, particularly in the month of *September*, when he entered *Artois* with all his cavalry, and put the whole country into great consternation. The Marquis *De Varambone*, therefore, who was Governor of it, having sent for Count *Giovanni Giacopo Belgioioso* and the Count *De Montecucoli*, resolved to face him with eight hundred horse, and endeavour to put a stop to the havock he made on all sides: but the Marshal being informed of his approach, stayed a whole day to refresh himself at *St. Andrew*, a place in the jurisdiction of *St. Omer*, and then set out, in the dusk of the evening, with his men in good order, intending to fall suddenly upon the Marquis, who thought he had been a great many miles from him: nor did he fail in his design: for after he had marched gently forwards all night, he met the enemy's vanguard, led by *Montecucoli*, about sun-rise: upon which, they immediately charged each other with great courage on both sides.* In the beginning of the action the *French* had the worst of it: for their first troops were driven back in some disorder to their main body: but soon after, the Marshal himself advancing, made so fierce an attack upon *Montecucoli*, that he was forced to turn his back and run away as fast as he could, and was not able to stop his men, who, in so precipitate a flight, fell foul of the Marquis's main battle, which put it into such disorder,

1596. disorder, that all his men deserted him: so that both *Montecucoli* and the Marquis, who still continued valiantly fighting, were taken prisoners. *Belgioioso* advanced next, with the rear-guard, and for some time gallantly opposed the fury of the conquerors: but the other troops being routed, and he himself wounded in the arm with two pistol balls, was at last obliged to retire, leaving the Marshal in possession of the field, and at full liberty to proceed whither he pleased: so that he would have done more mischief to the country, and perhaps have made a further progress, if the autumnal rains, which fell that year much before the usual time, had not put a stop to his career.

About this time an accident happened at Court, which may serve as a good example to private men, of that moderation with which it is their duty to govern their passions, and as a lesson to Princes, how far they ought to bear with those things in their subjects, which they are of necessity obliged to by the laws of honour. For a quarrel happening to arise in the King's anti-chamber, betwixt the Sieur *De Coquinvillier*, one of his Majesty's Gentlemen in waiting, but a man of approved valour, and Monsieur *De Bonivet*, a cavalier, not only of an ancient and noble family, but of great reputation: *Coquinvillier*, forgetting the place where he was, gave *Bonivet* a box on the ear, who had such a command over his passions, that he did not think fit to return it, out of regard to the place, but went out of the court, and was immediately followed by *Coquinvillier*: upon which, their friends interfering and carrying them off different ways, *Bonivet* sent to demand satisfaction of his adversary for the affront he had received: but the other, acknowledging his fault, in having so grievously insulted him in a place where it was not lawful to draw his sword to do himself justice, desired to be excused from meeting him in the field, and offered to ask his pardon, which every one knew was not for want of courage, as he had given sufficient proofs of that in other duels, but out of a consciousness that he was in the wrong. *Bonivet*, however, contrary to the advice and opinion of his friends, repeated his challenge several times, which *Coquinvillier* always answered with the same moderation, and kept at home for some time to avoid the necessity of fighting: but as *Bonivet* continued to provoke him daily with injurious letters and messages, and would not accept the offer he made of leaving himself to his discretion, he was at last obliged to meet him alone in a private place, where, after he had in vain renewed his former offers, and protested that he acknowledged himself worthy of all blame, he was forced, by *Bonivet's* choleric manner of proceeding, to draw his sword, and having wounded him at the first pass, retired a few paces, and earnestly desired there might be an end of the matter: but *Bonivet* pressing hard upon him again, and making several desperate thrusts, he was

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necessitated, in his own defence, to run him through the body, and laid him dead upon the spot. As soon as this came to the King's ear, and he was thoroughly informed of all that had passed, he not only made an allowance for the necessity which had absolutely forced *Coquinvillier* to fight, and forgave the offence he had committed in striking within the verge of the court, but said publickly, that, " Since one of them was lost, it was too much to lose the other also:" and granting him his pardon, commanded the magistrates not to form any process against him.

In the mean time the Assembly was met at *Roüen*, where the King arrived on the 18th of *October*, attended by the Cardinal Legate, the Duke of *Montpensier*, Governor of that province, the High Constable, *Montmorancy*, the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Espernon*, the Prince of *Jainville*, the Marshals *De Retz* and *Matignon*, the Admiral *D'Anville*, the Cardinals of *Givry* and *Gondi*, with many others of the principal Lords of the kingdom: and being received there with very great state, he opened the Assembly on the 4th of *November*, representing to them the necessity of a speedy regulation in the affairs of the kingdom, and his urgent occasion for supplies to maintain the war upon the confines: which points being afterwards more largely expatiated upon by the High Chancellor, they began with great application to consider of such remedies as might prove most salutary. But the vigour of a body that had been debilitated by so long and grievous distempers, was not easily to be restored, and every one was sensible how necessary a general peace was, to introduce and establish a wholsome and lasting reformation, since so many new disorders continually sprung up amidst the distractions of war; and that a strict regulation could not be observed, whilst military exigencies daily extorted the most licentious deviations and dispensations from it. Nor was there any one who did not plainly see, that the best way to obtain peace, was to lay a foundation to carry on a vigorous war, that so, when they had recovered their reputation and retaken the towns that were lost, the two Crowns might consent to an accommodation with equal honour. But if the remedy was obvious, the means of administring it were very difficult: for the whole kingdom was so exhausted and weakened, that the people could contribute but little to the King's assistance, who, in order to support the armies already on foot in *Dauphinè* and *Bretagne*, and to raise a still more powerful one in *Picardy*, was under a necessity of having recourse to *England* and *Holland* for large supplies of men, money, and ammunition (if no other expedient could be thought of) which he would be obliged to purchase at a very dear rate: and though it was hoped, that the provinces which had not been so much harrassed as the rest, might, with due regulation, be able to

1596. raise something considerable, yet even that required a length of time which the present necessities and the exigencies of a war would not admit of. However, as it absolutely behoved them to exert their utmost efforts upon this emergency, the whole Assembly cheerfully concurred in endeavouring to promote a reformation and redress of all abuses and grievances in the kingdom, and to make all possible provisions for carrying on the war.

1597. With these views, and deliberations ended the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-six: and though the Assembly continued sitting for some time in the beginning of the next, yet the reformation proposed went on but slowly and in a feeble manner: for affairs were so circumstanced, and the times such as would not admit of rigorous measures: the expences of the King's houshold, indeed, were lessened, some unnecessary offices abolished, and the pensions of particular men curtailed, but in such a manner, that the finances were not much increased by it. The supplies raised for the King himself were more considerable; for the payment of the Crown debts was suspended for two years, but without prejudice to the creditors: an additional duty was laid, by the consent of the people, upon salt, one of the principal revenues of the kingdom: all those that had been guilty of peculation, or unjustly seizing upon lands or other effects forfeited to the treasury, were obliged, by a severe edict, to a restitution; not only of the principal, but of the interest and profits of monies and possessions so usurped, which brought in very considerable sums: and, finally, many of the Clergy and Treasurers voluntarily engaged themselves to contribute a certain sum of money, though no very large one.

But after the King, who was then indisposed, had dismissed the Assembly at *Rouen*, and was come into the neighbourhood of *Paris*, to take proper means for the recovery of his health, that so, when he was got well again, he might be able to undergo the fatigue of arms as soon as the season would permit, a sudden and important accident revived the war, before the time he had designed to take the field. *Hernando Tellez Portocarrero*, a man of small bodily stature, but of great spirit and courage, was made Governor of *Dourlans* when it was taken by the *Spaniards*, and had not only given remarkable proofs both of his valour and prudence through the whole course of the war, but at that time stood upon the watch to take the advantage of any opportunity that should offer of distinguishing himself by some new exploit. This commander had lately began to make his addresses to an exceeding rich widow who lived in the country (as widows usually do in *France*) and was very desirous of marrying her: but whenever he made any proposals to her of that kind, she constantly answered, "That as she was a subject of the King of *France*,

France, and he a soldier in his Catholick Majesty's service, it would not be decent to comply with his sollicitations, at a time when those two Princes were engaged in a war with each other, but that she should have no objection to such a match, provided he would either deliver up *Dourlans* to the King of *France*, or reduce *Amiens* (in which city she was born) to acknowledge the King of *Spain* as its Sovereign. This declaration had such an effect upon *Portocarrero*, who, besides his ambition to serve his Prince, was animated by his affection to the Lady, and the hopes of obtaining so large a dowry, that he began to consider how he might make himself master of *Amiens*: and having had some conversation about it with one * *Dameline*, a man that was banished out of the town, he was informed that the townsmen had refused to receive a garrison of soldiers, and kept a very strict guard in the night, but a careless one by day; upon which he thought it would be no difficult matter to take it by surprize. But when he afterwards heard that there were fifteen thousand men in the city, well provided with arms, and ready to assemble upon the least commotion, he was long in doubt whether he should attempt an enterprize that seemed so difficult: and he was still more discouraged at the intelligence which he received, that three thousand *Swiss*, who were sent by the King to convoy a great quantity of ammunition and artillery into the city for the demands of the approaching war, had taken up their quarters and staid in the neighbouring villages. He resumed his design, however, when he was told, that the Count *De St. Paul* had ordered them to withdraw to a greater distance, at the importunate requests of the citizens: and was the more determined to persist in it by a desire of making himself master of the provisions that had been sent into the city. For this purpose, he ordered *Francisco del Arco* (a serjeant, whose fidelity he had experienced upon many occasions) to go into the city in disguise, and diligently observe the occupations of the citizens, and the manner of keeping their guards. The report that *Del Arco* made was very favourable to his design: for the citizens, he said, were employed all the day in following their necessary concerns, and those few who had the charge of guarding the gates, shut themselves up in a room there, to enjoy the benefit of a fire in that cold season of the year, so that the gates for the most part were deserted by every one, except a centinel, who stood at the palisadoes. Being confirmed in his resolution therefore by this account, he sent the same serjeant to desire a commission and supplies of men from the Cardinal Archduke, to enable him to go upon this enterprize; and the Archduke, readily consenting that he should undertake a thing that appeared so likely to succeed, dispatched orders for the garrisons of *Cambray*, *Calais*, *Bapaulme*, and *Castelet*, to hold detachments in readiness to march towards *Dourlans*, and to act as they should

* The *French* says, *Du Meulin*.

be

1597. be commanded by *Portocarrero*, as ſoon as ever they received notice from him ſo to do.

Having therefore made all neceſſary preparations, he ſent to order thoſe forces to be at *Orville*, a village about a league from *Dourlans*, on the evening of the 10th of *March*: upon which ſummons, ſix hundred horſe, led by *Girolamo Caraffa*, Marquis of *Montenegro*, and two thouſand foot of different nations, commanded by old *Spaniſh*, *Walloon*, and *Italian* officers, met there from ſeveral parts at the time appointed: and being only told, in general, by *Portocarrero*, that they muſt advance towards *Amiens*, they marched that way all night, the younger *Panure*, a *Walloon*, and *Inigo d'Ollava*, a *Spaniard*, who were privy to the whole deſign, leading the firſt troops, which arriving near the city before daylight in the morning, concealed themſelves behind ſome hedges there: which was alſo done by Captain *Fernando Dezza* and Captain *Boſloc*, when they came up with an hundred *Spaniſh* and as many *Iriſh* foot. *Portocarrero*, who commanded the main body himſelf, made an halt near the abbey of *St. Mary Magdalen*, above half a mile from the town: and after *Panure* had got up to the top of a tree, and made a ſignal to him, when it was light, that the gate was opened, and the hurry of thoſe that had been going in and coming out pretty well over, he ſent *Giovanni Battiſta Dugnano*, a *Milaneſe*, and ſerjeant *Del Arco*, to execute what had been agreed upon betwixt them.

Theſe two, with twelve others in company, were diſguiſed like peaſants, after the manner of that country, in long frocks, ſome of cloth, ſome of linen, under which, each of them had a brace of ſhort piſtols and a dagger. Four of them drove a cart with three horſes faſtened to the ſhafts in ſuch a manner, that by pulling out an iron pin they might be immediately looſed from the cart, which being loaded with thick pieces of wood covered with ſtraw, was ſent before, to ſtop under the portcullice and hinder it from ſhutting down. Behind the cart were four more of the company, with ſacks full of apples and nuts upon their ſhoulders, followed by the other ſix, one by one, and laſt of all came up ſerjeant *Dugnano*, brother to the Captain, with a great ſtake upon his ſhoulder. It was already prayer-time, and as it then happened to be the ſeaſon of *Lent*, moſt of the people were gone to their ſeveral churches, and had left but few to guard the gates, when the firſt party entered the paliſadoes with their cart, and going on till they came directly under the portcullice, for the purpoſe before-mentioned, one of the ſecond company fell down, as if it was by chance, and ſcattered his apples and nuts upon the ground: upon which, many of thoſe that were upon guard ran eagerly to gather them up, and the reſt laughing and making game of the ſuppoſed peaſant, took no notice of the cart, from which the horſes

were

were inſtantly looſed, leſt they ſhould be frighted at the buſtle and draw it too far: ſo that the middle of the gate was blocked up in ſuch a manner, that the portcullice could not be let down. Thoſe that came laſt to the paliſadoes diſpatched the centinel that was poſted there, and the reſt immediately taking their weapons in hand, fell furiouſly upon thoſe that were ſcrambling for the apples and nuts; and having killed ſome of them, drove the reſt into the guard-room where the fire was, and ſhut them ſo cloſe up there, that the firſt companies of foot had time to come up without oppoſition to the very gate. Upon this, the centinel, who was on the top of the gate-way, hearing the uproar that was below, preſently cut the ropes of the portcullice, which being made of ſeveral bars, and not all of one piece, two of the bars broke through the bottom of the cart, but the other three were ſuſpended, and left room enough for two men to enter a-breaſt. Through that paſſage the commanders and officers advanced compleatly armed, and after them above an hundred ſoldiers, before any ſuccour arrived from the city: at laſt the people, coming up from all ſides, would have defeated the aſſailants (amongſt whom *Dugnano* was killed by a large wound on the head) if *Panure* had not opportunely come in with his *Walloons*, and Captain *Boſtoc* with the *Iriſh*, who broke down the bars of the portcullice and removed all impediments: after which the people, who ran tumultuouſly thither without either order or commander, being driven back and diſperſed with the loſs of above eighty citizens, there was no further reſiſtance made: for the Count *De St. Paul*, who was in the town without any garriſon, at the firſt rumour of the ſurpriſal got out of the *Porte de Beauvais* and made his eſcape. *Fernando Dezza* entered immediately after the firſt, and laſt of all *Portocarrero* himſelf with the main body, who kept the ſoldiers from ſtraggling about to plunder; not only for fear of the people, which was much ſuperior in number to his forces, but becauſe he was alſo apprehenſive that the King's troops, which were not far off, might make an attempt to recover the town whilſt they were ſo employed. But the people, who had been too valiant before they were in danger, and too abject when it came upon them, diſpirited by ſo unexpected an event, tamely laid down their arms: and the King's cavalry, which had advanced up to the very walls, having met the Marquis *De Montenegro* with his horſe there, and finding nothing was to be done, retired to their former quarters, without making any further attempt.

1597.

The news of this loſs affected the King ſo deeply, that, without any further regard to his health, he broke off the courſe of phyſick he had begun, and poſted with all haſte into *Picardy*, attended only by thoſe that were then about his perſon, being confirmed more than ever in his former opinion, that wherever he was not immediately preſent himſelf, every thing

1597. thing was carried on with careleſſneſs and ill ſucceſs: and paſſing with great hazard through a country, in all parts of which a victorious enemy was roving about, he arrived at *Corbie*, where the Marſhal *De Biron* was, being reſolved, or rather excited by deſpair, to begin the war again, let what would be the event, and to expoſe himſelf to any danger whatſoever, in going upon ſome enterpriſe, though never ſo unlikely to ſucceed; ſince he plainly ſaw, that nothing was ſo prejudicial to his affairs as idleneſs, nor any thing more beneficial than action.

The neighbouring provinces and towns were likewiſe no leſs alarmed, and particularly *Paris*, which was not above twenty-eight leagues from *Amiens*, through a flat open country without any fortreſs in the road: ſo that the people were in very great dread, leſt the *Spaniards*, elated with their ſucceſs, ſhould advance to ravage the country and cut off the paſſage of proviſions, whilſt the King had no army on foot to oppoſe their progreſs: and the bitter remembrance of their late ſufferings, yet freſh in their minds, made the danger appear more terrible and nearer at hand than it really was. The whole country, therefore, was in an uproar, the common people frighted, the Nobleſſe outrageous, and many there were that openly murmured againſt the King, and ſaid that he only ſhewed his valour in civil wars, but gave way in all places to the diſcipline, policy, bravery, and vigilance of foreigners: others took ſtill greater freedoms, and exclaimed againſt his manner of life, complaining, that he had entirely given himſelf up to the allurements of Madame *Gabriele*, and retired to paſs his time voluptuouſly with her, whilſt an active and watchful enemy was daily making vigorous attempts upon ſome or other of the principal cities of the kingdom. And indeed what they ſaid was not without ſome appearance of truth: for the King having publickly ſhewn to how great a degree he was enamoured of that Lady, by cauſing the baptiſm of a daughter which he had by her, to be celebrated in a royal manner, in the face of the Aſſembly at *Roüen*, had retired with her alone to *St. Germains*, *St. Maur*, and other private places of pleaſure near the city: ſo that thoſe who did not know the real neceſſity he was under of taking phyſick at that time, imputed all to a love of eaſe and effeminate dalliance.

The King was not ignorant of theſe popular clamours, and was ſo ſtung with them, that he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to clear himſelf of ſuch imputations, both by letters and publick declarations, attributing the loſs of *Amiens* to the obſtinacy of the citizens, who never would admit a garriſon, to which he would not force them, becauſe that city had but lately come over to him, and he was unwilling the people ſhould have any reaſon to think he deſigned to break his word and violate their privileges. He likewiſe repreſented, that it was not love of pleaſure, but the

care of his health, which was abſolutely neceſſary, that had induced him to retire and take proper remedies, though the ſeaſon was at that time extremely cold, that ſo he might be able, as ſoon as poſſible, to conduct the courſe of the war in perſon. And as to the reproach, that he only knew how to make civil war, he anſwered, that he had twice engaged the Duke of *Parma*; and deſired it might be remembered in what manner he had behaved, the year before, againſt the Conſtable of *Caſtile's* army, in which enterprizes, whatever his detractors might ſay to the contrary, he had ſhewn as much vigilance and military diſcipline, as the temper of the *French* Nobleſſe and the nature of times and occaſions would allow.

But he did not content himſelf with apologies only; for though he had not above four thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, he determined to advance and lay ſiege to *Amiens*. And as he reſolved to leave no means untried to recover that city, he thought it the beſt way to begin to diſtreſs it as ſoon, and in as effectual a manner, as lay in his power, that ſo thoſe that had the government of it might neither have time nor conveniency to lay in a quantity of proviſions, ſufficient to ſupport ſuch a multitude of inhabitants as continually reſided in that town. With this reſolution he left *Corbie*, and having paſſed the river *Somme*, encamped his army in the mid-way betwixt *Amiens* and *Dourlans*, to cut off the commerce and mutual aſſiſtance which thoſe two places afforded each other: and leaving orders with Marſhal *Biron* to proſecute the ſiege with more vigour, according as he was daily reinforced with freſh ſupplies, he gave himſelf no reſt, but was poſting day and night from one fortified town to another, drawing both horſe and foot out of the garriſons to augment his army as much as poſſible, and at laſt returned to *Paris*, to haſten the neceſſary preparations that were making there, and to raiſe money ſufficient to go on with the ſiege, which, at that time, was the object upon which he turned all his care and attention.

The city of *Amiens* is ſituated upon the river *Somme*, which, being divided into many branches, runs through the midſt of the town, and ſurrounds and waſhes the walls in many places. On one ſide, it has the large caſtle of *Pequigny*, and *Corbie* on the other: the caſtle four leagues, and the town ſeven diſtant from it. The city is encompaſſed with thick and well laid out walls, flanked with their baſtions and ravelines; more or leſs, according to the diſtance of the river from it: and though it is very well fortified in all parts, yet it is the ſtrongeſt, and laid out with the greateſt art, on the ſide that lies beyond the main river courſe, and looks towards *Flanders*. There the King propoſed to ſit down, not only to prevent all communication with *Dourlans*, but alſo becauſe he intended to fortify the quarters of his army in ſuch a manner, and inveſt the town

1597. so closely with trenches and forts, that, though the Cardinal Archduke should take the field with a powerful army, he would not be able to relieve it, when he found it so effectually blockaded on that side. But the Marshal *De Biron*, not having yet strength enough to open the trenches, had taken post with the vanguard in the abbey of *St. Mary Magdalen*, and extended himself with the rest of his forces upon the road to *Dourlans*, breaking up and scouring the highways with his cavalry, and preventing all manner of provisions or relief from getting into the city.

On the other hand, *Portocarrero*, though besieged much sooner than he expected, having sent serjeant *Del Arco* to the Archduke at *Brussels*, to acquaint him of this event, and to demand succours, applied himself, with his usual diligence, to repair the fortifications, and to provide against all other events: and when he saw the *French* encamp so near, he resolved to harrass them with sallies whilst they were yet weak, and oblige them to remove further off. On the 13th of *March*, therefore, in the morning, he ordered the Marquis *De Montenegro* to march out and attack the vanguard, which was quartered in the abbey; and the Marquis, having sent fifty *Walloon* horse before him to fall upon the first corps de garde, consisting of twenty men, followed them himself so close with two hundred other horse, that, after he had dispersed the corps de garde and taken some prisoners, he suddenly advanced to the quarters of the *French*: from whence four hundred horse sallying out to receive the charge, there ensued a long skirmish, that lasted, without much advantage on either side, till the Marquis began to give way, in order to draw the enemy after him into an ambuscade amongst some hedges, where Captain *Inigo d'Ollava* lay with two hundred *Spanish* foot. But the Sieur *De Montigny*, who commanded the *French*, having pursued them close at the heels as far as the hedges, made a short stop there, for fear of some ambush that might be laid in so convenient a place: upon which the skirmish ended, and both parties retired, without having effected any thing of moment.

The next day the Marquis made another sally, with three hundred light horse and one hundred lances; but the skirmish increasing and growing very hot, as numbers of harquebusiers came up on each side, the *French* did not think proper to advance any further towards the hollow ways near the walls, nor durst the *Spaniards* come any nearer the abbey, both the commanders being afraid of some snare. *Portocarrero* then had recourse to another expedient, to prevent himself from being molested any longer by so near an approach of the *French* vanguard, and began to batter the abbey with several culverines, of which he found great plenty in the city, and kept so incessant a fire upon it, that there was no maintaining that post; so that the vanguard was obliged to retire to a village farther off, from whence indeed they had as good an opportunity of obstructing the

1597.

the roads, but gave the besieged more convenience to provide themselves with sand, fascines, and other things necessary to throw up new works.

In the mean time, the Cardinal Archduke had been making diligent preparations to throw succours into the town, before the *French* army was reinforced: in consequence of which, *Juan de' Gusman*, being sent from the territory of *Cambray* with four companies of harquebusiers, but all mounted, and three hundred light horse, marched all night, that he might be able to reach the gates of the city early in the morning, as he luckily did, under the favour of a dark and cloudy night, and because the *French*, though they had intelligence of his design, did not expect his arrival before the next evening. But an unseasonable piece of vanity had like to have overset this enterprize, so fortunately conducted to the very point of execution. For as soon as he saw himself near the city, he ordered his trumpets to sound, and fired a volley of small arms, by way of triumph: at which alarm, the *French*, who were ready under arms, ran so furiously to charge them, that the two parties being immediately and closely engaged, the garrison durst not fire their artillery upon them, for fear of destroying their own friends, who, being obliged to give way to larger numbers, had retreated, still fighting, to the covert way, and there would have been totally routed and cut off, if *Fernando Dezza*, who defended that post, had not fired upon them all without distinction, and forced the *French* to retire: after which, the harquebusiers that came to the relief of the town dismounted and leaped into the fosse, and the Marquis *De Montenegro*, making a sally at the same time with his horse, when the *French* were drawing off, bravely drove them back again as far as the abbey. In this manner these succours got into the town, with the loss of about forty men; which yet was not inconsiderable, as *Ruggiero Taccone* was wounded in the left leg, and *Fernando Dezza* killed by a musket-ball which he received in the head. But what made this relief still more important, was, that *Frederico Pacciotto* (brother to *Guidobaldo*, who was slain at the siege of *Calais*, and an engineer of very great skill and experience) a man much wanted by the Commanders to overlook the fortifications, entered at the same time, with various sorts of necessary provisions, and a large sum of money.

Whilst they were thus engaged under the walls of *Amiens* in frequent and bloody skirmishes, and the attention of every one was turned that way, the Marshal *De Biron*, watching all opportunities of taking any advantage, resolved to give a sudden scalado to *Dourlans*, and having caused a great number of ladders to be made, he ordered the Sieur *De Montigny*, who commanded the light horse, to lead the foot of the rear guard upon that enterprize, and he himself, after he had been scouring about and skirmishing before the walls of *Amiens*, that the enemy might

1597. not take notice of the leſſening of his army, marched the ſame way to ſupport his firſt detachment, with ſixty cuiraſſiers and his own troop of horſe. About two hours before day, the Sieur *De Fleſſan* on one ſide, and the Sieur *De Fouqueroles* on the other, both Captains of the regiment of *Picardy*, followed by two hundred *Swiſs*, clapped the ſcaling-ladders to the walls of *Dourlans*, which being found much too ſhort, the attempt proved ineffectual, and the aſſailants, without ſuſtaining any loſs, or doing the enemy the leaſt damage, returned the next day to their old quarters before *Amiens*.

But the Marſhal *De Biron*, exceedingly chagrined at this diſappointment, being reinforced by four thouſand *Engliſh* (which Queen *Elizabeth*, after many delays, had at laſt ſent to the King's aſſiſtance, in conſequence of the confederacy lately concluded betwixt them) and by many other troops of horſe and companies of foot, that had come in with great expedition from ſeveral parts, reſolved to encamp nearer the city, and when he had fortified his quarters, to ſhut up all the avenues to it on the other ſide of the river in the ſame manner. His army amounted to twelve thouſand effective men, but he, by his diligence, courage, and vigilance, made it appear much larger: for he was gallant in action, circumſpect in all his proceedings, and indefatigable in his duty, and rigorous in exacting that from others which he did not fail to perform himſelf. Theſe qualities he now exerted to the utmoſt, as he was piqued at the King's reproach, who he heard had publickly ſaid, "That where he was not preſent himſelf, every thing was conducted either with little good fortune or much negligence." The Marſhal, therefore, who thought ſeveral victories that had been obtained were chiefly owing to his good conduct and perſonal courage, now ſeeing that honour called in queſtion which he imagined juſtly due to him, and being a man of infinite pride, was provoked to the higheſt degree, and laboured with all his power to effect ſomething extraordinary, the ſucceſs of which might ſeem to be wholly owing to his own valour and conduct, and not to any directions or aſſiſtance of the King: for which purpoſe, though the number and reſolution of the beſieged were ſuch as required a much larger army to diſtreſs them effectually, yet he was determined to attempt it with what forces he had.

The firſt thing that he did then, was to throw a bridge over the *Somme* at the village of *Long Pré*, about half a league above the town, which he fortified with a half moon on each ſide of the river, that he might at the ſame time ſecure a free paſſage for himſelf both above and below the city, and hinder the enemy from getting over at the place where the ſtreams divide themſelves, to relieve the beſieged on that ſide which was not yet blocked up. Beſides theſe fortifications, a trench was begun within

within a quarter of a league of the town, near the bank of the river, which extending itself in the form of a half-moon, took in the whole plain, and ended at the bank of the river again about the same distance below the town: and this trench was divided into seven parts, by as many royal forts, which being well furnished with small pieces of artillery, scoured and flanked the trench, and entirely commanded the field. Another such a trench, though of a much larger range, with the same number of forts, blocked up the passage from *Dourlans*, and the roads that led through the territory of *Cambray* into *Flanders*: and on that side the trench was deeper, and the works a great deal higher than on the other, to defend them in the rear, in case of any attack from the *Spaniards*. The whole army was employed in these works, with a vast number of pioneers, who being forced in by *Biron's* rigour and severity, wrought day and night for little or no wages.

1597.

The besieged were no less resolute and industrious; for, watching all opportunities, they sallied every hour either on horseback or on foot, and keeping the whole camp in continual motion, interrupted the progress of their works, and did them much damage, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another. The skirmish was very sharp and bloody that happened on the 24th of *May*, at which time the Marquis and *Portocarrero* sallied out different ways, each with three hundred horse and as many foot: and whilst *Portocarrero* made a furious attack upon the enemy on the lower side, the Marquis advanced towards *Longpré*, and passing along the side of the trench, which was not yet finished, threw those that guarded it into very great confusion, and would have demolished the half-moon there, and nailed up three pieces of cannon that were in it, if the Sieur *De Montigny* had not hasted thither with the light horse, and courageously opposed him. In the mean time the Marshal *De Biron* endeavoured to possess himself of the pass betwixt his trench and the river, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat; but when he had advanced that way on a round trot with several troops of horse, he found that *Diego Darando*, *Francisco del Arco*, and Captain *Falme* an *Irishman*, had secured that post, to facilitate the retreat of their own men. So that there ensued a more furious skirmish at that place than the other: for the infantry, taking the advantage of the hedges and ditches (of which they found many there) exceedingly galled the *French* cavalry: and the Marquis having faced about, attacked the Marshal's troops in the flank and rear in such a manner, that, being enclosed, as it were, betwixt two fires, they had certainly been defeated, if the rest of the cavalry, led by the Commendatory *De Chartres*, had not come up with all speed to disengage them. But at his arrival, the *Spanish* foot giving way on one hand, and the

1597. the Marſhal retiring on the other, both parties drew off about ſun-ſet, leaving many of each ſide dead upon the ſpot.

On the 7th of *June* the King arrived in the camp, to the great mortification of Marſhal *De Biron*, who was very deſirous to have finiſhed the lines of circumvallation before he came: ſo that when he ſaw Madam *Gabriele* there too, he ſaid publickly, "He ſuppoſed ſhe was the proſperity and good genius which the King had brought along with him;" nor would it have been an eaſy matter to pacify him, if the King, after viewing the trenches himſelf, had not only highly commended his ſkill and diligence, but alſo given orders that he ſhould command the army, and direct all the military operations in as ample a manner as he had done before his coming. After which, his Majeſty, attended by ſeveral of the Princes, took up his quarters in the abbey, where, though it was in a ruinous condition, there were yet ſome apartments entire: nor could he be prevailed upon to remove from thence, notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* kept a very heavy and inceſſant fire of their artillery upon it. The High Conſtable, the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the Prince of *Jainville*, lodged themſelves in the forts, and the Marſhal *De Biron* in a hermitage within muſket-ſhot of the counterſcarp, intending to begin his approaches on that ſide as ſoon as he had ſufficiently fortified his camp, in which he raiſed huts covered with boards, to ſhelter his men from the rain and bad weather, ſince the King had determined, in a council of war, to approach by ſapping, though it was the moſt tedious way, that he might not expoſe his forces in aſſaults, to the great peril of their lives; of whom the war had already ſwallowed up ſuch numbers, that it was neceſſary to proceed with the utmoſt caution, at a time when the kingdom was almoſt exhauſted of private men, and the Nobleſſe much reduced.

The pay of the army, now many of the old miniſters were removed, paſſed through the hands of Monſieur *D'Inquerville*, Superintendant of the finances, who was aſſiſted by the aſſiduous and unwearied endeavours of *Villeroy*, Secretary of State: the latter having, in a great meaſure, laid aſide all other concerns, on purpoſe to apply himſelf to this, in order to prevent the Commanders from practiſing any frauds that might increaſe the ſcarcity of money, which was already very great, and that the diminution or augmentation of the army being certainly known from day to day, ſuch only might be paid as were actually muſtered. Nor was there ever ſuch a degree of exactneſs ſeen in times paſt: for the ſoldiery till then, had, for the moſt part, ſupported themſelves upon plunder and free quarters, without any pay: but now the country was every where drained and laid waſte, and the foot in particular were obliged to work continually and keep in their trenches, it was neceſſary they ſhould be

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duly paid, which, with other contingencies and provisions for the siege, amounted to above three millions of ducats. 1597.

The artillery was under the command of Monsieur *De St. Luc*, who, excited by his own natural ardour and the example of Monsieur *De la Guiche* his predecessor, exerted himself to the utmost upon all emergencies, in which the *Swiss* and the *English* were also more alert than any of the other forces: for the *French* infantry, except the regiment of *Picardy* and that of *Navarre*, entirely consisted of raw new-raised men, and such as had not been inured to labour and fatigue, or to lie in the field: and yet the season was so healthful, and the care of the Commanders so great in providing all manner of necessary conveniencies, that very few died, and not many were sick. The light horse, commanded by the Sieur *De Montigny*, were quartered in the rear of the army, from whence they made large excursions to bring in provisions, and harrassed all the country round to the very gates of *Dourlans*; and as *Ludovico Melzi* had lately entered that town with ten troops of horse, there often happened sharp and bloody skirmishes betwixt the two parties.

The besieged, in the mean time, were not idle in their endeavours to interrupt the approaches of the enemy, and in beating up their quarters, notwithstanding the *French* army was increased to the number of eighteen thousand effective men: and though the town (whatever might be the occasion) was full of distempers, which still became more contagious and pestilential every day, as the weather grew hotter, yet the resolution of the Commanders and the spirit of the private men overcame all difficulties: for they continued their sallies as usual, and kept an incessant fire from their artillery, which made great havock: and one of the heavy shot falling into a gallery, directly over the King's apartments, filled it so full of dust and rubbish, that if the floors had not been very strong, both he and all his attendants must certainly have perished under the ruins.

Besides these preparations on the outside, there were also secret practices carrying on within the town: for a *Burgundian* Captain having got into it in the habit of an *Augustine* Friar, not only prevailed upon those Fathers to receive some other armed men into their convent, but also got a promise from some of the *Walloons* to open one of the gates that was furthest from the works, as soon as it should be their turn to be upon guard there: but whilst they were endeavouring to draw others into their design, it came to the ears of the Governor, who having caused nine of the accomplices to be hanged, imprisoned most of the Friars, and placed strict guards on the convent. This accident increased the duty of the besieged: for as they found they could not confide in the people, amongst whom they thought there were many other accomplices in this conspiracy;

1597. racy, they were forced, whenever they made a ſally, to patroll the town at the ſame time with ſtrong guards, to prevent any inſurrection, and when an alarm was given, they always manned the ſtreets as well as the fortifications. But notwithſtanding all theſe impediments, they omitted no opportunity of ſallying, rightly judging, that this was the moſt proper way to retard the King's approaches, and give the Cardinal Archduke time to draw an army together for their relief.

On the other hand, whilſt one ſide was thus intent to carry on the approaches, and the other to prevent them, the Marſhal *De Biron* reſolved to make a ſudden effort to carry the city by ſurpriſe. For this purpoſe, on the 21ſt of *June* in the night, which proved dark and cloudy, he ordered two Captains to advance ſilently with ſome foot and get into the foſſe; from whence they threw ſeveral ſauciſſes with lighted fuſes into the embraſures and caſemates, which ſoon took fire and alarmed the guards. But as they had not been able to fix them in a proper manner, or to aim them right, and they did not go off all together, they made ſome noiſe indeed in their exploſion, but did very little execution: for they only demoliſhed part of the facing of the wall, blew up ſome ſmall turrets, and killed three centinels: ſo that the Captains ſeeing no breach made that was practicable, and ſhowers of fireworks poured from all ſides into the foſſe, immediately retired, leaving many ſauciſſes behind them, which, on account of the powder they contained, were of great ſervice to the beſieged. Sauciſſes are long ſacks of leather full of gunpowder, with a fuſe, ſo primed as to go off at a certain time, and operate like a mine or a petard, but in a much weaker degree.

So narrow an eſcape determined the beſieged to guard the counterſcarp more carefully for the future: for which purpoſe, they poſted two companies of *Spaniards* and two others of *Walloons* there, who were relieved day and night; beſides which, all the caſemates in the foſſe had ſtrong parties placed over them, and were ſo ſtrictly guarded, that afterwards, when the Colonel of the *Navarreſe* regiment advanced to make another attempt with ſauciſſes, near the raveline of the gate that looks toward *Longpré*, he was driven back with ſome loſs from the entrance of the counterſcarp.

In the mean time the Marſhal fortified the hermitage, with a deſign to begin two trenches of approach from thence; but the Marquis *De Montenegro*, being reſolved to hinder that as much as poſſible, made a ſally on the 29th with four hundred horſe, ſupported by two hundred *Iriſh* and *Italian* foot, and advancing directly to the hermitage, began ſo furious a ſkirmiſh with thoſe that were at work there, that the Marſhal himſelf was obliged to enter into the action with his own troop: nor would that have been ſufficient to repulſe the enemy, if the Count *D'Auvergne* had

not

not come up with a ſtrong troop of horſe to his ſuccour. At his arrival the Marquis began to retire, ſtill fighting: but his foot bravely advancing, and poſting themſelves in the hollows of the field, galled the *French* cavalry to ſuch a degree, that they were forced to retire without attacking them. About two hundred of the Marſhal's men were ſlain in this encounter, and of the Marquis's not above ten.

1597.

The night following the Marſhal laid an ambuſh of two hundred *French* foot in the ruins of St. *John's* church, which, together with the ſuburbs, had in a great meaſure been demoliſhed by the beſieged from the beginning: and in the morning ſtood with his horſe ready drawn up to receive the enemy if they ſhould make a ſally as uſual. Upon which the Marquis, coming out with a number equal to what he had the day before, inadvertently fell into the ambuſh: yet he was not diſmayed, but kept his men cloſe together, and endeavoured to make as good a retreat as he could. But the Marſhal advancing out of his quarters, attacked him in the rear, and made him face about again, which brought on ſo cloſe an engagement, that the Marquis, overpowered with numbers, and charged both in flank and front, would certainly have been cut off, with all his men, if the Governor had not made a ſally with the reſt of the horſe to diſengage him: for which purpoſe, having diſpatched two troops of cuiraſſiers and one of lances before him, the action grew very hot, and they fought deſperately on both ſides for a conſiderable time: but a body of *Engliſh* coming up at laſt, the *Spaniards* were repulſed and forced to retire as faſt as they could to the counterſcarp. Seventy of the beſieged were ſlain that day, and amongſt the reſt *Juan Guſman*, a cavalier of a very noble family, who had conducted the late ſuccours that got into the town.

Notwithſtanding this check, they made another ſally the next day, in which they charged the foot that were at work about the hermitage, and killed many of the ſoldiers and pioneers: but ſeeing four troops of horſe and a battalion of the *Engliſh* advancing toward them, they retired without attempting any thing further at that time. The ſallies, however, continued ſo frequent on the following days, that the works proceeded very ſlowly: but on the 5th of *July*, the Marſhal, having laid two ambuſhes in the field, ſurrounded the ſalliers in ſuch a manner, that the party commanded by *Diego Benavides* was totally defeated, and he himſelf, after he had loſt his enſign and ſerjeant, had much ado to make his eſcape: and *Ruggiero Taccone*, who followed him with the cavalry, being furiouſly repulſed and cloſe purſued, with much difficulty got ſafe at laſt under the ſhelter of the covert way.

By theſe misfortunes and the diſtempers which daily increaſed in the town, the ardour of the beſieged was ſo abated, that *Biron* had an oppor-

1597. tunity of planting eleven heavy pieces of cannon, with which he not only scoured the field, and hindered the enemy from sallying out of the counterscarp, but protected those that were working at the trenches. The besieged, therefore, seeing the works now advance very fast, resolved to interrupt them that were employed there by making another vigorous sally, in hopes of destroying what was done, and of nailing up the Marshal's artillery, that so it should not be able to annoy them again for some days. For this purpose, the Governor gave orders, that Captain *Diego Durando* and *Francisco del Arco* (who had also got a company) should be ready in the covert way, the first with two hundred *Spanish* foot, the other with the same number of *Italians* and *Walloons*: that two *Irish* Captains should be prepared to sally next, with three hundred foot of their nation: and that *Carlo de Sangro* should conduct the rear guard, consisting of eighty heavy armed foot, who were also to carry halberds. The Captains *Ruggiero Taccone* and *Francisco Fonte* were appointed to sally at the gate to which the enemy were carrying on their approaches, with each of them an hundred horse under his command, to support the infantry: and Captain *Simone Latro* was ordered to sally at the same time through the *Porte de Beauvais* with two hundred more horse, to give an alarm on the other side, and then to traverse the field and join the rest. About noon on the 17th of *July*, the Governor made a signal for the sally by firing a cannon: upon which, they all bravely advanced, *Durando* to the trench on the right hand, and *Del Arco* to that on the left, and made so fierce an attack there, that they presently routed and drove off the guards that defended them, and then fell upon the regiment of *Picardy*, before it had time enough to form itself in a proper manner to receive the charge: so that after they had cut off the first troops that advanced to oppose them, and laid the Captains *Flessan*, *La Viette*, and *Fouqueroles* dead upon the spot, they routed and dispersed the rest, whom they pursued to the very redoubts of the hermitage, where those that fled and the pursuers fell all together with such impetuosity upon the regiment of *Champagne*, which was upon guard there, that it was likewise thrown into great disorder and ran away to the parade in their rear, there to form again. During this general rout and confusion, the *Spanish* Commanders valiantly supported by their men, who filled the trenches with slaughter, had advanced close to the redoubts of the hermitage, which would have been abandoned, and consequently lost, if the Marshal *De Biron* with four officers of his own troop, and Captain *Francisco Benzi*, a *Florentine*, with some few other men that followed him, had not taken up pikes and ran to oppose the violence of the enemy: and though they made a desperate resistance in the narrow avenues of the redoubts, yet so few could not long sustain the weight of such numbers. Nor was it possible for any

relief

1597.

relief to come up; for the Marquis *De Montenegro*, *Ruggiero Taccone*, *Francisco Fonte*, and after them, Captain *Simone*, scouring the field, reduced every one to a necessity of defending his own post: so that the batteries of the hermitage and the Marshal himself were in the utmost danger, till the Prince of *Jainville*, who was in the nearest fort, seeing the extremity he was in, ran as fast as he could with an hundred men into those redoubts; but at their arrival there, *Sangro* resolutely advanced with his halberdiers, whose armour enabled them to do more effectual service, and gave the *French* such a rebuff, that they presently retired, though fighting, as far as their artillery. The Marshal *De Biron* in the mean time, all over blood and sweat, and with all the hair burnt off on the right side of his head, still kept making signals of his distress: upon which, the King, seeing no other remedy at hand, immediately leaped off his horse, and taking a pike in his hand, ran with those Gentlemen that were about his person, to defend the cannon: after whom the Counts *D'Auvergne* and *De St. Paul* hasting up one after another, with a great number of the Noblesse, who were come out of the abbey, the skirmish increased to such a degree that it looked like a general engagement, and lasted above two hours with great obstinacy on both sides, the King himself being at the head of his men: but at last, great numbers of the *French* pouring in, and the *Spanish* infantry finding themselves fatigued, and their strength failing under the weight of their arms in so hot a part of the day, began to retire, though softly, and in their retreat were pursued and hard pressed by the Prince of *Jainville*, who behaved very gallantly upon this occasion, and with a courage worthy of his birth. When they got out of the lines the battle was renewed; for the *Spanish* cavalry coming up to succour their friends, and charging the *French* in the flank, separated the Prince of *Jainville* and his party from the King, and the Marshal *De Biron* and their men, in such a manner, that their forces were divided into two bodies, and not able to assist, or even to see each other. In this extreme danger, however, they fought desperately, till the Duke of *Mayenne* opportunely came to their assistance with five or six hundred horse, who, notwithstanding an incessant fire from the artillery of the town, had passed through the field betwixt the trenches and the fosse, whither the *Spaniards*, now wearied out, began to retire, and were pursued close at the heels to the very counterscarp. It was a long while before the Prince of *Jainville* made his appearance; which gave the King so much uneasiness, that he stayed at the mouth of the trench, calling out aloud and earnestly enquiring after him: and indeed every one began to fear he was slain; but at last he returned with some few in his company, bruised and wounded, and covered all over with blood and dirt, which yet revived the drooping spirits of the army. The King lost

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1597. that day above nine hundred men, and of the *Spaniards* about ninety were left dead upon the field: the wounded were many, and those of the highest distinction in the *French* army, besides a number of private Gentlemen, amongst whom *Henry Davila* also, who wrote this history, was hurt with a partisan in the right knee.

The besieged were now so weakened by the loss they had sustained in this action, and several others before, and by the distempers, which daily grew more malignant, and at last became pestilential, that they could no longer continue their sallies with the same vigour: upon which account Captain *Falme*, an *Irishman*, and *Francisco del Arco*, raised a palisade round the covert way, to keep the enemy so much longer at bay, and to prevent them from coming near enough to annoy the counterscarp, which was maintained till the 1st of *August*. On that day, the trenches being brought up thither and ready to be opened, the besieged fastened two petards to the earth, which hardly now closed the mouths of them, and breaking through into them on a sudden, attacked those that were at work there and did some damage: but towards evening, the *French* having opened them in a regular manner, got possession of the counterscarp, where the *Spaniards* immediately sprung a mine and blew up above forty of them. The mouths of the trenches were fortified by the *French* that night, and the next morning they began to raise a large cavalier close by the right hand trench, to batter the fortifications and flanks of the bastions. On the following days, they endeavoured to destroy the casemates with fougades, saucisses, and other sorts of fireworks and contrivances, in which they were day and night continually employed: yet such was the resolution and vigilance of the besieged, that the enemy gained but very little ground in the course of many days. But after they had proceeded as far as they could by sap, and the galleries were already advanced to the very foot of the walls, Monsieur *De St. Luc* raised a battery of eight pieces of cannon, to play upon a raveline that covered the entrance of the bridge and gate, and the artillery kept a constant fire upon it till the 24th, upon which day the *English* and *French* made two separate assaults, and got possession of the raveline: but as the night was short, and they were so fatigued that they could not sufficiently cover themselves there, Captain *Durando* attacked them with so much vigour the next morning at the beating of the reveille, whilst great quantities of fireworks were thrown amongst them from the wall, and Captain *Ollava's* musketiers poured in continual vollies of small shot upon their flank, that they were obliged to quit that post: however, as it was soon totally demolished by the cavalier, now raised to a proper height, the *French* recovered it the same night, and the regiment of *Picardy* immediately encamped itself upon the spot. The Governor, therefore, upon this

this loſs, ordered Captain *Gagliego* to throw up a ſmall half-moon upon the edge of the rampart, with earth carried thither in ſcuttles and baſkets: and at the ſame time the Marquis *De Montenegro*, to delay the further approach of the enemy, cauſed a large trench to be drawn along the bank of a branch of the river, which on that ſide runs very near the wall, that ſo, though the firſt fortification was beat down, they might ſtill meet with ſufficient oppoſition at the others.

1597.

After this ſucceſs, the aſſailants endeavoured to make themſelves maſters of the great tower near the gate, which, after a furious battery, was aſſaulted on the 28th, and a mine ſprung at the ſame time that had been ſunk betwixt the tower and the wall, which made a very great breach and choaked up the avenue to the tower in ſuch a manner, that it was cut off from the city and deprived of all ſuccour. But Captain *Ollava*, with an enſign, who was upon guard there, bravely maintained it: whilſt the Marquis and Governor took no leſs pains to have the rubbiſh removed, in order to aſſiſt them: for which purpoſe, their men worked with ſuch diligence, that they cleared a paſſage before night, through which eighty *Iriſh* and as many *Italians* entered to relieve the former guards, who being fatigued with the defence, and roughly handled by the enemy, were obliged to retire. The ſap, however, at laſt effected what the valour and utmoſt efforts of the beſiegers could not, for in leſs than four days after, they were in poſſeſſion not only of the tower, but of the wall adjoining to it: not was it long before they got upon the rampart alſo, where, beſides the firſt half-moon raiſed by *Gagliedo*, *Federico Pacciotto* had likewiſe thrown up two others, juſt in the front of the aſſailants, which prevented them from advancing any further at that time.

During theſe operations, the King having received intelligence that Commiſſary *Contrera*, with ſeveral other commanders, had ſet out from *Doway* to reconnoitre his camp, and the roads to it, left the care of the army to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and went in perſon with Marſhal *Biron* and ſix hundred horſe, on the 29th of *Auguſt* in the evening, to meet them, ordering the Count *D'Auvergne* to follow him the next day with eight hundred horſe more. He himſelf led the way at the head of an hundred Gentlemen, and the Sieur *De Montigny* followed him at ſome diſtance with the reſt; in which manner he purſued his march till he arrived at the top of a hill about eight o'clock on the 31ſt in the morning, where he ſaw the enemy, who had ſuddenly come out of a wood, ready drawn up in his front. The ſpace betwixt them was but very ſmall, and he was determined not to retire: ſo that, as they were much ſuperior to him in numbers, he thought it neceſſary to ſhew ſo much the more courage, and having put down his beaver, advanced on a round trot to charge them.

1597. them. So bold a step had a very good effect; for the *Spaniards*, astonished at such an attack, and imagining the *French* would not have been so courageous if they had not a greater force near at hand, immediately wheeled about without making any resistance, and were pursued by the King till they came to a little river, that runs from *Miraumont*, and falls into the *Somme* near *Corbie*, which they passed in a precipitate manner, and afterwards taking several ways, escaped with much difficulty to *Bapaulme*, though they had only eleven men and a Captain of horse killed, and some few taken prisoners. But this did not wholly answer the King's design: for Count *Giacopo Belgioioso* and *Emanuello de la Vega*, who had but few men with them, having passed by him another way without being met or observed, got so near the camp, that they had a sufficient opportunity of taking particular notice of every thing, and returned with a very minute account of what they had seen, to the Cardinal Archduke.

The King at his return to the camp, expecting an army would now soon be sent to relieve the town, caused the works to be carried on with so much expedition, that on the 4th of *September* his forces made an attempt to storm the half-moons, which, though it did not succeed, was attended with very great prejudice to the garrison: for whilst the Governor *Portocarrero* was advancing to succour his men there, he received a musket-ball under his cuirass on the left side, and instantly dropped down dead upon the ground: which loss was very grievous indeed to the besieged, and even lamented by his enemies, who held his extraordinary valour in admiration.

The Marquis *De Montenegro* succeeded him in his command, and with equal courage and resolution assumed the charge of the defence: for the continuance of which *Alonso Rivera* and Captain *Durando* entered the half-moons; and on the other side, Monsieur *De St. Luc* with the regiment of *Navarre*, and the Marshal *De Biron* with a body of *English*, drew two trenches from the middle of the rampart, in order to make their approaches to the fortifications on each flank, and to come at the works in their front, where both the Marquis and *Federico Pacciotto* continually attended in person: and as the *French* infantry were in a great measure worn down by continual labour and hard duty, and many of them sick, the gens d'armes, cuirassiers, and light horse, chearfully undertook to do the same duty, working with spades and mattocks, and fighting with pikes and muskets. Whilst these trenches were carrying on, Monsieur *De St. Luc* going into the works to forward them, on the 8th of *September*, received a shot in the head from a harquebuss, and was carried dead into the camp: at which the King was exceedingly affected, as he had a very great esteem for him, on account of his valour

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and other good qualities: for beside his military skill and experience, he was a man of letters, of a graceful person, mature in council, bold in action, engaging in his conversation, and in every respect a most accomplished Gentleman. The works that were in the front of the trenches were stormed on the 12th, and though the assault lasted from sun-rise till two in the afternoon, yet the besiegers did not gain any advantage at all: but whilst they were preparing to redouble their attacks on the following days, in hopes of wearying out the besieged, the arrival of the *Spanish* army diverted their attention from these designs, and called them off to still more dangerous service.

The Cardinal Archduke had met with many difficulties in drawing an army together: for after the *Spanish* Ministers had revised the accounts of those that had lent money to the King, they treated them with such unseasonable rigour, that the merchants stopped their hands and would advance no more for the payment of his forces: so that it was very late before those that were to come out of *Italy* under the command of *Alphonso D'Avalos* could move: and those that were raised in *Germany* were slow in assembling. The Cardinal, however, having overcome all impediments by his wonderful diligence and application, reviewed his whole army at *Doway* (the appointed rendezvous) towards the end of *August*, which consisted of twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse: and though the States of *Holland* made a considerable progress in several parts, especially in *Friezland* and the county of *Brabant*, yet, as he either had such instructions from the court of *Spain*, or was more inclined to keep and defend what he himself had acquired during the time of his command, he resolved to postpone all other interests to the relief of *Amiens*: being likewise desirous to save the lives of so many brave men as were shut up in it, and hoping to get very great honour, if he could make the King of *France* retire, who lay before it with all the forces of his kingdom united.

With this resolution, having left *Doway* in the beginning of *September*, with a large train of artillery, and vast preparations of pontoons, carriages, and ammunition, he came to *Arras*; where, after he had considered the reports made by *Belgioioso* and *De la Vega*, he called a council of war to consult what were the most proper measures to be taken to relieve *Amiens*, or to raise the *French* army. Some advised him to pass the river with his army below *Corbie* and advance towards the east side of it, which was not invested by the King: for if he could throw a powerful relief into the city without resistance, he would have no occasion to hazard a battle, and the King's attempts being vigorously opposed by those fresh supplies, must of course prove ineffectual, especially as the winter was coming on. But the majority of the commanders were of opinion,

1597. opinion, that to march into a country now entirely laid waste and surrounded by so many of the enemy's towns, was to besiege themselves: for if the King, who was master of all the passes upon the river, should cut off their retreat, he would either starve them, or force them to some desperate resolution. These objections determined him to move directly towards the *French* camp by way of *Dourlans*, in hopes, that if the King should leave his camp and advance to meet him, he should find some opportunity of succouring the town: for which purpose he proceeded to *Dourlans* on the 12th of *September*, and there having gathered together a sufficient quantity of provisions, not only to support his own army, but to relieve the town also, if he could force a way into it, he began his march towards the enemy, early in the morning of the 14th.

The first troops of horse were led by *Ludovico Melzi* and *Ambrogio Landriano*, with the flying squadron betwixt them, consisting of four thousand *Spaniards* and *Italians*, under the command of *Diego Pimentello*: in the front of which were above two hundred officers armed with pikes and corslets. Three battalions of infantry came next, two of them *Spanish*, conducted by *Carlo Colombo* and *Ludovico Velasco*; and the third, of *Walloons*, which was in the center, headed by the Count *De Buquoy*. Then followed the main battle, in which were the Duke of *Aumale*, the Count *De Sore*, and the Prince of *Orange*. *Alonso Mendozza* brought up the rear with his squadron, which consisted of two *Spanish* regiments. The artillery was guarded by the three first squadrons, and on each flank of the army the baggage waggons were ranged and chained together, as the Duke of *Parma's* discipline had taught them. The office of Major-General was executed by *Peter Ernest* Count of *Mansfelt*, a grey headed venerable old man, who was obliged to take that charge upon him, as Monsieur *De Rhosne* was killed by a cannon-ball a few months before at the siege of *Hulst*: but not being able to ride on horseback, he was carried in an open litter. The Archduke likewise travelled in the same manner, attended by the Duke of *Arescot* and the High Admiral of *Arragon* to consult with upon occasion.

In the mean time the King, whose army was so increased by the arrival of the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpensier* with fresh forces, that it amounted to about nineteen thousand foot and above eight thousand horse, having put strong garrisons into *Corbie* and *Pequigny*, to obstruct the passage of the river, resolved, by the advice of Marshal *Biron*, to go and meet the enemy in the field with all his cavalry; for as he thought himself much superior to them both in the number and goodness of his horse, he judged it the best way to keep them at a distance from his infantry, in which he did not put much confidence. But whilst he was getting ready to take horse, the Duke of *Mayenne* came in, and being informed

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of the King's design, said loud enough to be heard by many, "That whosoever gave his Majesty such advice, did not know what sort of an enemy they had to deal with, and that if he ventured out with his cavalry only to engage a potent and veteran army, he would certainly be defeated, by which his infantry, being left destitute and exposed, would be cut off, his camp lost, so many toils and hardships undergone to fortify it, entirely thrown away, and his kingdom staked upon one single throw of the dice." And the King asking, "What then was to be done?" the Duke made answer, "That they were come thither to reduce *Amiens*, and ought to attend only to that, and keeping the army secure in their forts, leave the Archduke to run the risque of attacking and endeavouring to drive them from thence." But the King objecting, "That the enemy would then pass the river and relieve the besieged:" the Duke replied, "Your Majesty may be very easy about that matter, for they will neither pass the river, nor can they force these trenches." The King, therefore, to the great mortification of Marshal *Biron* (who was always inclined to bold undertakings) determined to stay where he was, and leave the defence of the camp to the conduct of the Duke of *Mayenne:* who presently ordered fifteen hundred foot to pass the river, under the command of Monsieur *De Vic*, to take possession of, and throw up a trench round a church which stood on the other side, a little more than a mile from the town: and having posted many corps de garde along the banks of the river, went himself to *Longpré* to fortify it in a better manner. The foot were stationed in the forts and trenches, and the cavalry drawn up in battalia, under the command of the guns upon their own works.

The Archduke lay that night with his whole army at *Betricourt* abbey, where he caused a general discharge of his artillery to be made, as a signal to the city that relief was at hand: and Monsieur *De Montigny*, who had been patrolling with the *French* light horse in the sight of the enemy, came into the camp about midnight, and having acquainted the King where the *Spaniards* lay, and that he supposed they would appear the next day, was ordered into his quarters to refresh the horse, which were not a little jaded with the duty of the two last days. The next day, which was the 15th of *September*, the first troops of the Archduke's army came in sight, about one in the afternoon; and having passed a water that was fordable two leagues above *Amiens*, left *Pequigny* upon the right hand, and bending their course towards the left, made a feint of marching directly to *Longpré*. Upon which, the suttlers and soldiers boys, and many others of that sort of people, who lodged there for greater convenience, took to their heels and ran to save themselves in the camp in so precipitate a manner, that the foot, who did not know *Montigny*

1597. had returned in the night, thought he had been routed, and was then flying before the enemy: which threw them into a pannic, and made them quit the trenches in ſuch haſte, that neither the Conſtable nor the Duke of *Eſpernon* could ſtop them from following their enſigns (who ran away faſter than any of the reſt) to the river, on that ſide which looks towards *Abbeville*.

By this time the *Spaniſh* flying ſquadron had advanced in ſight of the trenches, and the experienced officers that were in the front of it, perceiving this diſorder and the flight of the enſigns, ſhouted, *Victory*, *victory*, *battle*, *battle*. And though the Archduke heard their ſhouts, and was deſirous to have the trenches immediately aſſaulted, yet he at laſt reſolved to make a halt, by the perſuaſion of the Admiral of *Arragon* and the Duke of *Areſcot*, who adviſed him not to give way to the precipitation of the ſoldiery, who were always eager to engage without any conſideration, but to proceed with due caution, and firſt to reconnoitre the condition of the *French*.

But the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpenſier* taking advantage of this delay, extended the cavalry of the vanguard to hinder the enemy from ſeeing the trenches, and the cannoneers fired without intermiſſion, that the ſmoak might conceal the diſorder their men were in, and give them time to rally: whilſt the Marſhal *De Biron* galloped as faſt as he could from one place to another to make the infantry ſenſible of their error, and pointing with his finger, to ſhew them that the enemy had made a halt in the middle of the field, ſoon perſuaded them all to return to their poſts. In this manner the Archduke, by too much caution and circumſpection in his Counſellors, loſt the opportunity of gaining a glorious and compleat victory, which at his firſt appearance had been ſo obvious even to his private Captains.

The Marquis *De Montenegro* perceived the advantage as well as they, and was ready to have ſallied upon the *French* that were in the trenches in the foſſe, and upon the ramparts over-againſt his works: but he found that the regiment of *Navarre* that guarded them had not moved, and that the *Swiſs*, who were encamped ſomething lower, ſtood likewiſe firm in battalia.

The reſt of that day paſſed in various ſkirmiſhes in the field, which the King cauſed to be renewed with great vigour every hour, to keep the enemy in play, as he apprehended the Archduke had ſtill a deſign to attack his trenches: but the *Spaniſh* Commanders repreſented to him, that it was neceſſary in the firſt place to engage ſo great a ſtrength of cavalry that were drawn up on the outſide of the works, and defended by ſo many pieces of cannon, that it was in vain to think of defeating them: the breaſt-works and forts, they alſo ſaid, were ſo high, that they had

not ſeen ſtronger quarters for many years. It was therefore reſolved at night to make ſome other attempt, and on the 16th in the morning, the Count *De Buquoy* with his ſquadron, and a great number of boats carried upon waggons, advanced towards the bank of the river in order to paſs it: but the guards which the Duke of *Mayenne* had placed there gave them ſo warm a reception, that though the enemy made ſeveral attacks upon them in different places, and the *Walloons* were ſometimes very near ſucceeding in their deſign, yet after they had laboured all day to no purpoſe, they were at laſt forced to retire.

1597.

In the mean time the King had pretty well harraſſed them on the other ſide alſo, both with his cavalry and artillery; for having cauſed ſeven culverines to be drawn up to the top of an eminence in the rear of his vanguard, he played upon them from thence with ſuch effect, that the Cardinal having had two different ſets of mules killed by them, which were harneſſed to his litter, was obliged to mount a horſe, whilſt his cavalry were grievouſly galled on all ſides. The *Spaniſh* artillery likewiſe kept a conſtant fire; but as their elevation was too great, they did little or no execution. In the variety of ſkirmiſhes that continually happened in the field, it was obſerved, that when cuiraſſiers were engaged with cuiraſſiers, or carbines with carbines, the *French* almoſt always had the advantage: but when they were attacked by the *Flemiſh* and *Burgundian* gens d'armes, they were obliged to give way to the ſhock of the lances. To prevent this, which often proved fatal to the Nobleſſe, the King himſelf rode up to the head of his ſquadrons, and ordered the cuiraſſiers not to join ſo cloſe together as uſual when they ſkirmiſhed, but to leave a good ſpace open betwixt each other: and after this had been often tried, it was found, that when the lances did not meet ſo firm a reſiſtance, their impetuoſity had little effect: an expedient that was of very great ſervice, as they general ſkirmiſhed in ſmall troops, and in a field where they could eaſily open in that manner, and the enemy's lances were but few in compariſon of the *French* cavalry.

Towards the evening another trench was finiſhed, at which the Duke of *Mayenne* had laboured all that day, in order to block up the way to *Longpré*: ſo that now the Count *De Buquoy's* attempt had failed, and there was no longer any hope of paſſing the river, ſince neither *Longpré* had been aſſaulted, nor the King's quarters attacked the firſt day, the Commanders of the *Spaniſh* army (by whoſe advice the Cardinal Archduke was governed) determined to retire the ſame way they had advanced, before the proviſions which they brought with them were conſumed, and their army reduced to extremities: for the country was ſo deſolated, that for fifteen leagues round about them, there was nothing to be found that was fit for the ſuſtenance either of men or horſe.

 The

1597. The next morning it plainly appeared they had raised their camp, by the baggage and suttlers which covered all the road towards *Dourlans*: upon which the King, resolving not to let the enemy draw off unmolested, sent two squadrons of horse, flanked with two others of carbineers to fall upon them in the rear: but the sun being many hours high, when the army began to move, they saw them make their retreat in such admirable order, that, as their main design was to prosecute the siege of *Amiens*, the King himself thought it most prudent not to attempt any thing else; in which opinion all the rest of his Commanders concurred with him. The *Spanish* army had changed the order of its march, so that *Alonso Mendozza* now led the vanguard (if the first divisions that retire can be called a vanguard) and the flying squadron was the last in the rear guard to cover their retreat. The pikes were in the center of this, and a large wing of musketiers on each flank, which made a curve something like a crescent with its horns towards the enemy, so that they could not approach to charge it without first receiving a storm of musket-balls, and after that they had a firm battalion in front to encounter, which made a formidable appearance, brandishing their pikes, and seeming determined to give them a warm reception: and if any body of cavalry made a feint of attacking the wings of the squadron, *Melzi's* and *Landriano's* squadrons of horse presently advanced, which, with two bodies of lances flanked with carbines, were to sustain the shock, till the musketiers could have time to load again, and put themselves in order to return to the charge. In this manner the pikemen began their march with their pikes upon the left shoulder, and instantly facing about at any little beat of the drum, proceeded so leisurely, that it was above two hours before they had moved half a mile: in which time the King's light horse made several attacks upon them, but were always furiously repulsed by the last ranks of the flying squadron with considerable loss. At last Monsieur *De Montigny* having obtained leave to skirmish with them, the *Spanish* squadron made a halt every now and then, and poured in such showers of small shot upon his light horse, that they were forced to wheel off, and being vigorously charged at the same time by the carbines who sallied out of each flank, they were driven back even to the King's squadrons, which still gently advanced as the enemy retired, more for the reputation of the thing, than for any damage they were able to do them. Above forty of the light horse were killed, and many more wounded, amongst whom the Sieur *De Coquinvillier* received a musket-ball in the right arm. But after this last charge, the King's squadrons halted for a while, and the *Spaniards* quickened their pace till they were got out of cannon-shot, when they shouldered their pikes and muskets, and continued their march without further care or concern. However, when

when they arrived at a water which they were obliged to repaſs, the King himſelf puſhed forwards with all his cavalry, in hopes that impediment would have given him an opportunity of throwing them into diſorder: but the flying ſquadron inſtantly facing about, made a ſtand in their front till the reſt of the army was got over, and then paſſed the water themſelves up to the knees, without the leaſt impediment or confuſion in their ranks. So fine a retreat in the face of ſo many large and powerful ſquadrons of the enemy's horſe which covered the field, ſo aſtoniſhed the King, that he could not help publickly declaring, "That no other ſoldiers in the univerſe could have done the like: and that if he had their infantry joined to his own cavalry, he ſhould not be afraid of engaging the forces of all the Princes in the world united." But as ſoon as they had paſſed the water, the King did not care that ſo many of his troops ſhould proceed any further, but ſent back part of the horſe for the defence of the camp: yet he himſelf, with the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpenſier*, the Marſhal *De Biron* and the reſt of the cavalry, ſet out again in the evening to watch the motions of the *Spaniſh* army. The Archduke lay that night at the abbey of *Betricourt* again, and the next day paſſing by *Dourlans*, marched directly to *Arras*, with a deſign to turn his attention to the affairs of *Flanders*, ſince he had failed in his attempt to relieve the beſieged at *Amiens*.

At the King's return to the camp, he ſent a herald to tell the Marquis of *Montenegro*, "That now he had ſeen the iſſue of the relief he expected, he thought it high time for him to ſurrender: and that as he was deſirous to ſave the lives of ſo many gallant ſoldiers, he would grant him honourable terms." But the Marquis, though he already had the Archduke's leave to capitulate, in a letter which he privately received from him by a ſoldier's boy, was yet determined to hear the opinions of the other Commanders upon that point: and they having unanimouſly agreed, that now the contagion in the city was grown ſo mortal, their match almoſt wholly ſpent, the garriſon reduced to a very ſmall number, and the enemy in poſſeſſion of the rampart, there was no poſſibility of maintaining the place any longer, he returned for anſwer, "That he deſired a ſafe conduct for an officer to go to the Archduke to know his further pleaſure:" which being courteouſly granted, he diſpatched *Federico Pacciotto* for that purpoſe, who returned with an ample commiſſion for him to capitulate: ſo that after a ſhort treaty, he agreed to ſurrender, upon the following conditions. "That the monuments of *Hernando Telles Portocarrero* and all the reſt of the Commanders ſlain in the ſiege, ſhould not be violated, nor the inſcriptions upon them eraſed, and that the *Spaniards* ſhould have liberty to remove them when they ſo pleaſed. That all the ſoldiers in the city ſhould march out in battalia, with colours flying,

1597. ing, drums beating, trumpets ſounding, and ſhould be furniſhed by the King with waggons to carry their baggage and ſick men as far as *Dourlens*. That if any ſick or wounded man ſhould be left behind, he ſhould have good care taken of him, and ſuffered to depart whenever he had a mind. That the ſoldiers ſhould not be obliged to pay for any medicines they had been ſupplied with in the city, nor for two thouſand weight of muſket-ball, which they had taken up from private men and expended. That all the priſoners on both ſides ſhould be releaſed without any ranſom. That the townſmen who were inclined to ſtay there ſhould not be oppreſſed, but treated as good ſubjects, upon taking a freſh oath of allegiance to the King of *France*; and thoſe that choſe to march out with the garriſon ſhould have full liberty ſo to do. That there ſhould be a truce for the ſix next enſuing days, at the expiration of which they would deliver up the city, if they were not relieved with at leaſt two thouſand men: and that in the mean time, they ſhould give a *Spaniſh*, an *Italian*, and a *Walloon* Commander, as hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles.

The * ſerjeant-major carried the conditions to the Archduke, and ſoon after returned with his ratification of them: in conſequence of which, the garriſon marched out of *Amiens*, on the 25th of *September*, to the number of eighteen hundred foot and four hundred horſe, with the Marquis *De Montenegro* at the head of them, gallantly accoutred and mounted upon a fine charger, with a battoon in his hand; and when he arrived at the place, where the King and the whole army in battalia ſtood waiting to receive him, he diſmounted, and laying down his battoon, kiſſed the King's knee, and ſaid loud enough to be heard by all the by-ſtanders, "That he delivered up the town into the hands of a Prince that was a ſoldier, ſince the King his maſter had not been pleaſed to ſend Commanders that were ſo to relieve it:" a ſpeech that gave every one occaſion to reflect, that if the *Spaniſh* army had either advanced at firſt on the other ſide of the river, or taken the advantage which fortune had preſented them with, during the diſorder in the trenches, the ſiege muſt certainly have been raiſed. The King anſwered, "That he had defended the place like a ſoldier, and now reſtored it to its lawful Sovereign like a man of honour." Beſides ſo handſome a compliment, he treated both him and all the reſt of the Commanders with very great reſpect, deſiring to know their names as they paſſed by him one by one, and hav-

* The *Serjeant-Majors* and *Serjeant-Major-Generals* in the *French* ſervice, ſeem formerly to have been what we now call *Adjutants* and *Adjutant-Generals* in our army, vid. p. 119. l. 1. vol. ii. Whether they have any officers ſo called at preſent, and whether I am right in this conjecture or not, I muſt leave to be decided by better judges of the matter.

ing

ing dismissed them with the applause of the whole army, he took care to have them safely convoyed to *Dourlans*. 1597.

The first that entered *Amiens* were the Constable (to whom the possession of it was delivered) the Marshal *De Biron* and the Duke of *Montbason*, and next to them the King himself, who, after he had been to perform his devotions in the cathedral church, gave the government of the town to Monsieur *De Vic*, and hasted out of it again as fast as he could, for fear of the contagion, and with a design to march after the Archduke: but he, after a stay of only two days at the passage of the river *Auts*, had by this time got safe within the walls of *Arras*.

On the 26th an accident happened which would have created great confusion if it had fallen out sooner, but at this time proved rather a matter of merriment than otherwise: for so furious a fire broke out on a sudden in the King's quarters (the cause of which was not known) that it presently burnt down all the soldiers huts, which yet was not of the least prejudice either to them or their baggage, because they had then decamped and were ready to march. On the contrary, every one rejoiced at it as a bonfire, and many looked upon it as a good omen of future peace: in which hopes they were confirmed by what immediately followed: for the General of the order of St. *Francis* returned from the court of *Spain* about this time, with dispatches for the Cardinal Archduke, which occasioned an interview upon the confines of *Picardy* and the county of *Artois*, betwixt Secretary *Villeroy* on the King's behalf, and President *Riccardotto* for the Archduke, where it was agreed, that the Cardinal Legate, *Francisco Gonzaga* Bishop of *Mantua*, Nuncio from the Pope, and Deputies on both sides, should meet at *Vervins* (a place famous for several treaties that had formerly been concluded there) and use their endeavours to establish a peace.

What inclined his Catholick Majesty to listen to proposals of peace, was the bad state of his affairs in the *Low Countries*, which had been neglected for two years together, and were now declining very fast: so that he was reduced to a necessity of attending to the defence of his own dominions, instead of invading those of others. To this was added, the extreme want of money he was then in, which had forced him to suspend all payments this year, to the great prejudice of his credit and reputation, and the utter ruin of such merchants as had lent large sums to the Crown. The desire of firmly establishing his son in the succession was likewise a motive of no small weight with him: for as he was now far advanced in years, and knew he could not live much longer, according to the common course of nature, he was afraid of leaving his successor, who was then very young, embroiled in a troublesome and dangerous war, with a Prince of maturer age, more powerful in forces, of

great

1597. great experience in military affairs, and ſo remarkably fortunate in all his undertakings. His adherents likewiſe gave out, that now he ſaw life declining, he was extremely deſirous to make peace with his conſcience, by a reſtitution of what did not juſtly belong to him, and to ſee Chriſtendom in tranquillity before he died; which ſeems probable enough, from the well known equity and moderation of that Prince in all his actions. However, it is moſt certain, that the retaking of *Amiens* confirmed him in his diſpoſition to peace, and induced even the Cardinal Archduke (who was to marry the Infanta *Iſabella*, and to have the ſovereignty of the *Low Countries* in dower with her) to come into any meaſures that would ſecure him from a war with ſo puiſſant and formidable an enemy as the King of *France*.

After this conference was agreed upon, Secretary *Villeroy* returned to the King, who, following his good fortune, was encamped before *Dourlans*: for having advanced to the very walls of *Arras*, and filled the whole country with terror, he began to be aware that he could not leave the towns in *Picardy* behind him ſtill in the enemies hands, without expoſing himſelf to great danger, and therefore had inveſted *Dourlans* as the neareſt of them, the reduction of which he knew would be of wonderful advantage to him. But the rains of autumn very much incommoded him: and his army, which till then had been healthful, now began to be viſited with the bloody flux and contagious diſorders. His Treaſurers likewiſe repreſented to him, that they had no more money left to pay his troops: ſo that he reſolved to diſband them, and apply himſelf wholly to forward a peace, the deſire of which he no longer concealed, now his affairs were in ſo proſperous a condition, and he had given full ſatisfaction both to his own honour and the expectations of his people.

This mutual deſire of peace in both Princes greatly facilitated the treaty: but the Duke of *Savoy's* intereſts in ſome meaſure retarded it. For though the war had been very hot, and attended with various ſucceſs during the two laſt years, rather to his diſadvantage than otherwiſe: and notwithſtanding Monſieur *De les Diguieres* had not only reduced *St. John de Morienne* and all that valley in the *Alpes*, but had made an incurſion into *Piedmont* to ravage and lay waſte that country: yet the Duke, being ſtill reſolved to retain the marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, raiſed many difficulties on purpoſe to obſtruct a peace.

The conference, however, was opened at *Vervins*, where Monſieur *De Bellieure* and Preſident *Sillery* appeared for the King of *France*: and Preſident *Riccardotto*, *Juan Battiſta Taſſis*, and *Ludovico Verrichen*, Auditor of *Brabant*, on behalf of his Catholick Majeſty. The *French* Deputies came along with the Pope's Nuncio, and the *Spaniſh* with the General of the *Franciſcans*. The Cardinal Legate alſo met them there, and

all

all diſputes about precedency being ſettled by him, they proceeded to buſineſs in the beginning of *February* 1598, a year appointed by divine Providence to cloſe the wounds and put an end to a calamitous courſe of forty years war. 1598.

Each ſide earneſtly wiſhed for peace, and great was the authority of the Legate with both, nor was there much altercation betwixt them about the conditions. For the *Spaniards* willingly conſented to reſtore *Ardres*, *Dourlans*, *La Capelle*, *Caſtelet*, and *Montaulin* in *Picardy*, *Blavet* in *Bretagne*, and only deſired to retain *Calais* till the war with the *Hollanders* was ended, for which they offered to give the *French* an equivalent in the mean time: the *French*, on the contrary, inſiſted upon having *Calais* and *Cambray* freely reſtored, and alſo revived ſome old claims upon the confines of *Flanders*. But the *Spaniards* remonſtrated, that all former pretenſions were ſettled by the peace concluded betwixt the two Crowns at *Chaſteau Cambreſis* in the year 1559, and that *Cambray* was not properly within the juriſdiction of the King of *France*, but of the Archbiſhop there, and violently wreſted from him by the Duke of *Alençon*, not many years before: wherefore, as it was a free town the King could not pretend any right to it, eſpecially ſince it had always been under the protection of the poſſeſſor of the *Low Countries*, not in conſequence of an abſolute ſovereignty over it, but a conditional one, and founded upon compact. With this anſwer the *French* were ſo well ſatisfied, that they gave up all title to *Cambray*: and the *Spaniards* with the ſame readineſs waved their demand of retaining *Calais*. So that the only difficulty now remaining was, that the King of *France* inſiſted that *Blavet* ſhould be reſtored in the condition it then was, with all the artillery and ammunition which were in it: and the *Spaniards* demanded, that the fort they had built there ſhould be totally demoliſhed, and liberty granted them to carry away the artillery and other things of their own which they had brought thither. But this obſtacle was alſo ſoon removed: for as the treaty was conducted with great ſincerity, the *French* complied with this demand, which they were ſenſible was not an unreaſonable one.

All other matters were of ſmall importance in compariſon with theſe: ſo that little elſe remained to be done, except to take care of the intereſts of their allies. For as the King of *France* was deſirous that the Queen of *England* and the States of *Holland* ſhould be comprehended in the treaty, the King of *Spain* would likewiſe have had the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mercœur* included in it. This occaſioned a ſharp diſpute: for the *French* would not conſent to the incluſion of the Duke of *Mercœur*, who, they ſaid, was the King's own ſubject; and the *Spaniards* anſwered, that the States of *Holland* were alſo his Catholick Majeſty's ſubjects. Upon which they began to upbraid each other with abetting rebels, and at laſt grew ſo

1598. ſo warm, that they could not help expreſſing their reſentment in very angry and ſevere terms: however, at the Cardinal Legate's interpoſition they agreed to acquaint their reſpective Princes with the affair, and to wait for their inſtructions. But theſe differences were ended in a few days: for the King having left the Conſtable with ſome forces in *Picardy*, was gone in perſon to *Angiers*, to draw his army together and march with it into *Bretagne*. The Duke of *Mercœur*, therefore, now ſeeing all his deſigns ruined, and thinking it would be very unwiſe in him to ſtick out till he was either totally ruined or forced to a compliance, at laſt came into an agreement, by which he delivered up that part of *Bretagne*, that was in his poſſeſſion, to the King, on condition that his only daughter ſhould be married to the King's natural ſon, and that he himſelf ſhould have a ſatisfactory compenſation in money and penſions: ſo that there was no longer any occaſion for his Catholick Majeſty to uſe his good offices to have him included in the peace. Nor was it neceſſary to ſtickle much for the Queen of *England* and the States of *Holland*: for after they had both done all that lay in their power to prevent the treaty from being concluded, they were ſo highly diſſatisfied with the King, who, they ſaid, had promiſed in the confederacy which he had entered into with them the year before, not to make any agreement without their conſent that they declared they would not be comprehended as allies, nor liſten to any peace with the King of *Spain*.

The laſt obſtacle that remained to be got over was the Duke of *Savoy's* claim, which had like to have overſet the whole treaty when it was upon the very point of being concluded: for the Marquis *De Lullin*, the Duke's Ambaſſador, being admitted into the conference, ſaid, "That Preſident *Sillery*, one of the Deputies there preſent, had treated of an accommodation with the Duke a year ago, and that the King then ſeemed contented that he ſhould hold the marquiſate of *Saluzzo* in fee from the Crown of *France*." To which the Preſident made anſwer, "That what he ſaid was very true, and that the King indeed had been ſo inclined, but that it was at a time when the ſtate of his affairs made it neceſſary for him at any rate to detach the Duke from the King of *Spain*: and that the Marquis very well knew it was upon ſome conditions, which he would not divulge at preſent for fear of raiſing diſcord amongſt friends;" hinting, that the Duke had offered to make war upon the State of *Milan*, provided he might keep the marquiſate. This occaſioned ſo much debate, that the treaty ſeemed likely to be utterly diſſolved: but the General of the *Franciſcans* going to the King, and *Juan Battiſta Taſſis* to the Archduke, returned in a few days, and entered into an agreement, that the Duke and the King ſhould retain what they poſſeſſed at that time, and that the difference concerning the marquiſate ſhould be referred to the

the Pope, who ſhould give judgment upon it in the ſpace of one year; after which, all that each held of the other's ſhould be mutually reſtored. The Marquis, however, would not conſent that the King ſhould retain the valley of *Morienne*, nor ratify the agreement without acquainting the Duke, who was of ſo obſtinate and inflexible a diſpoſition, that it would have been almoſt impoſſible to ſurmount this impediment, if mere chance had not happily removed it: for the Duke in the mean time had recovered *Morienne* with a great ſlaughter of *Les Diguieres's* forces: and on the other hand *Les Diguieres* took a fort which the Duke had built near *Grenoble*, and not only put the garriſon to the ſword, but entirely demoliſhed it. So that as the Duke was now in poſſeſſion of no other place in *Provence*, beſides the town of *Berre*, it was agreed, that he ſhould reſtore that, and leave the affair of the marquiſate to be decided by the Pope.

The treaty was accordingly concluded and ſigned by the Deputies on the 2d of *May*, with an expreſs article that it ſhould not be publiſhed till a month after: for the King of *France* wiſhed to have the *Engliſh* and *Holland* Ambaſſadors firſt gone from court, that it might not be done ſo immediately before their eyes: and the Archduke was deſirous that it might be poſtponed till he could receive a ratification of the agreement concerning *Blavet*, from the court of *Spain*. At the expiration of that term, peace was proclaimed at *Paris* on the 7th of *June*, at *Amiens* the ſame day in the preſence of the Legate and the King's Deputies, and alſo at *Bruſſels* by previous appointment: every one rejoicing that the kingdom of *France*, after it had been ſo long diſtracted by contending factions, and deſolated by forty years of ruinous and bloody wars, was at laſt entirely reunited under a Catholick *French* King, to enjoy the fruits and bleſſings of peace for the future, as a comfort after ſo many paſt miſeries and afflictions.

F I N I S.

ERRATA

In VOL. II.

PAge 3. l. 9. *dele*, exceedingly. p. 4. l. 4. *r.* brothers. p. 51. l. 30. *r.* againſt. p. 80. l. 21. *r.* on a full. p. 88. l. 36. *r.* into Champagne. p. 100. l. 37. *r.* intreated. p. 101. l. 11. *dele*, againſt. p. 105. l. 10. *dele*, and, *after* Mendozza, *and add it after* Morrea. p. 118. l. 17. *r.* piece-meal. p. 133. l. 9. *r.* aſſemble an army. p. 165. l. 22. *r.* yet he. p. 169. l. 8. *r.* poſts. p. 192. l. 33. *dele*, as a middle-way. p. 206. l. 24. *dele*, in. p. 221. l. 27. *r.* deſpair. p. 229. l. 1. *r.* with a volley. l. 14. *dele*, was. p. 232. l. 20. *r.* beſides which. p. 247. l. penult. *r.* Claudio Mattei. p. 248. l 40. *r.* rigour. p. 251. l. 3. *dele*, they. p. p. 256. l. 12. *dele*, he. p. 262. l. 16. *r.* abandon. p. 286. l. 18. *dele*, who were jealous. p. 287. l. 29. *dele*, up. p. 295. l. 2. *r.* and by the. l. 14. *r.* Naſi. p. 298. l. 12. *r.* abound. p. 300. l. 5. *dele*, they. p. 302. l. 38. *r.* thoroughly. p. 331. l. 31. *r.* that neither of them would. p. 357. l. 38. a ſemicolon after *Rome*. p. 375. l. 27. *r.* thoſe that. p. 403. l. 15. *r.* converſion. p. 428. l. 28. et alibi. *r.* D'Oſſat. p. 468. l. 8 *r.* arbitrement. p. 514. l. 18. *r.* endeavour. p. 521. l. 29. *r.* Oeconomes. p. 529. l. 15. *r.* raiſe it. p. 537. l. 19. *r.* reſpectable. p. 542. l. 31 *dele the comma after* Caſtle, *and place it after* of p. 517. l. 6. *r.* diviſions. p. 549. l. 4. *r.* deſperately. l. 27. *r.* Gaſtone. p. 553. l. 5. *r.* thereafter. p. 567. l. 13. *r.* de la Fere. p. 566. l. 23. *r.* where. p. 604. l. 20. *dele the firſt* and. p. 605. l. 32. *r.* Durando. p. 611. l. 28. *dele the comma after* King. p. 619. l. 29. *r.* generally.

INDEX.

Boulogne,

H.

N.

O.

P.

Q.

R.

S.

T.

V.

W.

Y.

Z.



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